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THE IRISH
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1898

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

VOLUME III.
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REDMOND O'GALLAGHER, THE MARTYR- BISHOP OF DERRY

IN reading over the history of the Church in these kingdoms during the Elizabethan period we are struck with the similarity of the sufferings endured by our ancestors in the early days of the Reformation, with the account which St. Paul gives of the sufferings inflicted on God's servants in the Old Law. Indeed, one would think it was Elizabeth's victims that great Apostle was sketching, and that he wrote from Ireland instead of from Italy to the Jews in Palestine. What truer description of the lives of the Irish bishops and priests in the penal days could be given than that

They were stoned, they were cut asunder, they were tempted, they were put to death by the sword ; they wandered about in sheepskins, in goatskins, being in want, distressed, afflicted ; of whom the world was not worthy, wandering in deserts, in mountains, and in dens, and in caves of the earth.¹

It was a sad period—an anticipation of the days of Antichrist. In England the scaffolds reeked with blood ; the dungeons were filled with the flower of the nobility ; whilst the fiendish atrocities to which priests and bishops were alike subjected make one pause to inquire were the authors of these barbarities human. In Ireland it was still

¹ Heb. xi. 37 38

worse; for here, to the greed of gain and hatred of the Church, was added that racial hatred which has ever existed since the days of the second Henry, and which at that period stirred to its lowest depths the savage nature of the British myrmidons. Their rulers urged them on to exterminate the 'mere Irish,' and wealth and honour crowned the murderer of the priest or the bishop. Altars were desecrated, churches were razed to their foundations, education banned, and innocent blood poured out, amid the scoffs and jeers of a brutal soldiery. Such, in Ireland, was the reign which in cruel irony has been called glorious, such the fate of those faithful servants of Christ who had the courage to profess themselves children of that Church whose centre is the See of Peter.

Raymund, or Redmond, O'Gallagher was a prominent figure in the Irish Church during nearly the whole of Elizabeth's reign, having been murdered only two years before that sovereign's death. He had been a bishop before she came to the throne, having been appointed Administrator of the see of Killala in 1545, two years before the death of Henry VIII., and consecrated bishop of that same see three years later. Redmond O'Gallagher was a native of the diocese of Raphoe, County Donegal, and was of noble family. The O'Gallaghers once held a conspicuous place in that county, and were the owners of extensive property. It was not, however, his nobility of birth that recommended him to the Holy See, but his character for learning, piety, and prudence. His appointment to administer a diocese whilst he was scarcely twenty-four, and his consecration at the unusually early age of twenty-seven, are proofs of his extraordinary qualifications and of the confidence reposed in him by the Holy Father. And that confidence was fully justified by his whole long career afterwards as administrator and bishop, covering in all a period of nearly fifty-six years. The following is a translation of the record of his appointment to the see of Killala:—

On the 7th November, 1545, the Holy See deputed as administrator, until he attain the twenty-seventh year of his age, in spiritual matters, of the church of Killala, in Ireland, then

vacant by the death of Richard Baired [Barrett], formerly Bishop of Killala, who died outside the Roman Curia, of happy memory, D. Raymund Ogalcubait [O'Gallagher], cleric of the diocese of Raphoe, aged twenty-four years or thereabouts, of noble origin; and then in his person makes provision for the same church, and appoints him as its bishop; tax, 11 florins.¹

Later on we shall get a glimpse of his zeal in the cause of discipline and religion whilst in that diocese.

After governing the diocese of Killala for twenty-four years—three as administrator and twenty-one as bishop—he was, in 1569, translated to the see of Derry. The following is the record of his translation:—

On the 22nd of June, 1569, the Court of Rome absolved D. Redmond Ogalcubait, Bishop of Killala, from the bond of the church of Killala, and transferred him to the church of Derry, vacant by the death of Eugene Idocharti (O'Doherty), with the power of retaining the priory of Eachini, of the order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and all things annexed thereto, in the diocese of Killala; value, 24 marks sterling.²

A few years after his translation to Derry he was appointed vice-primate by the Holy See. The faculties then granted him are thus recorded in the *Secretaria Brevium* in Rome:—

To the Venerable Brother Redmund, Bishop of Derry, for his own diocese and for the entire province of Armagh, as long as the Venerable Brother Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, shall be absent from his diocese and the province of Armagh (13th April, 1575).

In 1580, O'Gallagher is mentioned in a Vatican list as a Bishop of Derry who had not taken the oath of allegiance. O'Sullivan Bear, in his *Catholic History*,³ refers to him as vice-primate. Relating certain events in the Elizabethan wars, he says:—

There were present some ecclesiastics, chief among whom was Raymund O'Gallachur, Bishop of Luce and Vice-Primate of Ireland, who absolved from the ban of excommunication those who passed over from the royal to the Catholic army.⁴

¹ Barberini and Vatican Archives.

² Barberini Archives. See Brady's *Irish Bishops*, and Rev. J. M'Laughlin's *Bishops of Derry*.

³ Chap. ix., B. iii.

⁴ The excommunication here referred to was that pronounced by Pius V. against Elizabeth and her adherents. Note by Dr. M. Kelly, in his edition of O'Sullivan.

An interesting reference to O'Gallagher occurs in a curious work, translated from the Spanish by Robert Crawford, M.A., and published during the past year by Elliott Stock, of 62 Paternoster-row, London. It is entitled, *Captain Cuellar's Narrative of the Spanish Armada and his Adventures in Ireland*. Cuellar was a captain in the Armada, and on the wreck of that ill-fated flotilla was cast upon the Irish coast, with many others of his countrymen. After narrating the hardships and perils he had passed through in Connaught and Ulster, he tells what happened to him in O'Cahan's country—the present County Derry. The English soldiers were everywhere searching for the unfortunate shipwrecked Spaniards; but they were making a special search for Captain Cuellar, who, they had discovered, was in the neighbourhood:—

Information about me [says he] had already been given to them, and no one passed by whom they did not ask if he had seen me . . . The boy was such a good lad that, upon learning this, he returned to his hut, and informed me of what had occurred; so that I had to leave there very early in the morning, and to go in search of a bishop who was seven leagues off in a castle, where the English kept him in banishment and retirement. This bishop was a very good Christian, and went about in the garb of a savage¹ for concealment; and I assure you, I could not restrain tears when I approached him to kiss his hand. He had twelve Spaniards with him, for the purpose of passing them over to Scotland; and he was much delighted at my arrival, all the more so when the soldiers told him that I was a captain. He treated me with every kindness that he could for the six days I was with him, and gave orders that a boat should come to us to take us over to Scotland, which is usually done in two days. He gave us provisions for the voyage, and said Mass for us in the castle, and spoke with me about some things concerning the loss of the kingdom, and how his Majesty had assisted them, and that he should come to Spain as soon as possible after my arrival in Scotland, where he advised me to live with much patience, as in general they were all Lutherans, and very few Catholics. The bishop was called Don Reimundo Terri (?) [Bishop of Times], an honourable and just man. God keep him in His hands, and preserve him from his enemies.

The translator fails to identify this bishop, and calls him

¹ Cuellar's term for a native of the country.

by the unmeaning title of 'Bishop of Times.' The word *Termini* is evidently a mistake for *Derrie*, as Derry was then usually spelled; and it is quite certain that the bishop was Raymund O'Gallagher, the then bishop of the diocese, who lived in disguise at this period in O'Cahan's country, and who, tradition says, used to tend sheep by day on the mountains, and visit by night the sick and dying of his flock. It may be interesting to readers of the I. E. RECORD to know that Captain Cuellar, with a number of other Spaniards, was soon afterwards, by the kindness of Sir James M'Donnell, sent in a boat from Dunluce to Scotland.¹

This same year, 1588, we have a letter from O'Gallagher to Cornelius O'Devany, Bishop of Down and Connor, and dated from Tamlaghtard, better known as Magilligan. This letter was found on O'Devany's person shortly afterwards, and in consequence he was imprisoned in Dublin, and kept in confinement for two years. Though liberated for a time, he was taken prisoner again, and ultimately put to death in the metropolis, in 1612. The letter was as follows:—

We, Redmond, by the grace of God and favour of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Derry and Vice-Primate of All Ireland, to the Most Reverend, our dear brother, Cornelius, Bishop of Down and Connor. Seeing that we cannot, without incurring imminent peril of life, make visitation of your territory, we, therefore, by the authority of Letters Apostolic and by the authority of the primatial dignity, by the purport of these presents, do appoint you in our stead for a full year from the date hereof, and for the same period we give and grant you power to absolve from episcopal and also from papal cases each and everyone who has recourse to you, obligations of conscience being safeguarded, and salutary penance in proportion to the fault being enjoined.

Given in the Parochial Church of Tamlaghtard, the 1st day of July, 1588.

R., Bishop of Derry and Vice-Primate.

Another letter of his, written some years after this, and addressed to Clement VIII., may be introduced in this

¹ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i., No. 3, n. 3, 1895.

place. It refers to the sufferings for the faith in Ireland, and the noble stand then being made against English power. It runs thus :—

I am confident your Holiness knows that our leading nobles—doubtless by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost—have made a courageous stand against the malicious oppression inflicted on them by the English, and have done so with a spirit and daring more than human. By their manful resistance in the battle-field they have baffled and foiled the English devices, their rancour and satanic rage. Yet every day brings changes more numerous than one could tell ; and so, to give our nobles greater courage, to strengthen them, and to make them steadfast in their glorious undertaking by the hope of succour, a person has come here, a little ago, from Spain for the purpose of making a report that will be relied on to his Catholic Majesty of the actual state of affairs. He is the bearer of this letter. I recommend your Holiness to have unhesitating confidence in his testimony. I ask you to do so, and to cast a kindly look on Ireland, always faithful to you—Ireland which now presents such a dismal appearance, so wretched and so mournful, suffering for so long a time, and suffering so many disasters at the hands of the heretics. The present opportunity is specially favourable. I am convinced it is a gift of God. I ask your Holiness to seize it at once, remembering that opportunity is usually bald on the back of the head. Make kindly provision as speedily as in your power for those who are your own dependents—yes, and the most faithful of all your dependents since Christianity came into the world. Do not disappoint myself and the bearer of my letter in the hopes we have formed and set our hearts on. I leave to him to tell your Holiness many other matters that need to be mentioned. And, taking into account what I know of his family, his diligence, his uprightness, his sincere and earnest zeal for faith and country, I beseech your Holiness to bestow some favour on him, to have no hesitation in granting him the dignity of N., thereby approving with your own authority the action I am taking in the present emergency.¹

Protected by the still powerful sept of O'Cahan, it would seem that O'Gallagher was all this time able to exercise his ministry with a certain amount of security. In a State Paper, dated 28th July, 1592, the following account of him is given :—

First in Ulster is one Redmundus O'Gallagher, Buishopp of Dayrie, *alias* Daren, Legate of the Pope and *custos* Armaghén,

¹ For the original Latin letters see Meehan's *Flight of the Earls*.

being one of the three Irish buishoppes that were in the Council of Trent. This buishopp used all manner of spiritual jurisdiction throughout all Ulster, consecrating churches, ordeyning priests, confirming children, and giving all manner of dispensacions, rydeing with pomp and ceremony from place to place, as yt was accustomed in Queen Marye's days. And for all the rest of the clergy there, they use all manner of service there nowe as in that tyme, and not only that, but they have changed the tyme according (to) the Pope's new invencion. The said Buishopp O'Gallagher hath bin with diverse governors of that land upon protecion, and yet he is suffered to enjoy the bishoprick, and all the aforesaid aucthoryties, these xxvi years past and more, whereby it is to be understood that he is not there as a man without aucthoryty or secretly kept.¹

Though this statement is inaccurate in some of its details, and is considerably exaggerated, still it is important as showing the zeal and influence of O'Gallagher in Ulster at this period. It is not correct to say that he was one of the Irish bishops who attended the Council of Trent. The three who did attend, were Donald M'Congail, Bishop of Raphoe; Thomas O'Herlichy, Bishop of Ross; and Eugene O'Hart, Bishop of Achonry. Nor is it true to say, that he was legate of the Pope. He had merely received from him extraordinary jurisdiction to be exercised in the absence of the Primate, and hence in most documents of the time he is styled Vice-Primate. It is by no means likely that he was in the habit of 'rydeing with pomp and company from place to place,' for the English soldiers had gained a footing in O'Cahan's country at this time, and one of their great objects was to seize the Bishop who was regarded as their most powerful opponent. Though exercising his ministry, he did so disguised as a peasant, and under the protection of the chieftains who were not as yet entirely shorn of their power. Though residing, as a general rule, in O'Cahan's territory, we find that occasionally he dwelt in the city, and also at Fahan, on the shores of Lough Swilly. In a MS. paper in the State Paper Office, dated 12th April, 1601, and endorsed: 'The Description of Lough Foyle, and the country adjacent,' we find the

¹ See *Kilkenny Arch. Jour.* for 1856-7.

following entries :—‘ Three miles above Culmore stands the Derrie, where the bishop dwells, who is one of the sept of the Gallocars.’ And again : ‘ Over against Elloghe, in O’Dovgherdie’s country, is a castle and a church called the Fanne, but broken down synce our aryvall,—Here dwells the Bishop O’Galchar.’¹

Except occasional references to him, these are all the facts that have hitherto been recorded regarding him, till we come to the record of his death. That sad occurrence is mentioned by several authorities, but all are not agreed as to the year in which it took place. Dr. Burke, in a note to the eighteenth chapter of his *Hibernia Dominicana*, after recounting the names of many who had suffered for the faith, says :—

To these are to be added, deceased shortly after Elizabeth, Redmund Galcharius, vernacularly, O’Gallagher, bishop of Derry, who about his seventieth year being taken prisoner by heretical soldiers of the garrison who were scouring the country, and being pierced by them with many wounds, died in the year 1604.

O’Reilly, in his *Sufferers for the Catholic Faith in Ireland*, adopts, apparently without any inquiry, the chronology of De Burgho. O’Sullivan Bear gives the same date in enumerating various victims that were put to death for the faith under James, the year after his coming to the throne. ‘Raymund O’Gallagher, Bishop of Derry or Luci, was slain by the English with two-edged swords, and beheaded about his eightieth year.’² Others give the date as 1602; but even this is not correct except in so far as the old style corresponds with the new. The date given by the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and by Donatus Mooney in his *MS. History of the Franciscans*, compiled in 1617, is the correct one. The annalists, under date 1601, say in their usual terse style : ‘Redmund O’Gallagher, Bishop of Derry, was killed by the English in Oireacht-Ui-Chathain, on the

¹ See *Uist. Jour. of Arch.*, vol. v. Though dated 1601, this paper was written at least a year before that.

² B. ii., chap. iv., *Cath. Hist.*

15th day of March;' and Mooney writes : 'Redmund Galchur, martyr, died in 1601, the 8th of March, being an old man, and as was considered the oldest, by ordination, of all the bishops of Europe.'¹

It is strange that none of all these writers mention the place where he was murdered, except the *Four Masters*, and even they make only a vague reference to it; yet on the strength of that reference some modern writers fix the place as midway between Limavady and Dungiven. Notwithstanding repeated inquiries, the present writer could never discover any reliable authority for this statement. He believes, however, that he can now fix the exact spot of the murder, and the burial of the martyred bishop, as well as give many details of his life not hitherto published. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, there is an unpublished manuscript of Dr. Lynch, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, in which he gives a tolerably good summary of the life of O'Gallagher, and furnishes, moreover, the details of his death, and where it occurred, with a minuteness which enables an investigator to fix almost to a certainty on the very spot where it took place.² Though some of the facts already given will of necessity be repeated in this extract from Lynch, yet even at the risk of repetition it seems better to give the text in its entirety. He writes as follows :—

We see from the Records at Rome that Redmond O'Gallagher, one of the clergy of the diocese of Raphoe, the son of Gilduff, was on the 6th Nov., 1545, when he was only twenty-four years of age, or rather somewhat less, created bishop of Killala, then vacant by the death of Richard Barret. The Records speak of Redmond as of noble family. It may well be that, as Pliny says about Macrinus, in merit he could compete with those more advanced in years, in whose dignity he was a partner. At any rate he was not the only person we read of, who for unusual merit was elevated before the age of thirty to the episcopal rank, whose progress in virtue far outstripped their

¹ See note to O'Sullivan Bear's *Cath. Hist.*

² The MS. is numbered 1445, is written in Latin, bound in two large volumes, and a note prefixed to it states that it was transcribed in 1863, by Mr. John Rathbone, from the original in the Bodleian Library. Its title is :—*Historia Ecclesiastica Hiberniæ* or *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*.

progress in years. The Pope wrote to him in the year 1553. Beyond all that, it appears to me to be a powerful testimony to his worth, that during a period when the most of the bishops of Ireland, not only those that were appointed by the king, but those who were appointed by the Pope, were infected and corrupted by the guilt of the revolt of the State against the Church, Redmond, who had been made bishop by the Pope, when Henry VIII. was still reigning, faithfully fulfilled his duties as bishop of Killala during the reigns of Edward and Mary, and until far on in the reign of Elizabeth. The legislation of Edward against the faith never obtained power or validity in Ireland, or, at any rate, was not enforced in the distant parts of the country. It was told to me, that Redmond, strange to say, had detached from the see lands a farm, and conveyed it to his sister's husband. The time of this transaction is not mentioned, and I am of opinion that it took place (that is if ever it took place) during the reign of Edward. Redmond, seeing that Edward was making over the church lands to lay persons, preferred to have the farm in the hands of his sister than of a stranger, to whom certainly the king would give all the lands of the see of Killala that he could get hold of by open war or private violence. Accordingly Redmond is in nowise touched by the excommunication issued by Victor II., in the Council of Florence against those who alienate church lands; neither does he incur the rebuke of Peter Damian, that 'the reverence for the sanctuary is weakened when by alienation of this kind its ministers are in miserable want, when the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the pilgrim cry out: 'We are being cut off by the sword of hunger from the face of the earth;' adding that a bishop of Bologna lost the power of his speech for having alienated ecclesiastical property. Redmond's great zeal for the repression of heresy, and for the spread of the Catholic faith, was shown by his holding, in 1566, in conjunction with Andrew O'Crean, bishop of Elphin, and Eugene O'Hart, bishop of Achonry, a large assemblage of the clergy in the form of a provincial Council (at which, it appears, he presided as senior bishop), and they there passed a decree, that their observance in their full integrity of the decrees of the Council of Trent was of universal obligation. Later on provincial Councils were held to enforce the observance of those decrees on the subjects of these three dioceses.

On the plea that there was a suspicion of undue familiarity between Redmond and the wife of a certain man of the nobility, he was imprisoned, his goods confiscated, and himself exiled from his diocese by Sir John Burke, son of Oliver, who had obtained the dignity of the MacWilliam, and the presidency of lower Connaught, attached to that dignity, and who died in 1580; and by Sir Edmund Burke. So Sanders is correct enough in saying, that he was either imprisoned or exiled, not for any

crime, but that what he suffered, whether exile or imprisonment, was because he was a Catholic and a bishop; suggesting that what he wrote he had heard, and had no other foundation for believing it beyond the common proverb: 'There is usually truth in a rumour.' The misfortunes that befel the descendants of those who persecuted Redmond, seem to clear him of that wicked and malicious suspicion, especially when we take into consideration, that had a stain of so gross a nature attached to him, he never would have been translated to the see of Derry, or dignified with the title of Vice-Primate. I do not know the year in which he was translated, but he was bishop of Derry, when Gregory XIII., as we know, wrote to him, 6th June, 1575, the fourth year of his pontificate. In that letter the Pope gives instructions about promoting to holy orders, and to benefices some persons who had been born out of lawful wedlock.

In Ulster, at any rate, the public exercise of the Catholic religion was at that time unmolested and prosperous. The princes and nobles of Ulster continued by force of arms to exclude heresy from their dominions. Now, Redmond, it seems, was the tower of strength of the Ulstermen and their bond of union, and to him was due the long continuance of their independence. At any rate, the heretics believed him to be the person who kept alive the war and kept up the spirit of the forces, for they singled him out as the one person for whose destruction all their efforts were to be combined.

Many a work he engaged in, in rooting up the thorns and brambles of heresy, and in planting the true vine of the Catholic faith; nor was his zeal confined to Ulster, for by a letter of 8th August, 1596, from Belhena, by virtue of his power as Vice-Primate, he appointed Bernard Macaghowan Vicar-General of Tuam and Mayo, and John O'Dongal Guardian of Mayo.

The defeat of the Ulster forces left him unprotected—a mark for the enemy's vengeance. The following year, abandoned by Neil Garve O'Donnell, who (as Coppinger states) then took part with the heretics, Henry Docwra, with the Lough Foyle garrison, got on his track, and at last seized him in Cumalia, an out-of-the-way hamlet about a mile from Derry, on the way which leads to Strabane, where there was a parochial church. A short time before the bishop had learned the arrangements the enemy had made for getting hold of him, and had in consequence hid himself in a bog, winter though it was; but the bitter cold and his enfeebled old age compelled him to slip into a house at the dead of night. On the approach of the enemy all in the house took to flight, except himself. Unable to fly, he hid himself among some sheaves of corn. The enemy having got up to the house, and having laid hold on a woman and boy, slaughtered them both, and went away. The people of the place then went into the house, and asked was there anyone there still alive. The

bishop, from his hiding-place, answered that he was still alive. One of the army scullions of the enemy, who was lurking close by, overhearing the voice, hurries off to his party with his utmost speed, urges them to come back, which they do without delay, fall upon the bishop, thus taken by surprise, mangle him with many a wound, and leave him lifeless. That was in 1602.

It is believed that God inflicted punishments on the authors of this foul murder; that is, Neil and Docwra; for Docwra was set aside, and Henry Folliat was made Governor of Ballyshannon in his place—an event which was miraculous, even in the eyes of the English, that the very man who regained Ballyshannon should be dismissed from being governor. Neil was so indignant that, after all his loyalty to the English, Rory O'Donnell should be set over him, that, rushing headlong to his own destruction, he took to himself the title of O'Donnell, and thereupon obtained a prolonged abode in the Tower of London, wherein he kept his abode till his death.

The bishop was buried in the graveyard of the parochial church I mentioned, at the side where the eastern window stood, the interior of the church having been desecrated.

From this passage we learn of the zeal of O'Gallagher in introducing the Tridentine regulations, and in enforcing the rules of morality and religion, a zeal which, no doubt, provoked the anger of the irreligious, and excited their malice against the saintly bishop. We know the lawless nature of some of the Irish chieftains, and the lax notions of virtue that prevailed among not a few; and woe to the cleric that dared to upbraid them for their vices. O'Gallagher, as Bishop of Killala, probably found it his duty to reprove some of those chiefs for their loose lives, or for their defection from the faith, and in return they determined to check his virtuous zeal, as the Arians of the fourth century did with the great St. Athanasius. They resorted to the same species of calumny as did the Arians, and added violence to their defamation; but God vindicated his innocence as He did that of Athanasius, and his fellow-bishops, as well as the Supreme Head of the Church, manifested their faith in his virtue by his promotion to the see of Derry. To this the Sovereign Pontiff soon afterwards added the dignity of Vice-Primate.

His labours in the cause of faith and fatherland, while Bishop of Derry, made him a tower of strength to the

Catholics of the north, and a terror to his enemies. No wonder, then, that the English incessantly sought his life. The O'Cahans and other chieftains of the district protected him as long as they had the power, but their territory had become the prey of the invader, and the life of the aged bishop was no longer secure in the mountains of Dungiven or Magilligan. His only safety was in flight. He was probably sojourning at his house in the city of Derry—for as we saw above he sometimes resided in the city, and sometimes at Fahan, as well as in the O'Cahan country—when he discovered the machinations of Docwra against his life. If he could escape to his native Tyrconnell he might elude the bloodhounds of Docwra, and obtain protection among his own kith and kin. This would seem to have been his object in taking the route he did when flying from the city. Lynch's minute description at this point enables us to follow the aged fugitive step by step to the spot where he met his doom. He went from the city, says Lynch, by the road that leads to Strabane. The only road then leading from Derry to Strabane was that on the western side of the Foyle, which passes through the towns of Carrigans and St. Johnston, and thence to Lifford. No bridge then spanned the river at Derry, and consequently there was no communication between the city and the eastern side of the Foyle, except by means of a ferry. To attempt to cross this ferry with the soldiers of the garrison on the look out for him, and with Protestants manning the ferry-boats, would have been sheer madness on the part of the bishop. Besides, the route was the very opposite to that he should have taken, if, as we suppose, he intended going to Tyrconnell.

Setting out by night, he reached a hamlet which, Lynch says, was about a mile from Derry, and where there was a parochial church. Here he at first concealed himself in a bog, but the intense cold induced him to slip into a house about midnight to get himself warmed. Now the only parochial church in that direction was the church of Killea, which was one of five rural churches which depended on and were attached to the great church in Derry. Killea is three

miles from the city; but we could not expect Lynch, a stranger to the locality, to know the exact distance. His meaning, clearly, is, that the place was a short distance from Derry. Evidently the place was well known to O'Gallagher, as he betook himself there for safety, and he felt he could trust himself in the cottages of the poor Catholics there. Killea corresponds exactly with Lynch's description. There was the bog in which he concealed himself at first. The bog is now exhausted, but in the present writer's early days it was still extensive, and supplied the entire neighbourhood with fuel. The church stood on a gentle slope above this bog, and its ruins were standing until a few years ago, when they were taken down, and the materials used in building a new wall around the graveyard. The latter is still used for interments. The church gives its name to the adjoining parish of Killea, which in the Protestant division is still a distinct parish, but in the Catholic division is amalgamated with a number of other small parishes to form what is called the parish of Taughboyne and All Saints. The parish of Killea is in the diocese of Raphoe, but the townland and church of Killea are in the diocese of Derry. The north-west Liberties, which extend three miles in every direction from the city, on the western side of the Foyle, were cut off from Donegal by Docwra, and added to the county of Derry. This explains the reason of the parish being at present in a different county from the church which gave it its name; and this too may explain the expression of the *Four Masters*, that O'Gallagher was killed in O'Cahan's territory, since the Liberties were now part of the county Derry. More likely, however, they took it for granted, that it was in county Derry he had been killed, since it was there he had generally dwelt during the time of his episcopate. The hamlet of which Lynch speaks, like most of our old Irish villages, has disappeared, though a number of houses are still scattered around the vicinity of the old church.

In Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* mention is made of two cairns in the townland of Killea, one of which, the

writer says, is in the bed of a rivulet called the 'Priest's Burn,' from a tradition, that a priest was killed on the spot. This, too, helps to indicate the place where O'Gallagher was slain; for from the testimony of a native of the place, now in his ninety-third year, the present writer has learned, that there was a cairn formerly at Killea Burn a few hundred yards below the church, at the edge of the bog, where he believes the hamlet stood which Lynch describes, and where the aged bishop was done to death by the brutal soldiers of Elizabeth.

If for nothing else this MS. of Dr. Lynch is of the utmost value as furnishing data for fixing on the place of O'Gallagher's martyrdom and burial, and for giving so many details of his life. The topography is so accurately described that no doubt whatever remains on the mind of the writer as to the spot where the saintly bishop fell and was interred. That he fell by Killea Burn, and was interred in Killea graveyard by the ruins of the old church, at the side where the eastern altar stood, seems to be beyond a doubt if we are to accept the history given by Lynch; and there is no reason for calling its accuracy into question. At the time of his martyrdom he was in his eightieth year, having been twenty-four at the time of his appointment to Killala, and having exercised jurisdiction for fifty-six years afterwards.

His was an eventful and fruitful episcopate. Ever battling for the Church, rebuking when necessary the vices of the great, even, as we have seen, at the risk of defamation and loss of liberty; supporting the weak, strengthening the wavering, bringing hope and consolation to the sick and dying, urging the chieftains to fight strenuously against the inroads of heresy, he was truly another St. Paul to the persecuted flock over whom he ruled, and a tower of strength to the Catholics of Ulster. His heartless and brutal murder was but one in the long, dark catalogue of crimes which characterized the reign of Elizabeth, but one sufficient in itself to mark an epoch. In the same month, two years afterwards, she followed him to her final account; but how widely different the death of the bishop and the death of the queen! The one, after a long and faithful stewardship in

the vineyard of the Lord, after preaching Christ's Gospel, and putting into practice its precepts, gives up his life for the Church and the faith which he had so long and so vigorously defended; the other, after a regime stained by every crime, after overthrowing the religion of her ancestors, murdering the innocent Queen of Scots, slaying the ministers of God's Church, assuming to herself the prerogatives of Christ's Vicar on earth, 'drunk with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus,' sinks at last despairing into the arms of death, not daring to invoke the name of that God against whom she had warred during life, nor permitting a prayer to be breathed by her bedside as she went before the judgment seat to receive her final sentence.¹

The murder of Redmond O'Gallagher was but the prelude to the martyrdom of a host of priests, both secular and regular, who were slain in Derry during the reign of James I. and his successors, till the catalogue was closed by the death of the Rev. Clement O'Colgan, O.P.P., who, after an imprisonment of two years, died for the faith in Derry jail, as late as the year 1704. If sword and flame, confiscation of property, outlawry of priests and bishops, destruction of churches and monasteries, could have destroyed Catholicity, it might well have been extinguished in the city of Columbkille and in the diocese of St. Eugene; but it still survived with that indestructible life which Christ promised to His Church on earth. The storm of persecution became exhausted by its own fury; fanaticism grew weary of its tyranny, and bigotry learned to be ashamed of its atrocities. Happier days began to dawn, and with them came the revival of religion and the reconstruction of its sacred edifices. Just like some valuable palimpsest, from whose page the skill of the modern chemist has effaced the writing of the later scribe, restoring thereby to the world the priceless characters first written on the parchment, so the purifying hand of time has obliterated

¹ For a description of the last days of this queen, see Dr. Lee's *Church under Elizabeth*.

from the Church of Derry the handwriting of evil men, and has restored to the light of day the beauty and glowing fervour of its ancient faith.

Redmond O'Gallagher has long since gone to his everlasting crown ; his heartless and cowardly murderers have passed to their account ; but the faith which they endeavoured to destroy, and for which he fought, the Church which they blindly hoped to crush, and for which he shed his blood, still live on, purified and strengthened by the ordeal through which they have passed. Ezechiel's vision has again been fulfilled ; for the Spirit of the Lord has breathed once more over the dry bones of the plain, and a new race has arisen to fill up for Mother Church in Derry the place of her martyred dead.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

THE CONTINUITY THEORY

BEFORE entering upon the subject of this essay, I think it will make my task lighter, if I begin by stating exactly what I am going to do. I am going to compare the Church of England as it existed before the sixteenth century with the Church of England as it exists to-day. I call the first the 'Pre-Reformation Church,' and the second the 'Post-Reformation Church.' But what kind of comparison am I going to institute? Am I going to prove that the one is true, and the other false? No. Am I going to prove that the one is a divine, and the other a human institution? No, nothing of the kind. My purpose is far more simple. I am going to prove merely that the one Church is not the other.

The issue is, therefore, very simple. The sole question before us is this: Is the 'Pre-Reformation Church' the same Church as the 'Post-Reformation Church,' or is it a different one? Is the faith professed by the English sovereigns and people in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries the same as that professed by the sovereigns and people in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries? Have the same doctrines and ecclesiastical government continued century after century, or has there been a rupture, a severance, a breaking away, a dislocation? In a word, has there been a distinct interruption, or has there been an unbroken continuity? We, as Catholics, answer emphatically that there has been a most decided interruption; while, on the other hand, certain of our Anglican friends declare with equal emphasis that there has not.

Take note that we are concerned with doctrine, faith, religious observance, and ecclesiastical government; not with mere external possessions. When pagan Rome was converted to Christianity the Christians, in many instances, transformed the pagan temples into places of

Catholic worship. But because they occupied the same territory, lived in the same towns, and retained the same buildings, we cannot upon that ground argue that there was any real 'continuity,' in doctrine or religious belief, between paganism and Christianity. So, for a like reason, when the Reformers took possession of the Catholic cathedrals and churches, and of the abbeys and the abbey lands, and clothed themselves with the spoils of the monasteries, we can no more argue that they were on that account of the same creed as the monks and priests whom they turned adrift, transported, or hanged, than we can argue that the wolf is of the same nature as the sheep, on the ground that, having slain the sheep, he now wears its fleece. He is still as much a wolf as ever.

We are perfectly well aware that the grand old English cathedrals, such as those of Bath and Wells, of Canterbury and Durham, of Gloucester and Hereford, of York and Ely, and Worcester, Lincoln, Salisbury, Winchester, and Norwich, and many more (though designed by Catholic artists, built by Catholic hands, and paid for by Catholic gold) have been appropriated by that Protestant Reformed religion, established by law, which King William and Queen Mary, and presumably all English sovereigns since, in their coronation oaths, have solemnly sworn to defend.¹

We are well aware that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, together with the moneys and emoluments, and the sums left as bequests for Masses, and many other things of a material and pecuniary value, which once belonged to the 'Pre-Reformation Church,' were taken away, and have now become the property of the 'Post-Reformation Church.' But the religion and faith of the 'Pre-Reformation Church'—that is to say, that which constitutes its very essence, its innermost spirit and life—have not descended to the English as a nation. The wolf

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CORONATION OATH, 1689-1702.

To King William and Queen Mary.

Archbishop.—'Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion, established by law?'

'We will,' &c.—(*The Book of Rights*. By Edgar Taylor, p. 215.)

has got the fleece. True! But there still remains a mighty and essential difference between the wolf and the sheep. But how does it happen that all Protestants, as well as Catholics, are not agreed upon this point? Well, let us see.

People read history very differently, according to the manner in which the facts may affect their own particular interests; and we cannot but feel that, whether consciously or unconsciously, the upholders of the theory, which we are examining here to-day, are not impartial, but so strongly biassed in its favour as to think they see proofs even where none exist. Of such men may be said, with the alteration of a single word, what Shakspeare says of the jealous: 'Trifles light as air are to the biassed (jealous) confirmation strong as proofs of Holy Writ.'¹

But is there a strong motive to maintain the continuity theory at any cost? Well, I think we shall find there is. Indeed, Anglicans *must* cling to this theory, because it is essential to their position—I might almost say to their very existence. It may be an improbable theory, it may be an impossible theory, it may be a theory which history, loud and trumpet toned, denies and contradicts; a theory derided and scouted by the overwhelming body of Christians throughout the world; but it is essential to the position of the little local Church that defends it. Therefore, in mere self-defence, and in virtue of the natural instinct of self-preservation, these good people close their ears to every argument, and remain blind to the most unassailable evidence. They have ears, but hear not; eyes, and see not, because they really cannot afford either to see or to hear. To do so would be to admit themselves in the wrong. To give up continuity is equivalent to affirm that their Church is less than four hundred years old; it is implicitly to admit that it is not the Church of Christ, which was established in this land more than a thousand years earlier; and, if not the Church of Christ, then, of course, not a true Church at all. Further, it is to

¹ *Othel.*, iii. 3.

admit that they have no real right to the doweries and emoluments and the ecclesiastical legacies and Church lands. No, no more than a supposed heir to a property has a right to that property when it is discovered that he is, after all, no true son, but only a bastard. The thought of these and many other consequences puts religiously-minded men in a position in which we can no more wonder at their clinging to any vestige of an argument, and to any shred or shadow of a proof, than we can wonder at a drowning man clasping and snatching at any floating straw or drifting weed that comes within his reach.

But, even in spite of all this, so clear and so irresistible is the evidence against the continuity theory, that the more clear-headed, learned, honest, and impartial of Anglicans themselves have felt obliged to admit that there has been really no true and real 'continuity' in the Church of England at all. They admit, in a word—and the admission being so contrary to their own interests is of quite exceptional value—that the Church of England, as now existing, is radically different from the Church of England of four hundred years ago—that, in a word, the present Church of England started into existence only as late as the sixteenth century, and was the creation of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

Now, it is not our purpose to try and force our own belief, however certain, down anybody's throat; nor need we accuse any individual of dishonesty because evidence which convinces others does not convince him. The law courts afford us innumerable cases of evidence completely satisfying eleven jurymen, and yet altogether failing to convince the twelfth. So it may be in the case of continuity. Now, there are at present in my mind theological reasons which, altogether independently of historical facts, absolutely satisfy me that the English Church of to-day is totally distinct from the English Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury and of Archbishop Chicheley; but I am not going to produce any theological arguments now. As there is not time for everything, I will confine myself to the evidences of history, and I will call up various weighty

witnesses. Nay more; in order to give my Anglican friends every advantage, I will pack my witness-box, and select my witnesses, not from among Catholics, who might be thought biassed against the continuity theory, but from among non-Catholics, and non-Catholics alone.

The first I will summon is Mr. E. A. Freeman, Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, whom Canon Bright calls 'a great master of English history.' He witnesses as follows:—¹

England was the special conquest of the Roman Church, the first land which looked up with reverence to the Roman Pontiff, while it owed not even a nominal allegiance to the Roman Cæsar. . . . The English folk were first called to cast aside the faith of Woden, and to embrace the faith of Christ by men who came on that errand from Rome herself, at the bidding of the acknowledged father of Western Christendom.

I will now call upon the Rev. F. C. Warren, a recognised Anglican authority on the liturgy of the ancient British Church. He, like Freeman, emphatically testifies to the essentially Roman character and condition of the early English Church:—

Roman [he says] in origin, owing her existence to the foresight of one of the greatest Popes, and fostered at first by Roman missionaries and bishops, the Church of England had been constantly and loyally Roman in doctrine and practice. Her liturgical books, as well as her vestments, and church ornaments came direct from Rome, being sent from Gregory to Augustine. Her archbishops, from the very first, applied for and wore the pall.²

This is pretty strong evidence, as coming from an Anglican clergyman. But let us now dismiss him and call our next witness.

What has the Protestant historian, Child, to say on the subject? Turning to his well-known work, we come across the following:—

When Henry died, a complete revolution had been effected in the history of the Church. Instead of the Church *in* England, it

¹ *Encycl. Brit.*, art. 'England,' pp. 277-278.

² Intro. to Leofric's *Missal*, p. 24. Rev. F. C. Warren.

had become in good truth, the Church of England; instead, that is, of an integral part of that great western province of Christendom, to which it owed its first conversion, and with which it had been one ever since, for nearly a thousand years, it had become for the first time in its history, a separate Christian community, of which little could be affirmed, but that, for the time being at any rate, it agreed with no other; that it retained an anomalous and decapitated form of Catholicism; and that, in practice, if not in theory too, it owed its doctrine as well as whatever of discipline it retained to its lay supreme head.¹

So much for Mr. Child. We will now ask his Lordship the Right Rev. Protestant Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Short, to state his honest conviction upon this interesting point:—

The Englishman [writes Bishop Short] who derives his blood from Saxon veins will be ungrateful if he be not ready to confess the debt which Christian Europe owes to Rome; and to confess that whenever she shall cast off these innovations of men, which now cause a separation between us, we shall gladly pay her such honours as are due to the country which was instrumental in bringing us within the pale of the Universal Church of Jesus Christ.

And further on Dr. Short admits that the existence of the Church of England, as a distinct body, and her final separation from Rome, may be dated from the period of the (Henry's) divorce.

This is an unequivocal testimony. If the English Church *separated* from Rome in Henry's time, then she must have been *united* with Rome before Henry's time. The historian, Gardiner, in his *Student's History of England*,² also states, that 'The English Church was in all outward matters regulated in conformity with that of Rome.'

Herzog affords us yet another testimony. In his *Encyclopædia of Theology*, article 'Church of England,' though he impartially state, that many Anglicans advance a claim to antiquity for their Church, he expresses his own opinion: 'Its history begins with the reign of Henry VIII., when breaking with the Pope, he was declared the head of the Church in his dominions.'³

¹ *Church and State under the Tudors*, pp. 264-5.

² Page 50.

³ *History of the Church of England to the Revolution*, 1668, p. 8.

We now call upon another witness, the learned author of a work entitled *Celtic Scotland*.¹

Now Mr. Skene testifies to the identity of doctrine and practice in the Roman and ancient British Churches in these words :—

Suffice it to say that during the Roman occupation the Christian Church in Britain was a part of the Church of the Empire. It was immediately connected with that of Gaul, but it acknowledged Rome as its head, from whom its mission was considered to be derived, and it presented no features of difference from the Romish Church in the other western provinces. We find it in close connection with the Gallican Church, and regarding the Patriarch of Rome as the head of the Western Church, and the source of ecclesiastical authority and mission, and with the exception of the temporary prevalence of the Pelagian heresy in Britain, we can discover no trace of any divergence between them in doctrine or practice.

Some of our antagonists would have us make a distinction between Protestantism and Anglicanism, but as the Archbishop of Melbourne truly observes : ‘ This distinction has no foundation in the history of the Reformation.’ The following statement of historical facts, written, not by Catholic, but by the Protestant historian Child, will satisfy every impartial reader. He says :—

It is difficult to study the actual facts of the sixteenth century history, putting apart preconceived ecclesiastical theories, without arriving at the conclusion that the English National Church was as completely the creation of Henry VIII., Edward’s Council, and Elizabeth, as Saxon Protestantism was of Luther, Swiss of Calvin, or of Zwingli.²

The history of the Church in England was continuous from the mission of Augustine, or, if we prefer it, from the Synod of Whitby, to the time when Henry VIII., upon a disagreement with the Pope about his divorce, cast off his allegiance to the Papacy. From that time to the present, with the short interval between the reconciliation under Mary and Elizabeth’s first Parliament, it has been severed and excommunicated by the great body of the Catholic Church ; and as the latter was before precisely that which it has continued since, it is clear that the former must have been something not the same. And it is not the mere retention of a few names and titles, used in a kind of ‘ second

¹ Vol. ii., pp. 2, 7.

² *Church and State*, &c., pp. 272-4

intention,' and a few more or less amputated rites, which will ever make persons, intelligently instructed, believe that an establishment which obviously is a mere creature of a single state, is the legitimate and adequate representative of that imposing Western Church, which is older than any existing state in Europe, and grander than anything the world has ever seen, and which has been picturesquely described by an old writer as 'the ghost of the old Roman Empire,' sitting robed and crowned upon the grave thereof.¹

A fair consideration of the actual facts of the Tudor history serves to show that, a theory like that which prevails so widely at present, which represents the English Church in any other light than that of one (though it may, perhaps, be admitted, the greatest and most dignified) of the Protestant Churches which arose in the sixteenth century, is a novelty which took its very earliest rise some half century or more after the separation from Rome, as a direct consequence of Elizabeth's determination to give no quarter to the early Puritans, and which made little or no progress for another half century still. The evidence is simply overwhelming, which shows that, during the whole period from 1552 onwards, the English Church was considered by friends and foes alike to be, for all intents and purposes, one with the Swiss Churches of Zurich and Geneva.²

The truth upon this subject is so patent to the unprejudiced mind that, not in serious histories merely, but even in the daily press, and on the public platforms it is taken as a matter of course. An instance or two here will not be out of place.

Taking up a Protestant paper³ I came across an account of a meeting at which Sir G. Osborne Morgan, M.P., took the chair. Though a Protestant himself, and son of the Rev. M. Morgan, Protestant Vicar of Conway, Carnarvonshire, he nevertheless delivered himself in the following words:—

What was the Church of England as by law established? He would answer the question in the words of the highest legal authority in the land. 'The Established Church,' says the Chief Justice of England, 'is a political institution, established, created, and protected by law, absolutely dependent upon Parliament.' Why, every student of English history knew that

¹ Child, *Church and State*, pp. 272-4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 272-4.

³ *The Manchester Guardian*, Sept. 21st, 1893.

if a very bad king had not fallen in love with a very pretty woman, and desired to get divorced from his plain and elderly wife, and had not compelled a servile Parliament to carry out his wishes, there would, in all human probability, never have been an Established Church at all. Last year, just before the General Election, he had stated this fact, upon which a reverend gentleman, Canon West, of Manchester, had offered £10 towards his election expenses if he could name the Act of Parliament by which the Church of England was established. He had named six of these Acts, but he never got his £10.

The baronet then went on to say that—

When the Established Church said, ‘Orthodoxy is my doxy, and heterodoxy is everybody else’s doxy,’ it could not claim, like the Church of Rome, a divine mandate, but only a Parliamentary mandate for the assertion.

The Puseyites of the last generation, or the Anglo-Catholics, as they called themselves, insisted that the Church of England was the only true Catholic Church, and that the Church of Rome was nothing but a corrupt and heretical departure from the same primitive Church. But when they came to look around them, and saw from one pulpit a man preaching Calvinism and another Deism, and found that their only protection against their errors was a human tribunal—i.e., the Privy Council, upon which Jews and infidels might sit—everyone of them who had a grain of honesty in his nature went over with Cardinal Newman to the Church of Rome—a Church which, at least, rested its claim to infallibility on something higher than an Act of Parliament or a judicial committee.

I will now make an extract from a Protestant London daily.¹ In a conspicuous leader, this influential paper expresses its opinion in these outspoken words :—

The Anglicans may still persist in patronizing the Roman Catholics as a new set of modern dissidents under the old name. It is the sort of vengeance which, under favourable circumstances, the mouse may enjoy at the expense of the elephant. If he can mount high enough by artificial means, the smallest of created things may contrive to look down on the greatest, and to affect to compassionate his want of range. For purposes of controversy the Anglican could talk of himself as a terrestrial ancient of days, and regret the rage for innovation which led, not to his separation from Rome, but to Rome’s from him. So might the pebble, if determined to put a good face on it, wonder what had become of the rock, and recite the parable of the return of the prodigal to the Atlas range.

¹ *The Daily News*, Sept. 19th, 1893.

Thus far we have quoted merely the serious judgment of a few among the many Protestant bishops, clergymen, historians, and ecclesiastical authors, as well as the common press and platform utterances, which sometimes indicate more clearly than history, the common-sense view of any question before the public mind. Now, we shall not call up any more living authorities, for they can, at best, but declare what the result of their study of the Reformation period may be, and what conclusions they have come to; but I will turn to simple, undeniable contemporary facts. I am going to invite you, my readers, to pass your own judgment upon these facts, and ask you candidly whether these facts support the continuity theory, or whether they utterly destroy it. As the very touch-stone, I will select the attitude of the early English Church to the Vicar of Christ, the Pope.

(A.) English history tells us that in 1245 the English bishops and clergy, assembled in convocation, wrote to Pope Innocent, and in their letter, which anyone who understands Latin can read for himself, assured him that the 'said kingdom of England was specially devoted to the Most Holy Roman Church;' and, further, that amongst the glories of the 'English Church' was the fact that she was 'a special member of the Most Holy Church of Rome.' They add that they themselves are 'devoted sons of the Most Holy Roman Church.'

(B.) About the same year the nobles of England sent an address to the Pope, complaining of the monetary exactions of the Curia, in which they protest in these words:—

Our mother, the Roman Church, we love and cherish with all our hearts, as our duty is; and we seek her honour, increase, welfare, with all the affection of which we are capable.

They also declare that the King of England is not 'the head' of the Church, but 'a most dear son of the Roman Church.' Now, let me pause here to ask, will the representative of the continuity theory assert that men who wrote and spoke these words were not 'Roman Catholics'? Does he mean us to believe that a Church can be 'a special

member of the Most Holy Church of Rome,' and yet not Roman Catholic? Or does he expect us to hold that the clergy and nobles of England were not Roman Catholic, although they themselves declare that they are 'faithful and devoted sons of the Most Holy Roman Church'? We want a plain, straightforward answer.¹

(C.) The English Primate, Arundel, in 1413, with the advice and assistance of convocation, drew up the following profession of faith, to be used as a test to the Catholic creed, as then professed in England, against the doctrines of the Lollards. We retain the old spelling:—

Christ ardeyned Seint Petir the Apostell to ben His Vicarie here in erthe, whose See ys the Church of Rome, ordeyning and graunting the same power that He gaf to Petir should succeede to all Petir's successours, the wychh we now callyn Popes of Rome, by whos power in Churches perticuler special be ordeyned prelates as archbysshopes, bysshopes, curates, and other degrees, to whom all Chrysten men ought to obey after the lawes of the Church of Rome.²

If Archbishop Arundel, writing to his clergy, had but declared that 'the Pope hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England,' the Anglican of to-day might claim him and the English Church of that period. But, since he did nothing of the kind, since, in plain truth, he said precisely the opposite, and what every Roman Catholic in England says and believes at this moment, will he explain how the Primate and Convocation were not Roman Catholics?

(D.) In 1427 the Bishops of England addressed a letter to Pope Martin V. on behalf of Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been accused at Rome. Now, hearken to their words, and say are they the words of genuine Roman Catholics or of Anglicans. They run as follows:—

Most Blessed Father, one and only undoubted Sovereign Pontiff, Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, with all promptitude of service and obedience, kissing most devoutly your blessed feet, &c.

¹ Matthew Paris, pp. 992 and 930, edit. 1571.

² This test declaration may be seen in the record of Convocation in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii., p. 355.

They then proceed to defend their Archbishop, and in doing so bear witness that 'the Archbishop of Canterbury is, Most Blessed Father, a most devoted son of your Holiness and of the Holy Roman Church.' Nay, more; they declare that—

He is so rooted in his loyalty, so unshakable in his allegiance, especially to the Roman Church, that it is known to the whole world, and ought to be to the city [of Rome], that he is the most faithful son of the Church of Rome, promoting and securing with all his strength the guarantees of her liberty.

Again, will our continuity friends explain how a man can be 'the most faithful son of the Church of Rome,' so rooted in his loyalty to her that 'his allegiance is known to the whole world,' and yet not be a Roman Catholic? The bishops add that 'they go down upon their knees to beseech the Pope's favour for the Archbishop, and in doing so declare that they are 'the most humble sons of your Holiness and of the Roman Church.'

(E.) So much as regards the bishops. Let us now appeal to the University of Oxford. That renowned seat of learning, at the same time, wrote to the Pope, declaring itself the 'handmaiden of your Holiness,' and adds:—

We, with united hearts, undoubtedly recognise you as the one Sovereign Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ upon earth, and the most true successor of St. Peter.

Recalling the favours the University had received from the Pope, it adds:—

Thence on bended knees, and prostrate with all obedience, at the feet of your Most Holy Papacy, from our hearts we pay you the tribute of our thanks. Casting ourselves, Most Blessed Father, at your blessed feet, with the utmost humility.

They then entreat that the Pope will not listen to any accusation against the Archbishop, and in their turn bear witness that 'he is a trusty son of your Holiness and of the most Holy Roman Church.' Bear in mind that this is not the sentiment of a mere individual, or of an ignorant body, but of the picked men of the greatest university in England. The letter is signed: 'The most devoted sons of your Holiness, the Chancellor and the unanimous body of the

Masters of the University of Oxford.' Such was the language of the men whom we are asked by certain Anglicans to believe were not Roman Catholics!

(F.) Finally, Archbishop Chicheley himself wrote at the same time to the Pope, addressing him in the following terms:—

Most Blessed Father, kissing most devotedly the ground beneath your feet, with all promptitude of service and obedience, and whatsoever a most humble creature can do towards his lord and master (domino et creatori), &c., &c.

He then assures the Pope that, he has been at all times most faithful to the Apostolic See,' and that there is not a 'scintilla' of grounds for the rumours spread against him. He adds:—

Long before now were it not for the perils of the journey and the infirmities of my old age, I would have made my way, Most Blessed Father, to your feet, and have accepted most obediently whatsoever your Holiness would have decided.¹

Imagine the present Archbishop of Canterbury writing in such a strain to Leo XIII. ! Will our continuity friends kindly and frankly declare whether the above is the speech and attitude of a member of the present Church of England, or of a Roman Catholic?

(G.) Or, take the following letter, not from bishop, nor priest, nor university, but from the dread King and Sovereign of England himself, and say is it the letter of a Roman Catholic King or of an Anglican king. It was written nearly a hundred years before the letter just quoted viz., A.D. 1339 (*An. Regni* xiii. Edward III.). The King addresses the Pope in these terms:—

Let not the envious information of our detractors find place in the meek mind of your Holiness, or create any sinister opinion of a son who, after the manner of his predecessors, shall always firmly persist in amity and obedience to the Apostolic See. Nay, if any such evil suggestion concerning your son should knock for entrance at your Holiness's ears, let no belief be allowed it, till the son who is concerned be heard, who trusts and always intends

¹ Wilkins, vol. iii., pp. 471-486.

both to say and to prove that each of his actions is just before the tribunal of your Holiness, PRESIDING OVER EVERY CREATURE, WHICH TO DENY IS TO MAINTAIN HERESY. And, further, this we say, adjoining it as a further evidence of our intention and greater devotion, that if there be anyone of our kindred or allies who walks not as he ought in the way of obedience towards the Apostolic See, we intend to bestow our diligence (and we trust to no little purpose), that, leaving his wandering course, he may return into the path of duty, and walk regularly for the future.

Alluding then to some supposed unkindness on the part of the Pope, the King thus continues :—

That the Kings of England, our predecessors, those illustrious champions of Christ, those defenders of the faith (*fide athletas*), those zealous asserters of the right of the Holy Roman Church, and devout observers of her commands, that they or we should deserve this unkindness, we neither know nor believe. And though, for this very reason, many do say (we say not so) that this aiding of our enemies against us seems neither an act of a father nor a mother towards us, but of a stepmother; yet notwithstanding we constantly avow that we are, and shall continue to be, to your Holiness and your seat a devout and humble son, and not a stepson.

He speaks also of ‘the pre-eminence of your sacred dignity,’ and in another place of—

Your Holiness, who best knows the measure of good and just, and in whose hands are the keys to open and to shut the gates of heaven on earth, as the fulness of your power and the excellence of your judicator requires . . . We being ready not only from your sacred tribunal, which is over all, humbly receive information of the truth, &c.

In his reply Pope Benedict XII. says :—

Being desirous that you should follow the commendable footsteps of your progenitors, kings of England, who were famous for the fulness of their devotion and faith towards God and the Holy Roman Church, &c.

In King Edward III.’s letter to Pope Clement, the Holy Father is styled ‘by divine Providence, Chief Bishop of the Holy Roman and Catholic Church.’ The King not only addresses the Pope ‘Most Holy Father,’ and ‘Your Holiness,’ but speaks of him as ‘supplying the place of the

Son of God on earth,' and 'having the care of the souls of all Christians,' &c.¹

Now if a king of England could indite such a letter as that, and express himself in such terms, and yet not be a Roman Catholic, then, all I can say is, no Roman Catholic ever yet existed either in England or out of it.

(H.) For several centuries before the Reformation, centuries during which the Pope was the Supreme Court of Appeal for the English Church, and decided hundreds of disputed ecclesiastical elections, the majority of the bishops in every see were appointed summarily by the Pope, who issued Bulls of provisions for this purpose. During that period every Archbishop of Canterbury, and every suffragan' bishop took solemnly and publicly on the day of his consecration the oath of allegiance to the Pope.

Whoever reads over the oath will find that it contains the following passages, passages which, it appears to me, knock the bottom out of the continuity theory altogether.

I [name], Archbishop of Canterbury, will be from this hour henceforth faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the Holy Apostolic Roman Church, and to my lord the Pope [name] and to his canonical successors. Neither in counsel, or consent, or deed will I take part in aught by which they might suffer loss of life, or limb, or liberty. Their counsel which they may confide to me, whether by their envoys or their letter, I will, to their injury, wittingly disclose to no man. The Roman Papacy and the royalty of St. Peter I will be their helper to defend and to maintain, saving my order, against all men. When summoned to a synod I will come, unless hindered by a canonical impediment. The Legate of the Apostolic See I will treat honourably in his coming and going, and will help him in his needs. Every third year I will visit the thresholds of the Apostles, either personally or by my proxy, unless I am dispensed by Apostolic licence. The possessions which pertain to the support of my archbishopric I will not sell, nor give away, nor pledge, nor re-eneoff, nor alienate in any way, without first consulting the Roman Pontiff.

(I.) A plain and very sure evidence of the Romanism

¹ Pages 126, 130, *History of Edward III.*, by J. Barnes, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1668. Sir T. Sykes Library.

of the English Church in the same period is the fact, that during the trials for heresy, the test approved and applied by the English bishops, and convocation as the touchstone of orthodoxy was a formula in which the person was made to declare their adherence to the Catholic faith 'according to the determination of the Church of Rome.' These words may be seen over and over again in the process of the fifteenth century. A similar test is also inserted in the form for the abjuration of heresy, drawn out in the Exeter Pontifical, used at the same period.

Will any Anglican say that a Church that was ready to send men to the stake who would not accept the Catholic faith 'according to the determination of the Church of Rome' was not Roman Catholic?

If, indeed, we wish to know whether the generations of Englishmen and women who lived and died here before the Reformation were or were not Roman Catholics, how are we to find out?

Surely the simplest thing to do is to ask the people themselves. If we wish to ascertain what religion a man professes we just question him. We think he ought to be the best authority upon what he himself believes: if he is not, who is? And we feel that his free and serious statement upon the point, ought to be decisive. For instance: were my supposed Anglican objector to tell me, as no doubt he would, that he is 'a member' of the present English Church, or that he is a 'faithful and devoted son' of the present Church of England, I and everyone else would know precisely what he means, and no one would dream of doubting him. But, if further, we were to stand and hear him actually swear a solemn oath of allegiance to the Established Church, our certainty on the point would be doubly certain.

Now if we put this question to the English nation before the Reformation, we shall find, as I have already pointed out, that in Parliament, in Convocation, in the Universities, the King, the Lords, the Bishops, the Clergy, on behalf of themselves and their people, declared in 1245, as well as at other epochs, that they were 'the faithful and devoted

sons of the Holy Roman Church ;' and that the Church in this country was a 'special member of the Holy Church of Rome.' Why will not the Anglican of to-day accept their *own declaration of their own belief*? He believes they were Catholics ; he hears them testify that they were 'members,' and 'sons,' and 'most devout sons' of the Church of Rome. Now, will anybody explain how a man can be a Catholic, and a member of the Church of Rome, and yet not a Roman Catholic, or will he have the hardihood to deny that they were Catholic? No, he cannot! Will he deny that they were 'members' and 'sons' of the Church of Rome? Impossible, unless he contradicts his own words, and practically tells whole generations of Englishmen, that he knows all about their religion far better than they do themselves! Will he then persuade us that it is possible to be a Catholic and not a member of the Church of Rome? If so, I certainly, for one, would not care to carry such a brief before the common sense of an English jury. Nor is this steadfast declaration of the English nation in any sense a 'fugitive utterance,' as some Anglicans try to make out. We find it in documents which just precede the Reformation. We find it in the declaration made by the kings, Parliament, bishops, and University of Oxford in 1427. We find it in the records of Convocation in 1440. We find it again in the declaration of the King, Parliament, bishops, and clergy in 1245. We find equivalent expressions in the letters of Peckham, Beckett, Anselm, and Lanfranc. And if anything more plainly still, in the dutiful letter of the Anglo-Saxon King, Kenulf, in which (long before the existence of the false Decretals, to which our continuity friends love to refer), he declares himself the 'son of His Holiness the Pope, whom he embraces in all the strength of *obedience*.' Is our continuity friend still incredulous? Then let us take the long line of bishops and archbishops in every see, for centuries, who come one by one, swearing the oath of allegiance to the Pope, and to the 'Church of Rome.' If this host of English bishops cannot be believed, *even upon their oath*, as to the fidelity to the Roman Church, and if such a declaration does not mean 'Romanism,' then I

really fail to see what kind of testimony would avail to convince him. To crown this, we have the tests adopted by the bishops and clergy in Convocation, by which the Church in England refused to recognise any man as a Catholic unless he 'assented to the Roman Church,' and received all the articles of the Catholic faith, 'according to the determination of the Church of Rome.'

We Roman Catholics feel that this is Roman Catholicism. If it is not, will somebody tell us what it is? Nor was this a 'fugitive utterance;' for we find it not only repeated again and again in the documents of Convocation, but in a standing form in the English ritual (*vide* the Exeter Pontifical), and it therefore took its place in the permanent usage of the Church life of the country.

It may be well to remark here, that much is made by some of our antagonists about the disputes concerning what is known as the 'statute of provisors,' an important episode of governmental friction between the English Parliament and the Court of Rome. But it must be borne in mind that the Act never received the assent of the bishops. The archbishops formally entered their protest on the rolls of Parliament against it. Over and over again, Convocation petitioned for its repeal. The English Crown at the treaty of Bruges practically recognised the Pope's right to provide bishops, and the English kings themselves frequently petitioned the Pope to exercise this right. Finally, so much was the statute a dead letter, that as a matter of fact the Popes provided far more bishops after the passing of the statute than they did before it.

We do not expect educated and honest men to descend to the childish plea of the mere Church Defence lecturers, whose practice is to pass off cases of friction between England and the Roman Curia, as proof that England was not Roman Catholic. No doubt, English Roman Catholics, in those times, complained of and resented the heavy monetary exactions of the Papal Court, and the intrusion of foreigners. But so should we, had we been in their place, and we should have held, that we were not one whit less loyally Roman Catholic for doing so. Besides, any

reflective mind would naturally ask, 'If there be any weight in this argument, where is it to stop?' Where, throughout the whole of Christendom, is the Catholic nation to be found which has not had its quarrels with the Roman See? France, and Spain, Hungary, Germany, Florence, Venice, and Naples, and Genoa: who has not heard of their numerous conflicts with Legates and Bulls, and Roman excommunications? Every historian and politician knows that such elements enter into the staple of the history of the most loyal Catholic nations. Catholic England was, of course, no exception; or, if an exception at all, an exception only in the sense of being, if anything, somewhat more patient, forbearing, and reverential and devoted towards the Holy See than the continental nations, and somewhat more favoured by Rome in return, as Archbishop Peckham himself tells us. If this fact of friction can prove that a nation is not Roman Catholic, it would also prove, that there never was, and never will be such a thing as a Roman Catholic country at any time, or any place, in Europe, or out of it, and consequently that the Roman Catholic Church never existed at all. When the *Ecclesia Anglicana* (the technical term which Rome still uses to denote the province of the Catholic Church which lies in England) protests, in the thirteenth century, and at other times along the line of her history, that she is a 'member of the Church of Rome,' will someone be good enough to tell us why she should be disbelieved any more than the *Ecclesia Gallicana*, the *Ecclesia Hispanica*, the *Ecclesia Florentina*, or the *Ecclesia Neapolitina* of the same period? In a word, it amounts to this. Are we to believe the modern Anglican, who says that our ancestors were not Roman Catholics, and loyal sons of the Roman Church; or are we to believe the generations of pre-Reformation Englishmen themselves, when they protest that they *were*, and when their bishops for centuries come forward to attest the fact upon their solemn oath before the Church and before the country?

In conclusion, I will put to any favourer of the continuity theory three simple questions:—

1. For more than four centuries before the Reformation,

did, or did not the bishops and archbishops of the English Church publicly swear an oath of *obedience* and allegiance to the Roman See?

2. Are, or are not Catholic bishops and archbishops who swear *obedience* to the See of Rome, Roman Catholics?

3. If the bishops and archbishops of the English Church for centuries before the Reformation were Roman Catholics, is it, or is it not absurd to maintain that the English Church was never Roman Catholic?

Are these sufficiently plain questions, and is it unreasonable to expect equally plain answers?

The action and oath-taking of the whole of the bishops of the Church in this country for four centuries is a tangible fact and testimony. Let us then keep fast to the point. I want the objector to fix his attention on those four hundred years, and then to say straightly—Yes or No—were those bishops who took the oath for those four centuries, Roman Catholics or not? And if not, then explain how a man can be a Catholic, and in sworn obedience to (not in mere communion with) the Roman See and not be a Roman Catholic?

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

PHOENICIA AND ISRAEL

THE natural advantages of Phœnicia having been such as we described, the people who now occupied it were in every sense well qualified to make good use of such conveniences as the land afforded. Their great source of power as a nation was their navy. Cradled as they were on the shores of the Erythraean sea, they were accustomed from very early years to a life on the ocean, and the name of the 'world's first sailors' is quite their due. They, and they alone, seem to have possessed a navy at a time when other great powers, such as Egypt and Assyria, could not build, much less efficiently man, a fleet of vessels. Their migration from the shores of the Persian Gulf did not extinguish these tastes, and their new homes only tended to foster them more. Their skill as sailors and navigators earned for them the respect of more powerful nations, who made use of them when conducting expeditions by sea, though the Phœnicians themselves did not use their fleet so much to acquire new territorial possessions, except when founding some fresh colony, as for the development of their trade. That the Egyptian monarchs made use of their fleet we have good proof in the fact that in those places where we know Phœnician colonies existed, we find also relics of Egyptian domination which date back to the time of the latter country's greatest influence abroad, namely, to the reigns of Thothmes III. and his successors of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. Such is the case at Cyprus, also along the north coast of Africa and among the islands of the Ægean Archipelago. This idea is confirmed by the fact that Egypt had at that time no fleet of her own, and yet supported a large fleet upon the Red Sea, the navigation of which is very difficult; many years later too we find the Bible recording that: 'King Solomon made a fleet in Asiongaber, which is by Ailath on the shore of the Red Sea in the land of Edom. And Hiram

sent his servants in the fleet, that had knowledge of the sea.'¹

It is probable then that the Egyptian sovereigns availed themselves of the services of these skilled navigators, and by their means opened up trade with Yemen, and the almost fabulous Ormuz and Ophir, which were such sources of wealth to the potentates of those days. Their merchants thronged the markets of Tyre, as the prophet tells in his description of the glories and riches of the city: 'The men of Dedan were merchants in tapestry for seats. Arabia, and all the princes of Cedar, they were the merchants of thy hand; thy merchants came to thee with rams, and lambs, and kids. The sellers of Saba and Reema, they were thy merchants; with all the best spices and precious stones, and gold, which thy set forth in thy market.'² The power which thus accrued to Phoenicia can easily be imagined. They became the great carriers of the world, the trade of all the great nations passed through their hands; there was no other power to compete with them; they were welcome everywhere, for, as we have seen, they did not seek territorial aggrandisement, but only commercial influence; they brought wealth, ease, and refinement wherever they went, and the surrounding nations depended almost exclusively upon them for the luxuries of life. When Sidon fell and Tyre took her place, the latter's wealth and magnificence became the wonder of the world, and Ezechiel thus describes the fittings of her vessels: 'With fir-trees of Sanier they have built thee, with all thy decks for the sea; they have taken a cedar from Libanus to make thee a mast; they have cut thy oars from the oaks of Basan; and they have made thee benches of Indian ivory, and cabins with things brought from the islands of Italy. Fine-broidered linen from Egypt was woven for thy sail to spread on the mast; blue and purple from the lands of Elisa were made thy covering. The inhabitants of Sidon and Aradians were thy rowers; thy wise men, O Tyre, were thy pilots. The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof furnished mariners for the service of thy

¹ 3 Kings ix. 26, 27.

² Ezech. xxvi. 20-22.

various furniture, all the ships of sea and their mariners were thy factors.'¹ Tin, the metal requisite for making bronze, was only to be obtained through the hands of the Phœnicians. Babylon, it is true, had her own native supply; but their intercourse with Babylon was difficult, the distance was great, and caravans were at the mercy of the roving desert tribes. The Phœnicians devoted their energies to opening up new sources for the supply of this precious metal, and then quest led them to the shores of the Euxine, and thus commenced their immense trade with Armenia, and the Caucasus. Spain too was visited, and mines opened there, while the search for the same metal drew them in after years to our own Cornwall.

Nor while their ships were thus busy at sea, were they idle on land. Jerusalem, according to Rabbinical tradition, is the centre of the earth, and be this as it may, the Holy Land was certainly the centre of the then inhabited world. Day by day caravans filed forth from Tyre and Sidon, and the Phœnician cities; some wended their way southwards, passing through Palestine and Egypt, or, turning aside at Jerusalem, crossed the burning desert to the south-east and directed their steps to Arabia, carrying spices, perfumes, and precious stones, as long ago we know the Midianite merchants did when they bought Joseph and sold him into Egypt. Others, again, leaving Phœnicia would pass through Damascus, and halting at Palmyra, would strike thence across the desert for the Euphrates, and so find their way to Nineveh and Babylon; while a third party would go Northward, and entering Hamath would turn aside to the land of the Hittites, to Tipsah on the Euphrates, till they came to Armenia and the shores of the Black Sea. Even India was not unvisited, but yielded its quota to their markets. Ingots of gold and bars of silver, rare and precious woods, strange animals, apes and peacocks, spices and perfumes, cloth and tapestries, ivory in the shape of huge elephant tusks, and other trophies, constituted their trade. Nor must we omit slaves, whom they supplied to

¹ Ezech. xxvii. 5-9.

the surrounding countries. Circassia, then as now, yielded a rich harvest in this respect, and the beauty and grace of the Circassian maidens ensured a high price to their Phœnician captors.

And we must not imagine that these great merchants were merely the carriers of other nations. They had their own wares and their own produce to barter. Glass has been claimed as their invention, though this can hardly be, since we find it mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions which date back so early as the fourth and fifth Dynasties. But though we may not cede to the Phœnician the glory of having first invented a commodity without which we should now find life hardly tolerable, we can yet safely and fairly say that in the hands of these unrivalled artists, glass became a medium for obtaining the finest possible results in design and colouring. Certain processes for the production of variegated patterns are said, indeed, to have perished with their inventors, and those who are learned in such matters affirm that the relics of Phœnician glass-work which remain to us, surpass in elegance of design and beauty of colouring the best work of the great Venetian glass-makers. They seem to have possessed certain secrets of their art, which were handed down from generation to generation, and kept as a precious deposit—an heirloom perhaps—in certain families, just as the Scriptoria and colouring-rooms of the monasteries jealously guarded their secret processes and quaint recipes from the vulgar gaze, with the result that no modern art can give us stained glass which for richness of tint and fixedness of colour may vie with the work of our cunning predecessors. For embroidery too and tapestry work, the Phœnician women were famous in Homer's time. The poet often mentions Sidonian work as of an especial value, an offering fit for the gods. Thus Hecuba offers Minerva a garment embroidered by Sidonian women :—

She meanwhile

Her fragrant chamber sought, wherein were stor'd
Rich garments by Sidonian women worked.

Again, the tin which they imported so largely was not

¹ *Iliad*, vi. 334-336 (Earl of Derby's translation).

destined merely for Egypt, nor to fashion weapons of war for the use of their less peaceably-disposed neighbours, for they themselves were expert workers in all kinds of metals, particularly bronze. It might seem from the words of Ezechiel that it was the peculiar province of Carthage to supply Tyre with the various ores required in this branch of the arts. 'The Carthaginians, thy merchants, supplied thy fairs with a multitude of all kind of riches, with silver, iron, tin, and lead.'¹ For a long time the Phœnicians seem to have been the sole providers of bronze implements, and statuary, and ornaments wrought in this metal together with bronze vessels and instruments, were exchanged by them in lands which had not yet emerged from the comparative thralldom of the stone age. Nor were they less expert in carving ivory; and many beautiful examples of their skill in working in this material have been discovered in the islands of the Mediterranean; monuments of their work both in bronze and ivory may be seen in the Vatican at the Louvre.

These commercial instincts of the Phœnicians had two main results. One we have already noticed, viz.: the establishment of a vast naval power, whose rule over the waters was well-nigh despotic; the other, the natural outcome of the former when used by a great trading power, was the gradual formation of a series of colonies at a comparatively short distance from each other, and bound to the mother city by the ties of mutual support, and the bonds of commerce. These colonies were spread over the whole littoral of the Mediterranean, and, though at first merely small trading stations, became in time the nuclei of great cities and commonwealths such as Utica and Carthage. The great work, however, which they achieved, though all unconsciously, was the civilization of the Western world. The spread of the arts which they practised so assiduously, and the gradual diffusion of the more luxurious commodities of life, exerted a softening influence upon the rude nations of the West. Greeks and Romans, Gauls and Britons, all alike came under the sway of these bold sailors and merchants,

¹ Ezech. xxvii. 12.

till bit by bit, first one barrier then another melted away, new modes of thought, new ideas of the good and beautiful replaced the rough and uncouth manners of the inhabitants of the Morea and Italy, preparing them for the day when Rome and Athens, not Thebes or Tyre, Nineveh or Babylon, should be the centre; indeed, disregarding for the moment all supernatural ends, we may look upon this as the special purpose for which the Phœnicians were raised up. What would have become of the arts and treasures of Babylon, Nineveh, Thebes, and Memphis, had not the Tyrian sailors disseminated them abroad? It was through them that the nations dwelling on the Northern coast of Africa or peopling the isles of the Ægean Sea became more amenable to the softening influences of literature and art. Sculpture and architecture, embroidery and weaving, found not only a home among the Phœnicians, as in Egypt and Assyria, but also a ready channel through which they might diffuse themselves abroad amongst the rude and still unpolished peoples of the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, their skill as navigators enabled them to penetrate into portions of the world which had hitherto been unknown to the peoples of the East. For many years, indeed, they had confined themselves to the Mediterranean and to the Red Sea; they seem to have had a strange fear of passing the Pillars of Hercules, and for a long time the rivalry subsisting between Tyre and Carthage prevented the sailors of the former city from prosecuting their efforts in this direction; but their genius for discovery and exploration led them to face dangers, which the mere love of gain could never have overcome, and we find them exploring for a considerable distance along the western coast of Africa, in spite of the rough and heavy seas to which they were probably but little accustomed.

This then was the nation whose future destinies were to be so closely linked with those of the Israelites, and we have given at some length the foregoing account of what we may call their physical and commercial history, because we felt that a knowledge of this lends an additional interest to that portion of their domestic history with which we are immediately concerned.

At the time of the Exodus, the Phœnician towns were evidently at the height of their power; Josue speaks of 'Great Sidon . . . and the strong city of Tyre,'¹ and though these cities were assigned to the tribe of Aser, it seems doubtful whether the latter was not rather subject to his formidable vassals: 'Aser, his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield dainties to kings,'² prophesied Jacob; while Moses said of him: 'Let him dip his foot in oil;'³ words which hardly imply those warlike qualities requisite for the conquest of Tyre and Sidon. The relations subsisting between Phœnicia and Israel are of a very different kind from those which at different times prevailed between the latter country and the surrounding nations. Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, when they interfered in Jewish affairs, were always masters, and always claimed the rights of suzerains over the chosen people. Philistia and Syria, by turns conquerors and conquered, and when conquerors hard taskmasters, were never really subject to the Hebrews; if the latter rallied under some one of their numerous Judges, the invader was merely driven back, the Israelite did not conquer him and sell him into slavery, as they did the peoples of Moab, Ammon, and Midian. These latter, indeed, generally appear in a state of subjection, incomplete indeed, and not inconsistent with a smouldering discontent which showed itself in an occasional raid into their neighbour's territory when bloodshed and rapine marked their route. But of a very different kind was the relationship of Phœnicia to Israel. The former never domineered over the Israelite, nor was she ever his superior. Her influence upon him was of a totally different stamp. Rivalry there must always have been between the two nations, but war was not a Phœnician pastime, nor was territorial aggrandisement her aim. If she warred against Judæa, her caravans might be cut off on their way to Ormuz and Ophir, and her intercourse with Egypt by land might be seriously affected; hence the two peoples remained on friendly terms, at least in outward appearance. But at the bottom of all this external show, there lay, at least on the part of the Phœnicians, a

¹ Jos. xix. 28, 29.² Gen. xlix. 20.³ Deut. xxxiii. 24.

deep-seated hatred which betrayed itself when Jerusalem lay humbled in the dust before Nabuchodonosor. Tyre, though the fallen city's ally against the Babylonian, could ill conceal her joy at the awful destruction of the ill-fated city, and her ill-timed exaltation brought down upon her the terrible denunciation of Ezechiel: 'Because Tyre hath said of Jerusalem: Aha, the gates of the people are broken, she is turned to me; I shall be filled, now she is laid waste: therefore thus saith the Lord . . . she shall be a drying-place for nets in the midst of the sea.'¹ And this hatred cannot have sprung from commercial jealousy; rather the contrary, for Jerusalem bought wealth to Tyre as all the other nations did: 'Juda and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants with the best of corn, they set forth balm and honey and oil and rosin in thy fairs.'²

What, then, was its origin? If we read the Book of Josue attentively we think the clue to this deadly enmity will appear. The Holy Land was promised to the Israelites, with the proviso that they should destroy the Chanaanites from the land, and the Book of Josue is little more than a list of Israelitish successes against them; the abominations practised by these nations had roused the wrath of the Lord, and He had determined to extirpate them; the Israelites, with Josue at their head, were but His humble instruments; and hence He said to them: 'Hear, O Israel: Thou shalt go over the Jordan this day, and shall possess nations very great and stronger than thyself . . . say not in thy heart when the Lord shall have destroyed them in thy sight: For my justice has the Lord brought me in to possess this land, whereas these nations are destroyed for their wickedness. For it is not for thy justice and the uprightness of thy heart, that thou shalt go in to possess their land; but because they have done wickedly they are destroyed at thy coming in.'³ One after another their kings were slain, and their people put to the sword: 'All the kings,' that Josue slew, 'thirty and one.'⁴ And who were these Chanaanites? We saw at the outset that they were

¹ Ez. xxvi. 3-5.² Ez. xxvii. 17.³ Deut. ix. 1-5.⁴ Jos. xii. 24.

one division of that large body which emigrated into Palestine from the shores of the Erythraean Sea. The Phœnicians formed the other division of this body; they settled on the sea-shore between Lebanon and the Mediterranean, while their companions chose the plain for their dwelling, and were cut off by the sword of the Hebrews. Thus the Chanaanites whom Josue slew were own brothers to the Phœnicians.

Now we see the cause of the hatred which rankled under the external friendliness of the Tyrian and the Jew. Though the Phœnicians had themselves escaped, yet the fear of the Hebrews had fallen upon them as upon all the other nations: 'Now when all the kings of the Amorrites, who dwelt beyond the Jordan westward, and all the kings of Chanaan who possessed the places near the great sea, heard that the Lord had dried up the waters of the Jordan before the children of Israel, till they passed over, their hearts failed them, and there remained no spirit in them, fearing the coming in of the children of Israel.'¹ The roving tribes of the desert were then as now the carriers and postmen of the country. Here to-day, there to-morrow, coming and going mysteriously, living from hand to mouth, and shifting their quarters according to the supply of forage and water, they made themselves acquainted with everything that was doing, and we can well believe that the news thus transmitted from one scout to another, and passed on from camp to camp and from tribe to tribe, was strangely distorted by the time it had gone the round. The Amalecite would hear, as he hung upon the skirts of the wearied bands, how the Hebrews had been fed miraculously with bread which came down from heaven; he would hear of waters gushing from a rock in a place which he had always known to be parched and arid, but which now tempts him to give its fortunate possessors battle, and claim it for his own; while lastly, some straggler would tell him of the marvellous scenes on Mount Sinai, and of the promises made to the people; they were going to claim a land which they said

¹ Jos. v. 1.

was theirs by right of promise from God ; they were to drive out and put to the sword all its occupants, because they had offended against that same God, and their coming was to be the signal for fear and horror and dread which should fall upon all their foes. Thus would the tale pass like lightning from mouth to mouth, growing daily with each successive victory gained by the Israelites. 'I know,' said Rahab, 'that the Lord hath given this land to you : for the dread of you has fallen upon us and all the inhabitants of the land have lost all strength.'¹ And as the list of the slaughtered kings and pillaged towns daily swelled ; as the danger and the terror came nearer to Phœnicia ; as they heard of now one familiar tribe, now another, falling into the hands of the invader, how deadly a hatred, begotten of fear, would they conceive for this seemingly ruthless destroyer whose power was evidently supernatural, whose sword seemed to know no dulness, whose heart no pity ; who slew women and children like sheep and oxen, who levelled towns to the ground after one day's siege, or blew his trumpets and gained an entrance into the city over its prostrate wall.

But Josue's successes came to an end at last ; the want of rest and repose, the hitherto unknown joys of a country flowing with milk and honey enervated the Israelites, and they settled down to the enjoyments of their new possession ere their work was completed. The Chanaanite by the sea-shore had escaped his doom, and henceforward was to dwell side by side with the destroyer of his brethren. Generation after generation would pass away, but can we think that the story of that night of horror would fade from the Phœnician heart ? 'Who are the Israelites ?' would the Phœnician child ask. And the answer would be the oft-told tale of the Exodus, of the crossing of the Jordan, and of the slaughter of the tribes ; garnished it would be, doubtless, with strange and fanciful additions, but still a tale sufficient to kindle the flame of hatred in the Phœnician heart, sufficient to make the Tyrian of many years after rejoice in the fall of Jerusalem. A contributor to Kitto's *Biblical Encyclopædia*

¹ Jos. ii. 9.

mentions a Phœnician inscription which runs as follows: 'We are those who fled before the face of Joshua the robber the son of Nun.' Another inscription is given by Suidas: 'We are the Canaanites whom Joshua the robber persecuted.' There seems to be some doubt regarding the authenticity of the latter; but even so, the two are interesting as bearing witness to the reality of the terror inspired by the Israelite invasion, a terror which was, doubtless, part of the punishments intended for them by Almighty God as a penalty for their crying offences.

And now Phœnicia has a part to play: 'An angel of the Lord went up from Galgal to the Place of Weepers, and said, I made you go out of Egypt, and have brought you into the land for which I swore to your fathers; and I promised that I would not void my covenant with you for ever, on condition that you should not make a league with the inhabitants of this land, but should throw down their altars; and you would not hear my voice. Why have you done this? Wherefore I would not destroy them from before your face, that you may have enemies, and their gods may be your ruin.'¹ Phœnicia was to be a thorn in the side of Israel, an instrument in the Lord's hands, slowly but surely working out the punishment which His erring people had incurred. It was not to be by force of arms; it was not to be by intriguing against her with foreign enemies; it was not to be by cutting off her supplies, or by destroying her trade with the surrounding nations; it was not to be by harassing guerilla warfare; but it was to be by the consuming canker-worm of idolatry, the seeds of which they planted in the Israelitish heart. Though it is certain that all the surrounding nations had contributed their share towards the corruption of Israel, whose children had been initiated into the rites of innumerable strange gods, yet to none was this leavening with heathen superstitions so directly due as to the Tyrians and Sidonians. They thus revenged themselves upon the destroyers of their brethren; but they were the all-unconscious instruments of the offended God of Israel. He had put life and death before

¹ Judges ii. 1-3.

them: 'I call heaven and earth to witness this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing. Choose, therefore, life that both thou and thy seed may live.'¹ And they chose death.

How, then, was this brought about? Shortly after the fall of Sidon, which we have described as taking place in the year 1209 B.C., the Phœnician towns entered into an offensive and defensive alliance against the Philistines. Of this league Tyre gradually assumed the hegemony, a position which she was to retain for many years to come. It is from this time that her influence upon Israel dates. In the year 1015 B.C., when Solomon was preparing to carry out his father David's behest, and build the temple so long promised to the Lord, he made a commercial treaty with Hiram, King of Tyre, who had been a friend of his father and himself, sought this alliance with Solomon.² Perhaps he was led to this by the increased power of Israel, for Solomon's dominions now entered from Ailath on the Red Sea to Tipsah on the Euphrates, and the kingdom was at the height of its commercial fame and military renown. For the Phœnicians, however, the strip of land constituting Phœnicia proper was sufficient: the seas were their inheritance, and their indifference to territorial possessions in Palestine was shown by Hiram's disregard for the gift which Solomon made him in return for his assistance in the building of the temple. The king offered him twenty cities in Galilee, but when the Tyrian monarch came to look at them, 'they pleased him not, and he called them the land of Cabul (displeasure) unto this day.'³ A cursory reading of the Third Book of Kings might tempt us to think very little of this famous friendship as affecting the future of Israel, but readers of the Bible must have been struck by the seemingly sudden and inexplicable reversion of the people to idolatry at the mere call of Jeroboam; and, perhaps, the clue is to be sought in this friendly alliance between Solomon and Hiram. First of all we are told that over one hundred and eighty thousand men were employed

¹ Deut. xxx. 19.
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² 3 Kings v. 1.

³ 3 Kings ix. 12, 13.

in the forests of Lebanon, cutting down trees and hewing stones for the intended building; and as Solomon was occupied in building during the best part of his reign of thirty-nine years, we can safely assign twenty-five years as the period during which this fellowship lasted. Besides this we read of united fleets of the two nations trading in the Red Sea, and even visiting Tharsis together;² and further, Phœnician and Jewish tradition have it that Solomon at this time married one of Hiram's daughters. Does not such an intimacy as this explain the ready response to Jeroboam's call? Nay, was not this apostacy the natural result of so deep and so persistent a leavening with idolatrous notions and superstitions?

The curse comes upon King Solomon because he has worshipped Astarte, the goddess of the Sidonians; adversaries are raised up against him, and the end of his reign is sorrow and affliction. Meanwhile Hiram dies, and a period of wild anarchy succeeds. Usurper after usurper strives to establish a new dynasty in Tyre, until at last Ethbaal, priest of Astarte, places himself upon the throne, and succeeds in transmitting it to his son. Juda and Israel too are torn asunder, and living at feud with one another; Jeroboam dies, and after some years there succeeds to the throne of Samaria a man whose wickedness was to surpass even Jeroboam's: 'Achab, the son of Amri, did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him.'³ The advent of Achab marks the flood-tide of Phœnician influence over Israel. He cemented the already existing alliance with Tyre by marrying the impious Jezabel, daughter of Ethbaal, and from that time onward his career was one of crime and idolatry, than which, excepting, perhaps, that of Manasses, we have none worse depicted for us in the pages of Scripture. 'He did more to provoke the Lord, the God of Israel, than all the kings that were before him.'⁴ And so universal was the idolatry which these two companions in iniquity encouraged by their example, that the Prophet Elias, who seems to have been especially raised up to combat their evil influence, could cry

¹ 3 Kings v. 13, 16.

² 3 Kings ix. 27, and x. 22.

³ 3 Kings xvi. 30.

⁴ 3 Kings xvi. 33.

to the Lord: 'The children of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant, they have destroyed Thy altars, they have slain Thy prophets with the sword, and I alone am left, and they seek my life to take it away.'¹

And what was this idolatry which exercised so peculiar a fascination for the Israelites? Was it connected with a ritual more gorgeous or more marvellous than that of the law? Was it more joyous in its celebration, or better calculated to appeal to the senses than the religion of Jehovah? With our tastes and ideas so different from those of the Jews of old, it is hard, perhaps, to give an absolutely fair answer to this question, but from the little we know of the Phœnician religion we should be inclined to give a decidedly negative reply. Baal-worship means the worship of Baalim or Gods, for Baal is a Hebrew word meaning 'master,' and each god was a master or Baal in the sense that each ruled in his own particular sphere of influence. This sphere of influence is sometimes philosophical, sometimes religious, but more often merely local. Hence we hear of Baal-Phegor, Baal-Tsour (Tyre), Baal-Sidon, and even of Baal-Zebub (the Lord of Flies). All these Baalim were, however, but personifications of one Primordial Deity, who at Tyre was known under the name of Melkarth. This name Lemormant thinks to be merely a corruption of מלך-ערת, Melek-Erath, the king or Baal of the city. Melkarth retains this name merely as the tutelar deity of the city, but according as he assumes other functions so he assumes other names, and we hear of Baal-Chon (the Lord of Life), and of the awful Baal-Moloch (the Lord of Destruction). The rites and ceremonies of this Baal-worship seem, with few exceptions to have been of a very gloomy description. Fanaticism and superstition were the order of the day, and, as we see in the contest between Elias and the prophets of Baal, the latter's votaries were compelled to cut themselves severely, while many of the gods were thought to demand from their devout clients frequent and terrible scourgings.

¹ 3 Kings xix. 14.

One rite, however, stands out from amidst the surrounding gloom, and excites our attention by the poetical myth with which it is connected. Famous amongst the sidereal gods of the Phœnicians stands Adonis or Thammuz. According to the legend, he is beloved by the goddess known as Baalith; but at the end of spring, when summer killed the spring, Adonis was slain, funeral gatherings took place, women wept, and lamented for Adonis, and offered funeral baked meats to the goddess until the god was brought back to life. Again he died in the autumn, when the autumn killed the summer, and at this season, in order to aid the people in their fantastic devotions, the priests took advantage of a curious phenomenon, frequently observable during the year, but more especially during autumn: for then the rivers were at flood, and, charged with the rich red soil of the hill country, poured their seemingly blood-stained waters into the sea, tinging the azure waves of the Mediterranean with blood, for many miles down the coast. This was the blood of Adonis, and consequently lamentations for his untimely fate occupied the time of flood, till the waters at the river's mouth regained their normal colour, and the priests declared that the god had risen again and rejoined his bride. Upon this announcement a scene of licentious revelry replaced the gloomy celebrations of the preceding days, and the whole country round was given up to orgies of the wildest and most revolting description. Such was the story of Adonis, and the ceremonies connected with his worship are alluded to by the prophet Ezechiel: 'And he said to me, If thou turn thee again, thou shalt see greater abominations which these commit. And he brought me in by the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which looked to the north; and behold women sat there mourning for Adonis.'¹ But this legend, which has some of the glamour of poetic imagery thrown around it, stands out by the way of contrast with the surrounding abominations. Fire was supposed to be the principle of many of their deities, and hence arose the

¹ Ezech. viii. 13, 14.

awful sacrifice to Moloch, which Milton so powerfully describes :—

First Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears,
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol.

It is awful to think that so hideous an idol should ever have reared its ghastly head near to God's temple in Jerusalem !

This, then, was the gloomy religion which the Phœnicians, combined indeed with other nations, introduced into Israel ; and it is hard to understand how so awful, so depressing, and so licentious a form of worship can ever have taken hold of a religious-minded people like the Hebrews. Terrible indeed was the denunciation fulminated by the Lord against the guilty couple who had led all Israel astray : ' And of Jezabel also the Lord spoke, saying : The dogs shall eat Jezabel also, in the field of Jesrahel. If Achab die in the city, the dogs shall eat him ; but if he die in the field, the birds of the air shall eat him. Now, there was not such another as Achab, who was sold to do evil in the sight of the Lord, for his wife Jezabel set him on.'¹ But the evil was not to cease with them. If Israel was steeped in Baal-worship ; Juda had as yet escaped comparatively unscathed, though tainted, indeed, by the idolatry introduced by Solomon. But in an evil day, Joram, the son of Josaphat married the daughter of Achab and Jezabel.² He was headstrong and wilful, but Jezabel's daughter had inherited all her mother's wickedness, and, if possible, a double share of her strength of character. In both these daughters of Tyre we see the same domination over their husbands : the weak Achab was led on by Jezabel, the headstrong Joram was ruled by Athalia : ' He walked in the ways of the kings of Israel as the house of Achab had done, for his wife was a daughter of Achab, and he did evil in the sight of the Lord.'³ Baal-worship is established, the temple is profaned, the sacrifice ceases, the whole land groans under the curse of

¹ 3 Kings xxi. 23-25.

² 4 Kings viii. 18.

³ 2 Paralip. xxi. 6.

idolatry. But worse is to follow, Joram dies and is succeeded by Ochozias his son. 'He also walked in the ways of the house of Achab, for his mother pushed him on to do wickedly.' He, however, met his death at the hands of the Syrians; and his mother, worthy daughter of Jezabel, added to the already long list of her crimes by a butchery which has but few rivals in the blood-stained history of oriental despotism.² 'Athalia, his mother, seeing that her son was dead, rose up and killed all the royal family of the house of Joram.' She then established herself upon the throne, and for six years was free to indulge her idolatrous tastes till she met her well-merited death at the hands of Joiada, the High Priest, who had sheltered Joas, the son of Ochozias, when he escaped the slaughter of his brethren.³ Such were the evils which this Tyrian alliance had brought upon the chosen people. The curse, as foretold long ago, had come upon them:—'If you will embrace the errors of these nations that dwell among you, and make marriages with them, and join friendships; know ye for a certainty that the Lord your God will not destroy them before your face, but they shall be a pit and a snare in your way, and a stumbling-block at your side, and stakes in your eyes, till He take you away and destroy you from off this excellent land which He hath given you.'⁴ The day of retribution was coming on apace. The second Assyrian Empire was daily gathering strength, Salmanaser and Sargon would soon be before the walls of Samaria; the terrible name of Sennacherib would soon strike terror to the heart of Ezechias, and Jerusalem was preparing for Nabuchodonosor and Babylon.

To return to the history of Tyre. From the fall of Sidon, in 1209 B.C., to the foundation of Carthage, in 872 B.C., may be reckoned the period of Tyre's greatest glory. But just as Sidon yielded to the growing importance of her daughter, so Tyre, in turn, paled before the splendour of Carthage. The history of the foundation of Carthage is briefly as follows: King Ethbaal, as we have seen, had succeeded in founding a dynasty which endured for four generations. The

¹2 Paralip. xxii. 3.

²2 Paralip. xxii. 10.

³2 Paralip. xxiii. 16.

⁴ Jos. xxii. 12, 13.

third of these was that of Mathan, who died leaving two children, Pūmelioun and Elissar: the former is better known as Pygmalion, the latter as the famous Dido of the *Aeneid*. Their father had wished them to reign conjointly, but this the democratic party in the state refused to allow, and seated Pygmalion on the throne to the exclusion of his sister. The latter married, but her husband was shortly afterwards slain by her brother's orders, and Elissar, in fear of a like fate, fled with great numbers of the aristocratic party to Cambe in Africa. Cambe had been founded a few years before by Sidon, but was as yet undeveloped owing to the flourishing condition of the neighbouring Tyrian colony of Utica; it was now, however, to be changed into the historical city of Carthage, which name is probably a corruption of עיר החדש—New City. From this time Tyre's importance gradually waned: she was still rich and opulent for many years, but Carthage was a rival power in the heart of her colonies.

Hitherto the only troubles which we have seen interfering with the happiness and prosperity of Phœnicia have been either periods of revolution and anarchy amongst themselves, or occasional predatory incursions on the part of the Philistines. With the Egyptians the Phœnicians always managed to remain at peace, even when the former marched year by year through Palestine to fight against the warlike Hittites on the Orontes; for they never despised the easy though ignoble means of pacifying such formidable foes, and prompt submission with large payments from their treasury always enabled them to rest in security. But a power now comes upon the scene which is to change the destinies of the nations. About the year 900 B.C. the kingdom of Assyria awoke from the state of lethargy in which it had so long lain, and its kings began a career of conquest which lasted for close upon three hundred years. Year after year the barbarian monarch would cross the Euphrates at the head of his army and direct his steps to Syria or Palestine or Asia Minor. Towns were burned and pillaged, cities levelled to the ground, and whole peoples carried off into a cruel captivity. About the year 880 B.C., Assurnazipal,

the reigning monarch, turned his attention to Phœnicia and exacted a heavy tribute from the cities of the district in silver and gold, steel and bronze, besides implements of iron, curious woods and rich stuffs. From that time till the end of the Assyrian Empire, Phœnicia was forced to acknowledge its sovereignty, with the exception of one short interval; and when Nineveh crumbled away, its place as the 'hammer of nations,' was taken by Babylon, whose king, Nabuchodonosor, wreaked a fearful vengeance upon the luckless Tyre for refusing to pay the tribute yearly demanded of her. From the year 720 B.C. the history of Tyre is practically the history of her sieges; and perhaps no city in the world, not even excepting Troy, ever endured such terrible blockades or defied for so many years the efforts of a beleaguering army. In that same year, 720 B.C., the famous Sargon appeared before the city walls. The other Phœnician cities, and even Palae-Tyrus itself, the portion of the city which stood upon the mainland, bowed before the invader, and even helped him in his assault upon the island citadel. Perhaps the reason of this defection may be sought in the hegemony of Tyre: she may, as head of the league, have exacted a deference and submission which galled upon the neighbouring towns. But, though everywhere else successful, and fresh from the storming of Samaria, which his predecessor Salmanasar had been besieging for nearly three years, Sargon was not so successful here. For five years his armies encompassed the beleaguered city, but the island-fortress defied all his efforts, and the baffled monarch was at length compelled to draw off his forces and retire discomfited. A few years afterwards, however, the city succumbed before the terrible Sennacherib, who stormed the city in the year 700 B.C. Elouli, the same king who had so successfully withstood Sargon twenty years before, threw himself into his citadel, and prepared to defend it with the same vigour as he had shown against his assailant's father; but the assault of Sennacherib overwhelmed him, and the unhappy island was compelled to surrender. Sidon, as soon as the avenger had departed, claimed the hegemony which she had lost more than six hundred years before, and after a few years

she ventured to refuse the annual tribute demanded by the Assyrian Court; but the reigning monarch, Assurbanipal, stormed the town and decimated the inhabitants.

But Tyre, though beaten, was not destroyed. She still retained her fleet, and Sennacherib would seem to have treated her with leniency. Her trade and her wealth remained to her, and she pursued her commerce beyond the seas with the same ardour as before. Yet the end of her disasters had not come, she had still to endure a siege which surpassed all its predecessors in severity. The despotism of Nineveh had been succeeded by that of Babylon, and from the year 609 to 588 B.C. the Chaldeans kept up a continual succession of incursions into Palestine; until finally, in 588, they took Jerusalem, and carried its inhabitants into captivity. Jerusalem had leagued with Egypt and Tyre against the oppressors, and Nabuchodonosor was bent on the destruction of the coalition. As soon, therefore, as he had crushed Judæa, he turned his arms against Tyre. Ezechiel had prophesied the siege with all its horrors, for Tyre had rejoiced at her rival's fall, and therefore the wrath of God was directed against her: 'Behold, I will bring against Tyre, Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, the king of kings. . . . and he shall set engines of war and battering-rams against thy walls, and shall destroy thy towers with his arms . . . with the hoofs of his horses he shall tread down all thy streets; thy people he shall kill with the sword, and thy famous statues shall fall to the ground. They shall waste thy riches, they shall make a spoil of thy merchandise; and they shall destroy thy walls, and pull down thy fine houses; and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the waters.'¹ For thirteen years the hapless city resisted all the efforts of the besiegers, but the end came at last. According to ecclesiastical historians Nabuchodonosor succeeded in taking the city in the year 574 B.C.; but Chaldean accounts, which the Greek historians follow, say that the mighty Assyrian found the task beyond his power, and had to retire from before the walls as Sargon had

¹ Ezech. xxvi. 7-12.

done more than one hundred years before. Ezechiel, however, distinctly prophesied the capture of the city by Nabuchodonosor, as we have seen, and St. Jerome states it explicitly in his introduction to his commentary upon that prophet. At the same time it may be pointed out, that one passage in Ezechiel would seem to imply that the city was taken after all by the Assyrian monarch: 'Son of man, Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, hath made his army to undergo hard service against Tyre; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled; and there hath been no reward given him nor his army for Tyre, for the service that he had rendered me against it.'¹ It is quite certain that Nabuchodonosor would not have in any way spared the city or its unfortunate inhabitants if he had once penetrated within its walls after such a lengthy and exhausting siege; and hence it may be well supposed that the city was so impoverished as to afford little or no booty to the expectant soldiery.

It has been even suggested that an earthquake resulting in the total, or at least partial submersion of the city, similar to that which took place in the year 1837, bore an important part in the reduction of the place; and certainly the prophet's words would seem to bear this out: 'For thus saith the Lord God, when I shall make thee a desolate city, like the cities that are not inhabited, and shall bring the deep upon thee, and many waters shall cover thee;' ² and again: 'Now thou art destroyed by the sea, thy riches are at the bottom of the waters, and all the multitude in the midst of thee is fallen.'³ This would explain why Tyre yielded no reward to Nabuchodonosor—'thy riches are at the bottom of the waters.' But Ezechiel's prophecy does not end with the capture of the city by the Assyrian, as St. Jerome seems to have expected, when he remarked with astonishment, that in his days, Tyre, in seeming defiance of the prophet, was the most beautiful city in Phœnicia. The destruction of the city by the sea may be only now accomplished, and certainly, in spite of her reverses, Tyre seemed possessed of a hydra-like vitality which only the incursion of the sea could crush. In the year 538 B.C., she came under the Persian domination,

¹ Ezech. xxiv. 18.² Ezech. xxvi. 19.³ Ezech. xxvii. 34.

and though possessing only a shadow of her former greatness, she was still comparatively free and wealthy; she even ventured to rebel against Xerxes when he wasted the Phœnician fleet in his attack upon Greece; but the Persian despot at once crushed the revolt and punished the city, Sidon, which had joined with Tyre, suffering severely. Two hundred years later we find the indomitable city ready to stand another historical siege at the hands of Alexander. He succeeded in taking the stronghold by filling up the intervening sea with a gigantic mole; he then garrisoned it with a body of Carian soldiery, who made such good use of the immense strength of its naturally impregnable position, that eighteen years later it was hotly besieged and equally stoutly defended by Alexander's rival generals. From this time we hear but little of Tyre till the time of our Lord. But how sad a change is revealed by St. Luke's words in the Acts! How terrible a fall! How awful a fulfilment of the prophecy! Accustomed to domineer over Jerusalem and the neighbouring cities, the canker-worm of pride had eaten its way into her heart: 'Thy heart was lifted up with thy beauty; thou hast lost thy wisdom in thy beauty;' ¹ the prince of Tyre had said: 'I am God, and I sit in the chair of God in the heart of the sea,' ² but now he hails his Idumean conqueror with fulsome praise: 'It is the voice of a god.' ³

And so the glory of Tyre gradually waned. In the time of the Crusaders it lived to endure yet another siege, but has since dwindled away, till, in the year 1837, it was almost completely submerged by the inrush of the sea consequent upon an earthquake. Some forty years ago but little remained beyond a few scattered fishermen's huts, whose owners unconsciously fulfilled the ancient prophecy: 'She shall be a drying-place for nets in the midst of the sea, because I have spoken it, saith the Lord God.' ⁴ 'What city is like Tyre, which is become silent in the midst of the sea?' ⁵

HUGH POPE, O.P.

¹ Ezech. xxviii. 17.

² Ezech. xxviii. 2.

³ Acts. xii. 22.

⁴ Ezech. xxvi. 5.

⁵ Ezech. xxvii. 32.

THE ORIGIN AND CONSERVATION OF MOTION¹

WHAT a grand idea of motion must arise in the mind of a man who watches the sun and the innumerable other orbs in the heavens and fancies that all are revolving round him ! But cruel astronomy tells him that, though magnificent, it is all a dream ; that it is he that moves with the earth while it spins round on its axis ; and that the apparent motion of the heavenly bodies is, consequently, a mere illusion. One solid fact, however, he has got : the earth moves on its axis. Other real motions, also, he may find in sufficient abundance to enable him to paint anew, as it were, a lasting picture of far greater grandeur than the one that was shattered. The earth, in company with the other planets, moves round the sun ; and it is not unlikely that the solar system is only a unit in a grand sidereal or cosmic system revolving round some undiscovered centre. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are violent motions and proofs of more violent motion in the earth's interior. And on the earth's crust what an amount of motion is discernible ! The restless waves and the resistless tides show forth most convincingly the motion of the illimitable sea. What a cycle of motion there is in the water that rises in vapour from the ocean, falls in soft flakes of beautiful crystals on the ground, is melted, and again carried off to its source ! The storm that dashes the angry breakers against the rocky shore, and the cyclone that tears up trees and overthrows houses in its course, proclaim that there can be considerable motion even in the impalpable air. In the vegetable world what an amount of motion there is in the unceasing production and decaying of plants ! What a flow of motion there is in the springtime, and what an

¹ *Motion : Its Origin and Conservation.* An Essay by the Rev. Walter McDonald, D.D., Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Browne & Nolan, Ltd., Nassau-street, Dublin.

ebb in the autumn! Who can count the motions, or even varieties of motions, of animals? And, then, in each animal and plant there is another cycle of motion from the time matter is taken in as food until it is discharged as waste. All this science tells to the disillusioned star-gazer, as if to compensate him for the vision of glory she dashed from him. She tells him, moreover, that the several chemical and physical phenomena of gravitation, electricity, and the rest, are all modes of motion, and that even the most unsuspected and quiescent particles of matter are simply seething with motion. And, above and beyond all, there is the motion of man, who not only moves, but is master of his motion. Everywhere and in everything motion may be discerned. What is the nature and origin of motion, and how is it kept on? These are the main questions discussed in the volume under review.

It must not be supposed that Dr. McDonald's book is a condensation of the various physical treatises, with a little metaphysics thrown in to give consistency, and that consequently one need only obey the index to find a convenient explanation of any physical phenomenon such as capillary attraction or the Röntgen rays. Motion, in general, is the subject of the essay, not the particular kinds of motion. These, however, are frequently referred to either as illustrations or to serve as the basis of an argument. The term motion has two meanings. In its wider sense it means any change of state or condition; in its stricter and ordinary sense it means merely change of place. As all other motions are either founded on or analogous to local motion, the consideration of the latter alone is regarded as of fundamental importance. Accordingly the author restricts the inquiry; though, indeed, as may be expected, he frequently passes the bounds he has set himself.

How, then, is motion to be accounted for? To answer this question two theories are propounded—the dynamic and the kinetic. It would be a mistake to assume that these names are well known in the schools, and that a formal comparison of their merits is to be found in every hand-book of scholastic philosophy. Dr. McDonald, in

contrasting them, has, to a large extent, broken new ground. He has, at all events, given a name to the theory he advocates. This theory he outlined in a paper read at the International Catholic Scientific Congress, held at Freiburg last August. After the newspaper accounts appeared he had ample reason to complain, with Mr. Balfour, that the title of his essay had attracted more notice than the contents. Everybody was inquiring what a *kinetic theory of activity* meant. One curious wight from the antipodes even went so far as to ask: 'Who was Kinetic?' The reprint of the paper in the October issue of the I. E. RECORD disclosed to the lonely traveller and all other inquirers the inmost nature of the kinetic theory.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat here the expositions of the rival theories. The question at issue is: Is there in nature, corresponding to the idea of force, an active capacity not merely notionally, but really distinct, on the one hand, from the motion it causes, and, on the other hand, from the substance and its quality? All Catholic philosophers, except, perhaps, a few followers of Descartes, agree that substance, qualities, and motion have a real existence. The only controversy is about the existence of 'force.'

In writing this essay Dr. McDonald had two objects in view. He wished, of course, to prove that the kinetic theory is true; but his primary object was to show, that it is not opposed to Catholic teaching; and that, consequently, the door of the Church is not to be shut against men of science who are driven, or fancy they are driven, by scientific investigations to hold that there is no such thing as force. There is, unfortunately, too great a tendency to brand with some severe censure all with whom we cannot agree. The stern legislation of the Church is an indication of the extent to which this tendency prevailed even in the holy men who carried on the controversy *De Auxiliis*. Whether Dr. McDonald has proved his theory or not, he has shown, at least, that it is not uncatholic, and that anyone who will be censured for holding it will suffer in excellent company; for, by an examination of several passages from Aristotle and St. Thomas,

he shows, that the great masters of philosophy did not believe in the existence of a reality called force. Clearly the passages cannot be cited and examined here. One extract, however, must not be omitted. It is the distinction of Ferrariensis which is so useful in explaining and defending the kinetic theory:—

God causes the act of the will immediately with an immediateness of virtue, but not with an immediateness of *supposit*, as has been already shown with regard to the other faculties. On the other hand, the will causes the same volition immediately with an immediateness of *supposit*, but not with an immediateness of virtue.

Some persons may be tempted to despise Ferrariensis as an obscure theologian; but the present Supreme Pontiff commends him specially as a channel through which the pure stream of St. Thomas's doctrine is transmitted to succeeding generations. The above extract is found in page 70; the preceding page contains the same truth worded differently by St. Thomas himself. The distinction made by Ferrariensis is so clear, to anyone who knows the meaning of the technical philosophical terms employed, that explanation is unnecessary. His manifest meaning is, that just as God creates the substance and its faculty, so, too He puts into them the motion in virtue of which the substance is moving. The actual motion, then, is immediately from God and the creature, but with the difference already indicated. Fr. Dummermuth's attempt to explain the distinction from a dynamist's point of view only strengthens one's convictions that Ferrariensis clearly believed in the truth of the kinetic theory. From the testimony of the physical experts and witnesses cited in the seventh chapter, even dynamists ought to be convinced that, at least, modern scientists are against them. The word 'force' is almost banished already from scientific terminology, and 'potential energy' is fast sharing the same fate. The undoubted tendency is to reduce all physical activity to kinetic energy, or energy of motion. Hence Dr. McDonald has done good service in informing men of science, that they are merely returning to the

teaching of the Angelic Doctor; and that, accordingly, even the most conscientious Catholic scientist may pursue his investigations on these lines without fear of incurring theological censure.

Apart from the weight of authority, ancient, mediæval, and modern, in favour of the kinetic theory, there is a great profusion of what may be called intrinsic arguments scattered throughout the essay. The publication of some of these reasons in the Freiburg paper makes it unnecessary to advance proof here, except for form's sake.

In the first place, then, the very simplicity of the kinetic theory ought to recommend it considerably, especially to those who respect the principle of parcimony, or 'Ockham's razor,' as it is sometimes called: 'Beings are not to be multiplied beyond necessity.' Unless the existence of a being is evident to some one of our faculties, it must be proved; and unless valid proof be forthcoming nobody ought to assert that the being exists. Now, force is surely of this class. None of our faculties tells us of its existence. Its ardent advocates may be beguiled into the belief that consciousness is a witness in its behalf; but they are mistaken. Its existence, then, must be proved; a case must be made out in its favour. To establish the kinetic theory one has only to rebut that case.

Dynamists would say that if there is nothing in the acting agent but its substance and faculty, created by God, and its motion, infused by God, occasionalism must be admitted, and the freedom of the human will cannot be defended; and, consequently, there is a manifest necessity for something in addition, namely, force. In reply it is urged that the admission of force militates very strongly against one of the most important dogmas in theology, namely, the universality of the immediate Divine concurrence with second or created causes in their actions. Thus though introduced for the purpose of smoothing away difficulties, it is naughty enough to excite new troubles. Is not semi-pelagianism as false as occasionalism? Moreover, the charges against the kinetic theory cannot be sustained; for according to that theory bodies really act efficiently, and

man may act freely. As an agent exists by the being God has given it, why may it not act by the motion God has given it? We get our bodies and souls from God, yet we call them our own. The motion, too, that God gives us we may call our own. Hence as we truly are, we truly act. Where, then, is the occasionalism or the Calvinism? One may be assisted in forming a judgment in this matter by reflecting on the distinction of Ferrariensis, and by meditating on the words of St. Paul, Phil. ii. 13, "For it is God who worketh in you both to will and to accomplish according to *His* will."

The charge of destruction of human liberty is equally unfounded. What is required for liberty? In this case, as in the case of force, consciousness may, like a most obliging witness, give, or appear to give, information suggested by the questioner. Hence we ought to be on our guard. From a consideration of the free act of the will we might easily be led to believe in the existence of a cluster of subsidiary acts, and from frequently thinking over them we may be convinced that consciousness testifies to their actual existence. May it not be that the charge of destruction of liberty that is levelled against the kinetic theory is based on a misleading analysis of the free act itself? What, as a matter of fact, is required for liberty? Is not the agent acting freely when at each moment of his action he may cease to act? If that be so, the kinetic theory certainly does not clash with the doctrine of human liberty. Minor counts in the indictment against it may be easily disposed of. Where, then, is the necessity for this mysterious entity called force? Notwithstanding all its persistence, it does not stand the application of the old Franciscan's 'razor.'

In proving and rendering intelligible the received doctrine of the positive conservation of all things by the Creator, the kinetic theory has a great advantage over its rival. One of its upholders would have no difficulty in giving the desired reply to the question of St. Paul (1 Cor. iv.) : 'What hast thou that thou hast not received?' A reservation need not be made in favour of the actual exercise of that active capacity called force. An examination of the Divine

concurrence, too, is rendered less perplexing when one is spared the necessity of inquiring how God immediately concurs with the creature in that something, whatever it is, contributed by that same active capacity.

The only other argument that need be discussed is the argument from resistance. The argument is given at length in the October number. The reasons given, together with the authority of Aristotle, St. Thomas, and Suarez, ought to place beyond doubt the proposition that resistance is due, not to motion, but to absence of motion; so that, if a body were perfectly immovable, it would offer absolute resistance. How, then, can resistance be a force? Just imagine the very perfection of active capacity exerting all its energy in doing absolutely nothing!

But someone may say Dr. McDonald's argument was wide of the mark. Formal resistance clearly is not a force; dynamists could not say that; they can only mean that the complex phenomenon—the rebound—is caused by force. Let us summon as a witness Father Tillman Pesch, one of the most recent and most outspoken of the dynamists. In the *Institutiones Philosophiæ Naturales*, vol. i., n. 69, this *scholion* is found:—

All forces of (inorganic) bodies are conveniently reduced to three: *sistive force* (cohesion, expansion, resistance, elasticity, repulsion), *conserving force* (inertia, reactio), *communicative force* (chemical affinity, attraction, impulsion).¹

This evidence of Father Pesch, this enumeration of resistance, cohesion, and elasticity, as three distinct forces, drives home and clinches, as it were, Dr. McDonald's argument.

Almost innumerable points in the essay call for special notice. There is scarcely an interesting question in theology, philosophy, or what some persons would call the philosophy of physics, that is not referred to. A volume would be required for even a brief survey of them all. Only a few can be selected, and the consideration of these must be very meagre.

¹ Schol. 2. Omnes vires corporum (anorganicorum) ad tres apte revocantur *vim sistivam* (cohesio, expansio, resistentia, elasticitas, repulsio), *vim conservativam* (inertia, reactio), *vim communicativam* (affinitas chimica, attractio, impulsio).

Theological questions, such as the physical causality of the sacraments, may be left to theologians. To them, too, may be entrusted an appropriate response to the strictures passed in the 8th chapter, especially on moral theologians, for their treatment of that "most shamefully ill-used" word, occasion. The ultimate explanation of motion—God creates a body now, now, &c., or here, here, &c., in adjacent moments or places, as it were—seems to reduce motion to mere resultance. This conclusion, however, is not the genuine view of the author, for he repeatedly insists on the reality of motion—the 'form in flux' of St. Thomas.

His notion of moral causes, and the explanation of physical phenomena that arises from that notion, are, to say the least, wonderfully novel. According to the ordinary acceptation of the term a moral cause is one that causes an effect through the medium of the *free-will* of another agent, *i.e.*, by persuading, threatening, or otherwise inducing a *free* agent to produce the effect. In Dr. McDonald's view anything that may have a *right* may be a moral cause, and everything, and perhaps even nothing, may have a right. An example from page 230 will make the view and its application clearer. The question is—how is the reflection of light to be explained?—

We find . . . it is a question of right. Now, of these rights there are two: one in the vibrating ether to continue to exist somewhere; the other in the mirror, to exclude the ether from its place. . . . (God) is bound to act in such a manner as will secure to both substances the rights He gave to each.

In the next page he explains this seemingly ridiculous use of the term right:—

Conservation is *natural*, and therefore *due*, in some way, even to brute matter. . . . If a vibration or a mirror may have something *due* to it, it has the same thing undoubtedly in some way as its *right*.

Even granting the lawfulness of using the term right in this sense, what does the explanation of the phenomenon amount to? Simply this:—It is natural to the ray of light to go on in its course: it is natural to the mirror to block the way; hence God must reflect the ray of light. Not

merely that, but God sends back the ray of light in such a manner that the incident and reflected ray have a common plane with the *normal* to the reflecting surface, and both make equal angles with that normal. Surely this solution merely leaves the question as it found it.

This same doctrine of rights is applied to solve another difficulty. All Catholics hold that this material universe is limited in extent; actual space, therefore, is finite:—

Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds;
This be thy just circumference, O World!

On the other hand, according to the kinetic theory, motion is never converted into potential energy or into force; whenever a body in motion strikes another body, the two form one for the time being; the motion of the first passes into the second, which then has motion in itself. Whether it will move with molar or molecular motion after that, depends on its *qualities*; but move it will, assuredly. Thus motion is never lost; it is always conserved by the Prime Mover. When this motion arrives at the 'just circumference' of the world, what happens? Is the motion lost? or does the moving mass protrude beyond the *bounds*?

No, answers Dr. McDonald, and rightly; but his reason seems queer. The 'pure space' beyond is endowed with impenetrability, resists the vibrations, and back they go, as from a most perfect reflector, with undiminished vigour 'to journey through the aery gloom,' until they are again repelled at some other point of the impassable 'circumference.' The ultimate reason of this is, of course, the decree of the Creator and Conservor of the universe. As a more proximate reason the impenetrability of 'pure space' is useless; for 'pure space' is nothing, and how can nothing sustain an accident? In exploring the mystery of the Eucharist Dr. McDonald confounds 'pure space' with 'real space.' In the Eucharistic species there is actual extension, and therefore real space. The impenetrability of 'pure space' is not an explanation of the extraordinary phenomenon described above. Impenetrable nothingness

is a fine expression, but it has no meaning. A more satisfactory explanation may, perhaps, be derived from an inquiry into the optical phenomenon known as *total reflection by refraction*.

The finiteness of the space allotted to this review is an insuperable obstacle to the working out of that explanation, as well as to the consideration of several most interesting subjects discussed in the essay, such as the production of forms accidental and substantial, the nature of vital actions, the temporal beginning of mechanical motion, the possibility of an infinite series, and its effect on the dynamists' proofs of the existence of God.

The reader may not embrace the author's conclusions ; he may even regard them as not merely unproved and opposed to the traditional teaching of the schools, but as utterly subversive of the most sacred and fundamental truths. He cannot, however, deny that the attempt to harmonize the immutable great truths of religion with the findings of the physical sciences is a noble work ; that it was undertaken in obedience to a noble and most charitable motive ; that extensive research, prolonged labour, and vigorous, penetrating thought were lavished upon it ; that an earnest desire, at all hazards, to discover and embrace the truth is manifested from beginning to end. Neither can he withhold a tribute of gratitude to one who made him think for himself, not merely by force of brilliant example, but by taking him by the hand, as it were, and in a simple, familiar, almost colloquial style, leading him, confident and undismayed, into a consideration of the most profound and perplexing problems that can engage the attention of the human mind. He must be very exceptional, too, if he can lay down the essay without regret, or without giving expression to an ardent wish that the distinguished head of the Theological Faculty of Maynooth may, at no distant date, favour him with another intellectual treat by publishing his views on some one of the many subjects of interest, that, like nuggets in a gold mine of surpassing richness, are met with in such abundance in this remarkable volume.

M. BARRETT.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

COMMUNION OF THE SICK

REV. DEAR SIR,—With reference to the concluding remarks of your reply to ‘*Sacerdos Americanus*,’ in the November issue of your valuable journal, may I ask what construction ought to be put on No. 54 of the Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Maynooth.

In virtue of the 3rd Statute of the Dublin Dioc. Synod of 1879, the old rule or principle, ‘*de S. Viatico ministrando*,’ as given in Dublin Dioc. Synod of 1831, seems to have been modified or abrogated to make room for the above No. 54.

As the old text of 1831 clearly embodied one of the opinions of theologians—allowing Communion but once a-week—the *communior opinio*, says St. Alphonso, the only admissible one according to de Lugo, the question seems to me to arise, which of the remaining more benign opinions—three, I think—might more likely be understood as aimed at, and thus recommended in practice to the Dublin priests, secular and regular, under the Synodal enactment (No. 54) now in force ‘that Communion or Holy Viaticum may be given, not only once a week, as formerly, but *iterum et saepius*,’ *positis pomendis*, of course.

I beg you, therefore, to kindly give your readers the advantage of some statement on the above.

NEMO.

The Statute of 1831, to which our correspondent refers, was promulgated in all the dioceses of the Dublin province. It was as follows :—

Durante eadem infirmitate, Eucharistia, semel tantum, per modum Viatici administrari debet; sed singulis hebdomadis, infirmis dari potest per modum communionis, etiam non sint jejuni, si adhuc in periculo mortis versentur. (See ‘*Statuta Diocesana, per Provinciam Dublinensem observandum*,’ etc., p. 95.)

It will be observed that there is question of those who, during a long illness, remain in danger of death—*adhuc in periculo mortis versentur*. Two things are laid down in

connection with the administration of the Eucharist to such persons—(1) In the same illness, i.e., *in eodem periculo mortis*, the Eucharist should be administered once, and once only, *per modum Viatici*, i.e., with the special form assigned in the Ritual for the administration of the Viaticum; (2) the Eucharist might be afterwards administered—*etiam non jejunis*—once a week—not, it would appear, more frequently—*per modum communionis*, i.e., with the ordinary form, as long as these same persons remained *in periculo mortis*.

It may be assumed that the Synod of Dublin fairly reflected the common teaching of the time; but the question is now of purely speculative interest. A distinct departure from the teaching of 1831 was made at the Plenary Synod of Thurles, in 1850. Among the decrees of the Synod of Thurles we read:—

In eadem infirmitate, si longius protrahitur, parochi saepius sacro Viatico aegrotos reficiant, cum illud iterum et saepius licite dari possit. (Decreta Syn. Plen. Eps. Hibern. apud Thurles 1850.)

The Plenary Synod of Maynooth, in 1875, repeated this decree unchanged. And, of course, the decrees of these Synods have, as our correspondent points out, since found a place in various Diocesan Synods, and have moulded the universal practice of this country.

As against the Synod of 1831, the Synods of Thurles and Maynooth clearly convey, in the decree above quoted, that the Viaticum may, in the same protracted illness or danger of death, be administered, not once only, but frequently—*iterum et saepius*. In the later Synods, too, it will be remarked that the restriction insinuated in the clause ‘*singulis hebdomadis*’ is omitted. No time is defined for lawfully repeating the administration; it merely said, *saepius licite dari possit*; and, lastly the words used in the decrees of Thurles and Maynooth—‘*parochi saepius sacro Viatico aegrotos reficiant*,’ might seem to indicate that, while danger of death lasts, Communion *should* be administered, not in the ordinary form, but *per modum Viatici*. However, many theologians hold—for no solid reason that we can see—that Communion should be administered *per modum Viatici* only once in the same danger

of death. According to this teaching, once the Viaticum has been administered, Communion—whether the recipient be fasting or not—should be administered with the ordinary form *Corpus Domini*, &c.

How often may Communion be given to those in danger of death? The Synod of Maynooth says, *saepius dari potest*, and leaves the confessor to determine how often, according to the needs and dispositions of the sick person. The confessor must, therefore, rely on his own judgment. He should remember, however, that Communion should be more freely conceded to persons at the hour of death than during life. Moreover, he is perfectly safe in giving even daily Communion to the sick person, if he thinks that the devotion of the sick person is such as to render so frequent Communion profitable. In giving Communion so frequently the confessor may be acting against the opinion of certain theologians—even modern theologians; but he will have amply sufficient authority in his favour, and he certainly will violate no law, divine or ecclesiastical. Lehmkühl puts the whole matter briefly and well:—

Durante periculo, toties quoties devotio et dispositio poenitentis hoc suadit, S. Communio eodem modo [*i. e.*, aegroti non jejuno] repeti potest, jejunio neglecto. Neque quod aegrotus, quum sanus erat, S. Communionem non tam frequenter sumpsit, ratio est cur etiam nunc, modo satis dispositus sit, raro ad eam admittatur (ii. n. 161).

NOVEMBER OFFERINGS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I should feel grateful for an answer to the following question:—

To what return are clergy bound who receive from their people ‘November offerings’? In some parishes it is announced that people may send in the names of deceased friends to be specially commemorated on All Souls day. An offering is always expected to accompany the names sent in, and in some cases the sum of such offerings is very considerable. To what are the clergy receiving these offerings bound? Is it enough to offer the Mass on All Souls day? Or should other Masses be offered, and if so what proportion should the number of Masses bear to the offerings received?

SACERDOS.

The conditions on which these November offerings are

given and accepted are, we believe, regulated in some dioceses by local legislation. Such laws, wherever they exist should, of course, be respected. But, apart from special local legislation, the clergy should let their people clearly understand what return may be expected for offerings made. Needless to say, the undertaking given should be faithfully and scrupulously fulfilled. Further than this there is no obligation.

It may be interesting to give here a reply of the Congregation of Propaganda, 30th July, 1877, to a question very similar to that of our correspondent. We quote from *Collectanea Cong. de Prop. Fide* :—

. . . Invaluit consuetudo ut pro unica Missa, quae in die commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum cantatur, fideles contribuant pecuniam. Summa autem pecuniae sic collecta ordinarie tanta est ut plurium centenarum missarum eleemosynas facile exaequet. Inter eos qui pecuniam hoc modo contribuunt, plurimi sunt de quibus dubitari merito possit utrum eam hoc modo collaturi forent si rite edocerentur animabus purgatorii, quas sic juvare intendunt, melius provisum iri si tot Missae pro iis licet extra diem commemorationis omnium fidelium celebrarentur. Quot juxta taxam dioecesanam continentur stipendia in summa totali sic contributa ut erroneae opinioni occurratur, in quibusdam dioecesibus statuto synodali cantum est ut nisi singulis annis praevia totius rei explicatio populo fiat, missionariis eam fidelium pecuniam pro unica illa Missa accipere non liceat. Quae . . . precor ut . . . ad dubia sequentia respondere dignetur (1) utrum praedicta consuetudo absolute prohibita sit. Quod si negative (2) utrum tolerari possit casu quo quotannis praevia diligens totius rei explicatio populo fiat. Quod si affirmative (3) utrum si timor sit ne missionarii praevidiam illam diligentem eamque plenam totius rei explicationem populo praebeant, vel populus non satis intelligat, Ordinarius istam consuetudinem prohibere possit et missionariis injungere ut, pro tota summa contributa, intra ipsum mensem Novembris tot legantur vel cantentur Missae quot in ea continentur stipendia pro Missis sive lectis sive cantatis. Quod si affirmative (4) utrum ob rationem quod Missae illae intra ipsum mensem Novembris legendae vel cantandae sint, Ordinarius consuetum Missarum sive ligendarum sive cantandarum ob etipendium pro aequo suo arbitrio pro illis Missis possit augere.

S. Cong. . . . rescribendum censuit : nihil innovetur ; tantum apponatur tabella in Ecclesia qua fideles doceantur quod illis ipsis eleemosynis una canitur Missa in die commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum.—(*Vid. Collect. Cong. Prop. Fid.*, n. 893.)

D. MANNIX.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—Dr. MacCarthy having made a second attack on *The Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*, I have again to solicit the editorial indulgence while I reply. In doing so I shall not mould my manners to *his* model. I shall continue, in what I have to say, to give him his name. He, however, not to dwell upon the general discourtesy of his tone, has never once given me mine, but perseveres in the designedly (though feebly) offensive substitute for it to which I drew passing attention in my previous article. Evidently the opinions of a mere layman are of sovereign indifference to Dr. MacCarthy; yet I cannot help observing that his studied disregard of all politeness is a defect in his constitution as a critic that has very often been remarked upon in the past, and one, too, that redounds, whatever *he* may think of it, more to his own discredit than it does to the disparagement of the various writers, myself the latest and least distinguished of the number, upon whom he has, from time to time, vented his spleen and his bad grammar.¹

With some curiosity I have been asking myself in what way can I have contributed to arouse the initial ire of Dr. MacCarthy, for *he* is the originator of this controversy, and began it with regrettable taste and temper. The same question is being put to me by my friends among the clergy. I know not what to answer. I am unconscious of any manifestations of ill-will towards Dr. MacCarthy. I refer to him in my book as 'the learned Dr. MacCarthy.'² There is nothing uncomplimentary in that. In

¹ As a sample of Dr. MacCarthy's grammar, take the following from his review of the *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—'Thereby, however, he has let slip an opportunity which those foreigners which he fawns upon so would (if they had the wit to perceive it) give a deal to perceive it, give a deal to possess.' 'Foreigners which'!!! The 'it' after 'perceive' is an ungrammatical redundancy; and the sentence would have stumbled less had he placed the 'so' before 'fawns.' See the I. E. RECORD, 3rd series, xii., p. 155: Dublin, 1891.

² *The Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*, p. 93: Dublin, 1897.

no manner do I run across him in it. Can it be—but, surely, it cannot—that he became angry with me when he found me tacitly preferring (as some critics do openly) the Oxford Edition of the *Stowe Missal* to that for which he is himself responsible? Be this as it may, my little volume, undertaken in the interest of the faith, has earned Dr. MacCarthy's contempt; and I must only console myself with the reflection that cardinals, archbishops, bishops, &c., have condescended to put pen to paper to commend it. As to any practical effect that has so far resulted from Dr. MacCarthy's strictures, all I can say is, that he has sent up my sales by hundreds. For this I am his not ungrateful debtor. As an advertising agent I pronounce him a success.

And now to consider the substance of his last communication.

The Bobbio Missal is again prominent. To keep matters clear, the point in debate may be repeated. It is this: Is it, or is it not, allowable to adduce that ancient document as evidence of the dogma of the early Irish Church? As the foundation-stone of an argument for the affirmative, I, in the November I. E. RECORD, brought forward Dr. MacCarthy's admission: 'The Bobio [*sic*] Missal, in transcription, was the work of an Irishman.' He now complains, as of something serious, that I gave no indication of what appears in the next paragraph to that from which I quoted. It is this: 'But it does not follow, because the writing is Irish, that a MS. was written in Ireland; much less upon Irish subjects. In the present case the Mass of St. Martin and the names introduced into the Canon tell as plainly as the most explicit Colophon that the Missal was drawn up for a church in Gaul.' I must confess that I fail to discern how, or in what particular, I have misrepresented Dr. MacCarthy. Take his belief that the Bobbio Missal is of Gaulish origin. That was made sufficiently manifest by me, along with my own assent to the proposition, when I said, in the November I. E. RECORD: 'My critic contends (p. 167) that the Missal in question "was drawn up for a church in France, most probably in Burgundy." Be it so. I am sure I have nothing to say to the contrary. I am so far of his opinion, as my *Appendix* shows.' On this point, then, there has been no misrepresentation of Dr. MacCarthy. As to the rest of the unquoted matter, I had, and could have, no object in suggesting, as Dr. MacCarthy's opinion, anything contrary to what is therein expressed; for it certainly formed no part of my argument, for the propriety of appealing to the

Bobbio Missal as an indication of early Irish faith, that the Bobbio Missal, because of its Irish writing, 'was written in Ireland;' neither did it form any part of my argument that the Bobbio Missal is 'a MS. upon Irish subjects.' For the moment I have no interest in ascertaining where the MS. was written. *Parvo contentus*, I am satisfied to have the broad fact admitted *that the writing in the MS. is Irish*. On that I base the conclusion that the doctrine traceable in the Bobbio Missal is in perfect harmony with ancient Irish doctrine. I am not prepared to picture Irish monastic scribes, even in vinous Burgundy, where the scribe of the Bobbio Missal wrote, as utterly indifferent to what theological scripts they employed their pens upon, like printers, who care not to what description of religious works, Catholic or Protestant, they lend their type, or as at all disposed to perpetuate documents which they could not but consider pernicious and heretical, if the contents were in doctrinal opposition to what they had learned in Ireland to regard as the true faith. The soundness of the principle thus implied, namely, the writing in certain ancient ecclesiastical MSS. being Irish, the dogma inculcated in them is the same as that professed by our early forefathers, is very easily brought to the test. What is entirely to the present purpose, it is triumphantly confirmed in the individual instance of the Bobbio Missal itself; for there is not a single dogmatic point, such as the Canon of Scripture, the Petrine privileges, the reality and efficacy of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, devotion to our Blessed Lady, veneration of relics, &c., on which the text of that famous Missal has been copiously extracted in my book, that is not equally established there, as Irish faith, by direct quotations from what, for distinction sake, I shall call *home material*, to the relevancy of which even the captiousness of Dr. MacCarthy might be invited to take exception.

To continue to afford proof of the propriety of citing the Bobbio Missal as evidence of Irish doctrine, though further proof is, perhaps, not really necessary, a strong presumption that this MS. was actually used at the celebration of Mass by Irish clergy (though out of Ireland) is found in the fact that on one of its folios the name 'Munubertus' is written, and on another 'Elderatus;' the first a Latinised Irish name; the other a Latino-Hebraisation (meaning the Servant of God) of the name

of St. Deicolus, or Deicola, one of the twelve companions who accompanied St. Columbanus from Ireland to Gaul, to share in his apostolic labours.

I had said, in my November article, that the Bobbio Missal was in use at Bobbio itself, where for a long time there were always Irish monks; and Dr. MacCarthy, I thought, would not have traversed either statement. But he traverses the first one, and appeals to Mabillon to maintain his opinion. The same Mabillon, however, will inform him that the name 'Bertulfus' is to be read on one of the folios of the MS., and he (Mabillon) believes this Bertulfus to have been the Abbot of Bobbio of that name who ruled the monastery in the middle of the seventh century.¹ I take this circumstance to denote temporary possession of the MS. by Bertulfus, and as suggestive of a reasonable presumption that the Missal was in use at Bobbio, at least in his time. Nor is it at all certain that Mabillon thought anything to the contrary. When Mabillon says that the Missal was not *ad usum monachorum Bobiensium*, he may only have meant to convey that it was not for Bobbio that the Missal was *drawn up*. He extends his view to other monasteries, and gives his reasons. But the probability of *use* by the Bobbio community is not thereby absolutely excluded. Mabillon, it is to be noted, employs the same expression, *ad usum*, when he expresses his opinion as to the locality that the Missal, he believes, was *drawn up for*, namely, the Province of Besançon, containing the monastery of Luxeuil, one of the foundations of St. Columbanus, A.D. 590 or 591, from which the saint proceeded to found Bobbio, A.D. 612 or 613.² And now here is a question which I should very much like Dr. MacCarthy to answer. For what purpose was this Missal brought from Luxeuil to Bobbio, by some disciple of

¹ 'BERTULFUS alicubi legitur in ora folii cujusdam, quem putamus esse ipsum Bertulfum loci abbatem medio sæculo septimo. In alio folio ELDERATUS; item in alio MUNUBERTUS.' See Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 276: Paris, 1724.

² 'Cujus porro provinciæ fuerit hoc Missale, non obvium est definire. Forte ad usum erat Provinciæ Maximæ Sequanorum, id est Vesontionensis, in qua situm est Luxoviense monasterium, unde Columbanus Bobium migravit. Favethuic conjecturæ Missa de sancto Sigismundo rege Burgundionum. Certe hic codex non fuit ad usum monachorum Bobiensium. Nihil enim in eo de sanctis Bobiensibus, Columbano, ejusve discipulis. Nihil item de rebus monasticis; non benedictio Abbatis, aut monachorum; non benedictiones pro monasterii officinis, in ejusmodi libris monasticis usitatæ.' See Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 276; Paris, 1724.

St. Columbanus, perhaps the Burgundian Bertulf,¹ if *not* to be used at Mass? To be made a mere curiosity of? To be tossed into the *armarium* as a thing of lumber? Surely not. And as to the absence of any reference in the Bobbio Missal to monastic matters, that may be accounted for by supposing, with Dr. Lanigan, that it was 'a general Missal for the clergy both secular and regular; and in such case there was no necessity for specifying monastic matters, or introducing into it the name of St. Columbanus, &c. Besides, that copy was probably written before the death of St. Columbanus.'² The latter circumstance is strongly borne out by some parallelism of idea and language, between the Missal and St. Columbanus, which I place in the notes.³

In the opinion of Dr. O'Connor, the Bobbio Missal was a portable Missal, employed by the Irish missionaries of Luxeuil and Bobbio in their labours among the Burgundians and Lombards.⁴ 'Be this as it may,' says Dr. Lanigan, 'we may be sure from its having been copied by an Irishman, that it was used by Irish priests.'⁵ With what object in view, I ask, does Dr. MacCarthy differ radically, not partially only and on a secondary point as I do from some of them, from the O'Conors, the Lanigans, the Morans, the Malones, the Healys, the Greiths, and seek to deprive the Irish Church of its powerful testimony?

And now for another matter. Before passing away from this portion of the subject, I am curious to know from Dr. MacCarthy,

¹ 'De hoc eximio Missale, unum et idem sentiunt ambo [Mabillon and Ruinart]. Sacramentarium esse, sive Missale, ante annos mille exaratum, quod e Luxoviense S. Columbani Monasterio Hibernico, a quodam S. Columbani Discipulo allatum fuit Bobium, seculo VIImo, forte a Bertulfo, qui fuit tertius, post Magistrum Columbanum, Monasterii istius Abbas, et *Missale fuisse portatile ad Sacro in ipsis itineribus celebranda.*' See O'Connor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Epistola Nuncupatoria, i., p. cxxx.: Buckingham, 1814-1826.

² Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iv., p. 373-374: Dublin, 1829.

³ From the Bobbio Missal (*italics mine*):—'*Oremus Dominum dilectissimi nobis, quia amara nobis advenit tempora & periculosi adproximant anni. Mutantur regna, vocantur Gentes.*' See Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 371: Paris, 1724.

Compare with the Epistle of St. Columbanus to Pope Boniface the Fourth:—'*Dominus appropinquat, et prope jam in fine consistimus inter tempora periculosa. Ecce conturbantur gentes, inclinantur regna.*' See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, lxxx., col. 277: Paris, 1863.

⁴ 'Ex dictis satis constare opinor, Codicem Bobiensem de quo agimus, esse *Missale Portatile* Hibernorum Luxoviensium et Bobiensium, qui exeunte Sæculo VI., fidem Christi Burgundiis et Longobardis prædicavere.' See O'Connor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Epistola Nuncupatoria, i., pp. cxli.-cxlii.: Buckingham, 1814-26.

⁵ Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iii., p. 236: Dublin, 1829.

who carps so hypercritically at some of my translations from the Latin, whether, in the passage which he produces and translates from Mabillon on the Bobbio Missal, *Nihil enim in eo de sanctis Bobiensibus* is satisfactorily rendered, as to its full meaning and point, by—‘For there is nothing in it of Bobio’ [*sic*].

A word also on the orthography of ‘Bobbio.’ I had put it to Dr. MacCarthy whether ‘Bobio,’ the spelling which characterises his essay *On the Stowe Missal*, has the sanction of Italian writers, who are the proper judges of what it ought to be, seeing that the place is in Italy. In the tail-end of a note he mentions ‘Bobiensis,’ ‘Bobiensibus,’ and ‘Bobio’ (the ablative, in the case specified, of ‘Bobium’), and, in a faint voice, says:—‘Note the single *b*; never *bb*.’ But the Latin language, though the parent of the Italian, is not to be allowed to decide how Italian place-names are to be written, any more than the Anglo-Saxon language, the parent of the English, is to be allowed to decide how we ought to spell the names of localities in England; otherwise, we should all commence to write ‘Theocsbyrig’ for ‘Tewkesbury,’ ‘Gypeswic’ for ‘Ipswich,’ ‘Med-wæge’ for the ‘Medway,’ ‘Medweagestun’ for ‘Maidstone’ (enough of itself to give one the typhoid fever), ‘Scrobbes-byrig’ for ‘Shrewsbury,’ ‘Searsysbyrig’ for ‘Salisbury,’ and demonstrate our pedantry in five hundred similar ways. I append a couple of extracts from Italian books, just to show how Bobbio is written.¹ It would be a veritable puzzle to discover a single Italian work in which the name appears as ‘Bobio.’ In practice, Dr. MacCarthy now admits his error. He spells Bobbio correctly all through his last letter, except where he is translating from Mabillon, and then, with amusing inconsistency, he reverts to the single *b*—I suppose, in hazy compliment to his author’s Latin.

St. Cummian’s Penitential is Dr. MacCarthy’s next point. Its authorship is matter of doubt. A Vatican MS. of the ninth or tenth century attributes it to St. Cummian the Tall, referring to it as *inquisitio Acumiani Longii* [*sic*]², and this St. Cummian

¹ ‘Fra’ monaci ancora vi furono alcuni che coltivarono a questi tempi gli studi sacri; e un monastero singolarmente si rendette sopra gli altri illustre, dico quello di Bobbio, etc.’ See Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, iii., pp. 189-190: Milano, 1822-26.

‘Bobbio—Città della Liguria cisappennina, frammezzo le Alpi Cozie distante circa quaranta miglia da Pavia,’ etc. See D’Avino, *Enciclopedia dell’ Ecclesiastico*, i., p. 376: Torino, 1863-66.

² Moran, *Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church*, p. 252: Dublin, 1864.

wrote in Ireland. Some authorities give it to St. Cummian the Fair. Nevertheless—for argument sake—I am not unwilling to assume that this Penitential was composed by another St. Cummian—the St. Cummian who, at seventy-five, went to Bobbio, and died there at upwards of ninety-five, somewhere in the reign of Luitprand, King of the Lombards, A.D. 711-744,¹ and that the Penitential, so far, is ‘continental in its origin and application.’ What then?

Granting all this, and granting too that extracts are given in it from Penitentials which are not Irish, may it not be cited as illustrating the nature of ancient Irish doctrine and discipline? Though possibly the production of an exile, is it not still that of a typical Irishman? Or is a religious work, penned (say) by Cardinal Moran in Sydney, even with some Antipodean application, to be no indication whatever of what the Irish ecclesiastics of to-day, and Irish Catholics generally, adhere to as the faith? I certainly fall short of the sublimated intelligence that could appreciate an argument which, on the score of irrelevancy, would seek to shut out this or any analogous evidence. The Bobbio St. Cummian, when he proceeded to the Continent, an old man, and wrote this Penitential, if he really did write it, did not then, surely, learn for the first time to recognise the Sacraments of Confirmation and Penance, the utility of praying for the dead, the necessity of clerical celibacy, the use of altar-cloths, or any of the other doctrinal and disciplinary points upon which its testimony is quoted by me, and which are all equally substantiated, as in the case of the Bobbio Missal, by citations from what has already been denominated *home material*.

With regard now to a certain correspondence which is to be traced between portions of St. Cummian’s Penitential and the Penitential of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 668-690, it in no way affects my position—again for the sake of argument—to allow that St. Cummian took extracts from Theodore. This, apparently, could not well be true of any but the Bobbio St. Cummian. The opinion, however, may be mentioned—an opinion not unknown to Wasserschleben, and held by Theiner, Kunstmann, Cardinal Moran, and others—that matters were another way about, and that one of the St. Cummians—some say St. Cummian the Fair, some St. Cummian the Tall.—was the

¹ Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, pp. 64-65: Halle, 1851.

unnamed Irish author whose *libellus* was among the sources of Theodore's Penitential, according to the ancient preface of that Penitential itself.¹ This is made probable by the fact that in the seventh chapter of the first book of Theodore's Penitential, following a series of canons almost literally agreeing with enactments in the Cumman Penitential, there is this ancient annotation:—*Ista testimonia sunt de eo, quod in praefatione diximus de libello Scottorum, in quo, ut in ceteris, aliquando inibi fortius firmavit de pessimis, aliquando vero lenius, ut sibi videbatur, modum imposuit pusillanimis.*²

As a proof that heresy was not unknown in Ireland when St. Cumman's Penitential was drawn up, and that I was justified in citing St. Cumman's canons in token of how heretics were regarded, I, inasmuch as dispute prevails as to which of the three St. Cummans wrote the Penitential, in giving some extrinsic references to heresy and heretics, purposely made those references sufficiently elastic to fall in with the life of all. If however, Dr. MacCarthy now believes that the Penitential belongs to the seventh century rather than the eighth, why has he not dealt with the Roman letter, written in 640, in which the appearance of the Pelagian heresy in Ireland is referred to? Why has he not even ventured to parade the good old stock answer, that the native Annals, &c., are silent on the subject? But, doubtless, he knows better than to submit such a rebutting argument to a serious trial of its worth.

He next glances at the St. Gall *Ordo* of Penance. Of this there is another copy among the Irish MSS. at Basle. In August, Dr. MacCarthy asserted that this *Ordo* was 'purely Anglo-Saxon.' As a matter of notoriety, the form is one that was pretty general. The Anglo-Saxons had not the monopoly of it. Now, he allows that the writing in the St. Gall *Ordo* is Irish. The Irish, it should almost seem, according to him, were always copying Missals, *Ordines*, &c., which they never used themselves! He still insists that I have libelled our forefathers. Why? Because the *Ordo* alludes to incestuous practices. But I adverted to the

¹ 'In istorum quoque adminiculum est, quod manibus vilitatis nostre divina gratia similiter praevidit, quae iste vir ex Scottorum libello seiscitasse quod diffamatum est, de quo talem senex fertur dedisse sententiam, ecclesiasticus homo libelli ipsius fuisse conscriptor.' See Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, p. 183; Halle, 1851.

² Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, p. 191; Halle, 1851.

fact that the forbidden degrees were not always sufficiently observed in Ireland; that marriage with the widow of one's brother was not unknown; that this Jewish practice was condemned in an ancient Irish Synod; hence toleration of it must have previously characterised some of the Irish clergy; that its lawfulness was maintained by a certain heretical bishop, a countryman of ours;¹ that disregard of spiritual affinity constituted incest; and Dr. MacCarthy makes not the least attempt to meet all this, or to show now where the libel comes in.

It is to make up for this evasion, perhaps, that the typographical errors of my book are again well to the front. Excluding the last two pages, which contain the Irish Litany, the little volume is as clear of faults of the press as I believe most books are usually found to be; and I explained, as far as I am called upon to explain, how those that do exist in it arose.

Few objects are beneath the notice of Dr. MacCarthy, who seems to have been tracking my footsteps very closely. He now produces three mistakes in pagination, two of which were already known to me; and there my impeachment stands. If he could even discover the grave total of one per cent. of such slips in over eleven hundred minute references, it would be still no great matter. Page 258 for 257; page 237 for 257; page 120 for 220, are errors which anyone might fall into; and Dr. MacCarthy may magnify and make the most of them. I would only say, of him, what Gibbon says, in regard to some similar petty oversights objected to by that historian's critic, the Rev. H. E. Davis:—'I sincerely admire his patient industry, which I despair of being able to imitate; but if a future edition should ever be required, I could wish to obtain, on any reasonable terms, the services of so useful a corrector.'²

We turn now to the question whether Bishop O'Coffey is to be considered Archbishop O'Murray's father, on the strength of

¹ Lest Dr. MacCarthy should deny that Clemens was a bishop, I quote a distinguished Church historian:—'Bei einem andern Widersacher, dem Irländischen Bischof Clemens, mit welchem sich jene Synode zugleich beschäftigte, zeigte sich eine ungleich grössere Besonnenheit; ihm war die Kirche, wie sie damals im alttestamentlich theokratischen Principe erschien und wirkte, anstössig.' See Alzog, *Universalgeschichte der christlichen Kirche*, p. 400: Mainz, 1844.

See also the characterisation of Clemens in O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vi., p. 173: Dublin, n. d.

² Gibbon, *A Vindication of some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 16: London, 1779.

the term *athair*, applied to him in the *Annals of Ulster*. The surnames being different, it has been suggested that O'Murray may have been the Archbishop's mother's name; but proof was challenged by me, that in the Ireland of the twelfth century, children, especially sons, ever received or took their mother's name instead of their father's. None is forthcoming. Dr. MacCarthy, like others, is unable to supply any. He lays it down, however, that had the *Annals of Ulster* intended to convey that Bishop O'Coffey was only Archbishop O'Murray's fosterer or tutor, they would have employed not *athair*, but *aite*, a word which lives under the form of *oide* in the spoken language. As if languages that have words for 'fosterer' and 'tutor' do not sometimes express that office by the very same word as that by which they denote a father in the full parental sense! Take the Latin. I place a remarkable example of *pater*, in its secondary signification, in the notes; extracted from a sermon in which St. Gaudentius of Brescia introduces the name of his patron and predecessor in that see, Philastrius, who, certainly, was not his natural father.¹ Does Dr. MacCarthy mean to intimate that *athair*, the Irish for the male parent, is never used *except* to signify an actual progenitor? Like its equivalent in other languages, is it not, for instance, applied to a priest? My view of the point being at least probable, why does Dr. MacCarthy impugn it? And what, I am curious to divine, is his special object in wishing, so strenuously, to give Bishop O'Coffey a son?

At page 104 I said:—'Public confession is alluded to in some of our ancient canons;' and to this statement I attached a reference to the Penitentials published by Wasserscheleben. It appears in the foot-notes as follows:—*Arreum anni triduanus in ecclesia sine cibo et potu et somno et vestitu sine sede et canticum psalmorum cum canticis et oratione horarum et in eis XII. geniculationes post confessionem peccatorum coram sacerdote et plebe post votum.* This passage I produced for the sake only of the concluding portion, which establishes what I affirmed. Dr. MacCarthy

¹ 'Quonam ergo hæc spectat tractatio? Nempe ut vestra dilectio evidenter intelligat, quanta vis meam compulerit parvitatem arduis obsecundare præceptis, atque aperire os meum sub tantorum præsentia sacerdotum, & maxime post illam venerandæ memoriæ patris mei (italics mine) Philastrii eruditissimam vocem,' etc. See *Sancti Gaudentii Brixie Episcopi Sermones*, pp. 158-159: Augsburg, 1757.

² 'Ἀτάρ, gen., ἄτάρ, a father, a general title by which the clergy are addressed in Ireland.' See O'Donovan, *Supplement to O'Reilly's Irish-English Dictionary*, s. v.: Dublin, 1864.

now entertains himself with a gratuitous criticism of the ancient *Arrea* or *Commutations* themselves. '*Triduanus*,' he says, 'is a vox nihili in this case;' and he substitutes *triduum* from another copy, a *Paris codex*. *Triduanus* is simply a scribal corruption of *triduana*, a three days' fast.¹ He then goes into what he takes to be conveyed by the entire passage—a matter not dwelt upon by me at all. From *sine vestitu* he conceives that a year's penance was to be commuted by standing three days in a church without clothing, and says:—'One has heard of gods and goddesses standing naked in the open air; but to read of Christian men and women in that condition in a church somewhat strains one's trust in the informant.' That informant, however, is neither myself nor the *Arreum*: it is Dr. MacCarthy's own imagination. I see, like Lowell's 'John P. Robinson he,' that they don't 'know everything down in Judee.' A little light may be advantageously let in on the subject. In the document quoted, *sine vestitu* no more means *naked* than plain *nudi* itself does, which, let me inform Dr. MacCarthy, is to be sometimes met in ancient decrees of penance.² It only implies—not in the ordinary array. In what condition then? The public penitent might be (1) either partially stripped, of which we have instances, or (2) clad in a penitential vesture. This last is what is conveyed by the Paris version of the *Commutations*, which reads that he was to stand in the church *cum vestimento circa se*. Now, from the words *cum vestimento circa se*, meaning that the penitent was to stand in the house of God *with a garment around him*, I might just as well foolishly gather that when he was *not* in the church, or was about his daily avocations, he wore *nothing at all*, as Dr. MacCarthy that he was *entirely naked*, or, at least, is

¹ Ducange exemplifies *triduanus* (*tridui jejuni*) from St. Jerome. See his *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, viii., p. 182: Niort, 1883-87.

Biduanus, from *biduanus*, a similar barbarism for *biduana*, is found in the *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britannicæ* in Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, p. 103: Halle, 1851.

² Carpentier, in his Supplement to Ducange, gives the following from an episcopal document dated 1224:—'Robertus et Herveus publicam Penitentiam faciant *nudi* (italics mine) et discalciati, virgas in manibus portantes ad processionem in ecclesia Carnotensi in instanti Ascensione Domini, et per manum episcopi Carnotensis vel sacerdotis, secundum consuetudinem ecclesiæ accipiant disciplinam,' etc. It is plain, however, from another decree which he quotes, containing the words *discalciati et nudi, bracciis tantummodo retentis*, that public penitents were not absolutely naked, and that *nudi*, wherever it appears alone, is to be interpreted with a modification. See Ducange, *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, vi., p. 384: Niort, 1883-87.

represented as *entirely naked*, in the sacred edifice, because it is stated in the other copy of the *Arreum* that the penitent was to appear there *sine vestitu*. Both expressions amount to the same thing—divested of his customary raiment and in penitential garb.

Following the above, exception is taken to my manner of dealing with the Memento of the Dead in the Bobbio Missal. It exhibits, I am told, my 'textual recension and grammatical knowledge.' Here is the entire passage referred to, agreeing, to a comma, with Mabillon's printed text¹ of the Missal in question:—'*MEMENTO ETIAM DOMINE, & eorum nomina, qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei & dormiunt in somno pacis. Commemoratio defunctorum. Ipsis & omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis, & pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur, per Christum dominum nostrum.*' This I translate thus:—'Remember also, O Lord, the names of those who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. [*Commemoration of the Dead.*] To these, and to all resting in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, light, and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

As verbs of remembering and forgetting sometimes take an accusative case,² Dr. MacCarthy can hardly object to my rendering *Memento nomina*, 'remember the names,' on the mere score of grammar. But he pronounces *nomina* a rubric. Well, the great Benedictine Mabillon, who edited the Bobbio Missal, was as learned a rubricist as Dr. MacCarthy, and evidently *he* did not consider *nomina* a rubric in this case. His punctuation, to be seen above, is against any supposition that he did: besides, we have the fact that he in no way distinguishes the word *nomina*, or marks it out from the text by either italics or brackets. The real rubric is at the end of the sentence, i.e., *Commemoratio defunctorum*. This, and this alone, he italicizes. To him, moreover, all the recensional details belong. I am satisfied to have a Mabillon on my side, and a Dr. MacCarthy against me.

My rendering of *Quorum meritis precibusque concedas ut in omnibus protectionis tue muniamur auxilio per Christum Dominum nostrum*, 'To whose merits and prayers grant that we may be

¹ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt ii., p. 281; Paris, 1724.

² On such a point it is superfluous to quote an authority; nevertheless, see Donaldson, *Complete Latin Grammar*, p. 279; Cambridge, 1867; also additional examples, in Andrews, *Latin Lexicon*, s. v. *memini*; London, 1875.

defended with the help of Thy protection in all things, through Christ our Lord,' is then carped at. 'To whose merits and prayers,' it is said, should be 'By whose merits and prayers.' Well, in point of Latin grammar, it might be either. In point of the sense, too, it might be either. But if there is any superiority as between the two versions, mine, if I mistake not, has it. The protection asked for is granted us *by* God, and *to* the merits and prayers of the saints. *To* their merits and prayers means—in consideration of them.

In 'Sunday within the Octave of Easter,' the word 'within' (p. 220) crept in inadvertently.

Dr. MacCarthy criticises me for saying: 'The mode of computing Easter is an astronomical . . . question.' He might as well have quoted me in full, and given the three words which he represents by three dots. What I said (p. 41) was this: 'The mode of computing Easter is an astronomical, not a theological question.' He adduces Ideler to tell me that Easter is computed by cycles, as if I had never mentioned such things. At p. 42 I say, speaking of the variation of the old Irish Easter from the Roman: 'It was occasioned by using different cycles; the Celtic and British Churches calculating the paschal date by a discarded system—the cycle of 84 years—while Rome, and the Christian world in general, proceeded by a cycle of 19 years, which was more astronomically correct.'

Does Dr. MacCarthy hold that astronomy has nothing whatever to do with Easter, as he finds fault with my characterisation of the question? Dr. Lingard agrees with me. He says: 'The time of Easter was not a theological question; it could be solved only by astronomical calculation.'¹ Dr. Lanigan, too, says: 'It was a dispute of mere astronomical calculation, similar to that between the abettors of the Gregorian, or new style, and those of the old one. Neither faith nor morals were in any wise connected with it.'²

There are one or two other points in Dr. MacCarthy's criticism upon which I might say something; but this letter is, perhaps, already too long. For the present, then, I must postpone my observations.

¹ Lingard, *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, i., p. 381: London, 1845.

² Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iii., p. 67: Dublin, 1829.

In conclusion, and to place facts in their legitimate light, I am not the aggressor in this controversy. My book was undertaken in response to numerically strong and influential solicitation ; and I have never, in my experience, heard of a work, written in defence of Catholic truth, that was assailed, on such trivial grounds, by a Catholic priest before. Reliable authorities among the clergy have been pleased to say, since this correspondence began, that my small volume fills a void for which even the learned Dr. MacCarthy, in his life-long literary labours, has made no provision.—Yours, &c

JOHN SALMON.

DOCUMENTS

LEO XIII. TO GOD AND THE VIRGIN MOTHER

DEO ET VIRGINI MATRI

EXTREMA LEONIS VOTA

Extremum radiat, pallenti involvitur umbra
Iam iam sol moriens ; nox subit atra, Leo,

Atra tibi : arescunt venae, nec vividus humor
Perfluit ; exhausto corpore vita perit.

Mors telum fatale iacit ; velamine amicta
Funereo, gelidus contegit ossa lapis.

Ast anima aufugiens excussis libera vinclis,
Continuo aethereas ardet anhela plagas ;

Huc celerat cursum ; longarum haec meta viarum
Expleat oh clemens anxia vota Deus !

Oh caelum attingam ! supremo munere detur
Divino aeternum lumine et ore frui.

Teque, o Virgo frui ; matrem te parvulus infans
Dilexi, flagrans in sene crevit amor.

Excipe me caelo ; caeli de civibus unus,
Auspice te, dicam, praemia tanta tuli.

LEO PP. XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CARDINAL WISEMAN. By Wilfrid Ward. London : Longmans, Green & Co. Two Vols.

As a full review of this work is being written for the February number of the I. E. RECORD, by the Rev. William Barry, D.D., we need not do more at present than to express the very great satisfaction with which we have read every page of the two volumes. For Catholic readers, no more fascinating work has issued from the press for many a year. The biography of the great Cardinal could not have been entrusted to abler hands. Men might have been found to write the Life of Wiseman, who could do justice to him as an ecclesiastical ruler and prince of the Church, but who would be incapable of appreciating other aspects of his character, his proficiency in oriental studies, his deep theological knowledge, his interest in archæology, in art, in science, in literature, his intercourse with men of distinction at home and abroad, his wide range of sympathies and broad views on all matters that stirred the passions and the interest of his cotemporaries. Mr. Ward seems as much at home in dealing with one phase of the Cardinal's life as with another. He embraces them all in these two volumes ; and, we think, we could not recommend to our readers a more enjoyable occupation during their leisure hours of the new year than the perusal of a work which brings out in such striking relief the noble figure of the man who fought the battle of the Church in England at one of the turning-points of its existence. We can also promise those who read the biography that their admiration will not be confined to Cardinal Wiseman, but that, in its own measure, it will extend as unreservedly to Mr. Ward.

J. F. H.

THE IRISH DIFFICULTY, SHALL AND WILL. By Gerald Molloy, D.D., D. Sc. London, Glasgow, and Dublin : Blackie and Son.

As the greater part of this work has already appeared in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, it needs no introduction to our readers. The proper use of 'shall and will' has exercised the minds of English grammarians since English grammars were

invented ; but, as Dr. Molloy justly remarks, there was no book in which the subject was treated with any approach to completeness. This can certainly be said no longer ; and we are much mistaken if Dr. Molloy's interesting volume does not remain for future ages a standard work on the subject not only for Irishmen but for Englishmen as well. There are some people, it appears, who think that Irishmen have no difficulty in the employment of these auxiliaries. We imagine that these are just the people who would profit by a careful perusal of the volume before us. Their public utterances might gain something by the study in correctness if not in elegance of diction. Again, we are told that Dr. Molloy's elaborate treatment of the subject tends to confuse the minds of those who endeavour to get at the root and cause of the difficulty. Such people are, it must be admitted, rather easily confused, and we fancy that Dr. Molloy will not be greatly surprised at their trouble. Anyone who reads the work in a spirit that is not captious, even though the author were entirely unknown, should admit that it is the production of an accomplished scholar. In precision and correctness of expression, as well as in the elegant and dignified manner in which the author deals with a subject so dry we have a fine example of literary refinement. A careful perusal of the numerous quotations from the best authors will of itself be an admirable help to all except to those who are above such aid. How far the latter can afford to dispense with Dr. Molloy's assistance their readers are possibly better judges than they are themselves.

We are happy to think that this is not the only work of the learned Rector of the Catholic University which first appeared in instalments in the pages of the I. E. RECORD. Nobody, of course, will think of comparing a study which has been only one form of literary recreation indulged in persistently for many years with the important volume on *Geology and Revelation* which first appeared in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, and made Mgr. Molloy's name known and honoured in the schools of many countries besides Ireland. We are, nevertheless, thankful for the fruits of grammatical investigation as for the earlier and more precious fruits of scientific and theological study ; and we are convinced that our readers at home and abroad will ever welcome anything that comes from one whom they have so many reasons to honour and revere.

J. F. H.

BIBLIA SACRA JUXTA VULGATAE EXEMPLARIA ET CORRECTORIA ROMANA DENUO EDIDIT, DIVISIONIBUS LOGICIS ANALYSIQUE CONTINUA SENSUM ILLUSTRANTIBUS ORNAVIT A. C. FILLION. Paris: Letouzey, Ané & Cie.

WE have given the title of this work in full, because it indicates at once the scope and method of Professor Fillion in preparing this edition of the Latin Vulgate. Each of the sacred books is divided into parts, sections and paragraphs, in accordance with what Professor Fillion, after consulting the best commentators, considers to be the logical division of the book. Thus, to take as an example the Gospel of St. Matthew, the book is divided into an introduction and four parts. The genealogy of our Lord constitutes the introduction (i. 1-17); the first part deals with the infancy and private life (i. 18-ii. 23); the second, with the public life (iii. 1-xx. 34); the third, with the last days of Jesus, or week of the Passion (xxi. 1-xxvii. 66); the fourth, with our Lord's resurrection (xxviii. 1-20). Each of these divisions is so clearly marked that the reader cannot fail to perceive at once the broad outlines of the Gospel history. Then the parts are subdivided into various sections, and these again into well-defined paragraphs, with a marginal indication of at least the pith of each paragraph.

No one can fail to see how much better, at least for the ordinary student, this arrangement is than that usually adopted in editions of the Vulgate. The summaries usually given at the heads of chapters are often jejune, and generally of small utility, while the bold division into chapters instead of sections frequently breaks the continuity and mars the sense. We are glad also to see that Fr. Fillion discards the mischievous practice of beginning each verse with a new line, as is the case in the ordinary editions of the Vulgate, as well as in our Catholic English Version. If only the recognised numbering of the verses is retained, such a practice is wholly unnecessary, while it undoubtedly tends frequently to obscure the logical connection. In the poetical books and parts the verses are so printed by Fr. Fillion as to exhibit at once the Hebrew parallelism, the most distinctive feature of Hebrew poetry.

The labour involved in preparing an edition of the Vulgate like that before us, is much greater than might appear at first sight. A careful analysis of every book of the Bible implies much study and thought, and we are sincerely glad to find that Father

Fillion's labour has been appreciated. The present is the fourth edition in ten years.

It goes without saying that there is room for much difference of opinion as to the propriety of some of the paragraphic divisions ; but in no case, as far as we have been able to see, is any division adopted that is not supported by good authority. Occasionally, as, for example, in the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, one might fairly expect in the margin a clearer indication of the editor's views ; but, on the whole, the work is well and conscientiously done, and will help much to a better understanding of God's inspired word.

J. M.R.

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By A. E. Breen, D.D.

THIS is an important contribution from the New World to Catholic Biblical literature. The author, Dr. Breen, is Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, New York. The work is a royal octavo volume of 606 pages ; and, with the exception of Biblical antiquities, which are not mentioned, discusses the various subjects that we should expect to find dealt with in a General Introduction. The nature and extent of inspiration, the question of the Canon of the Old and New Testament, the history of the original texts and of the various ancient versions of the Bible, the origin and authority of the Vulgate, the history of modern English versions, the various senses of Scripture, and how to find them—all these questions are discussed fully, fairly, and reverently, yet with an American independence that does credit to the honesty and judgment of the author.

The treatment of the Canon is particularly full ; but considering that the work is intended for a class-book, it would have been much better, in our judgment, if the author had contented himself with summarizing results regarding the Canon, and published the extended treatment of the subject, with the numerous quotations, in a separate volume. In a work of 606 pages we should hardly expect to find 340 pages devoted to this one subject, especially if the work is to serve as a class-book.

On page 33, in the treatment of the question of *Obiter Dicta*, there is some confusion, to which we feel it our duty to call attention. The author raises two questions—1. Whether *Obiter Dicta* are inspired. 2. Whether *it is of faith* that they are inspired. The first question he rightly answers in the affirma-

tive ; but when he comes to discuss the second question, strangely enough, it is the first question he raises again, and again he answers in the affirmative. Had he really dealt with the second question—that is, whether the inspiration of *Obiter Dicta* is of faith—the whole context and the authorities he quotes approvingly, force us to believe that he would have answered in the negative.

We cannot agree with the author that ‘the Deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament primarily existed in the collection of the Jews of Palestine.’ If they did, why were they afterwards excluded? It cannot have been on account of their Messianic character, for it has been truly said that a single psalm often contains as much that is Messianic as all the Deuterocanonical books taken together. In the chapter on English Versions we are surprised to find that no mention is made of the two Catholic translations of the New Testament, by Drs. Nary and Witham respectively. The former was published in London, in 1705, and the latter at Douay, in 1730, as may be seen by a reference to Dr. Dixon’s General Introduction. We trust these omissions will be supplied in a second edition, for our Catholic English translations are so few that we can ill afford to pass by any of them unnoticed.

Naturally so large a work is not entirely free from slips and misprints, but those that occur are of trifling importance. Thus, in the note on p. 55, the Apostolic Constitutions are referred to the second century, while from the note on p. 122 it might be supposed that the author is doubtful whether they are earlier than the third century. It is, of course, owing to an oversight that the *Prologus Galeatus*, or helmeted prologue of St. Jerome, is spoken of, in p. 145, as the *Prologus Galeaticus*.

Notwithstanding the points to which we have thought it right to direct attention, we welcome the work as one of considerable value, the result of much conscientious labour, and a decided boon to Catholic students.

J. M’R.

THE LIFE OF ST. AUGUSTINE, BISHOP AND DOCTOR. A Historical Study. By Philip Burton, C.M. Third and enlarged edition. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 5s.

TEN years have now elapsed since this ‘Historical Study’ first appeared. In the meantime it has had a large circulation,

and has engaged a large share of public patronage. Two editions having been exhausted, the author has, with commendable zeal, undertaken and accomplished the onerous task of bringing out a new and enlarged edition to meet the demands of an ever-growing circle of readers. A work that has been accorded so signal a mark of general approbation scarcely needs any critical notice, so that we feel we shall best do our duty in emphasizing its claims to a still warmer reception at the hands of an admiring public.

St. Augustine's personality has a distinct and decided charm peculiarly its own. The study of his varied and versatile career appeals to us with an almost fascinating interest. With varying feelings we follow him through the strange vicissitudes of his strange life: from innocent childhood to sinful boyhood; and, again, from a boyhood steeped in degrading excesses to a manhood elevated by faith and ennobled by virtue. In its way, nothing can be more interesting than to read how the erring youth became the brightest ornament of the Church, the greatest of her doctors, and the most vigorous defender of her doctrines. From the back-ground of the early fathers, St. Augustine stands forth in high relief, first and foremost of that noble band, unsurpassed in the penetrating subtilty of his genius, and unrivalled in the fervour and glow of his faith. In portraying, then, such a subject our author has found a theme worthy of his powerful pen. And it is but paying him a well-deserved compliment to say that he has acquitted himself in a manner eminently successful. He brings to the accomplishment of his design a ripe scholarship, a sound and impartial judgment, and a deep research, calculated to render his biography thoroughly appreciative. Not only has he a mind well stored with the details of St. Augustine's life, and well informed by personal observation, as to all its manifold surroundings; but he has also a keen insight into the history of the age in which the saint played so prominent a part, a mastery of the nature of the heresies he had to combat, and a grasp of the spirit that ruled in the early African Church. On the face of it, Father Burton's volume bears evidence that it is the outcome of a philosophic mind. He weighs his facts carefully, but he does not forget to put their circumstances into the scales also. Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the biography is the intimate knowledge which Father Burton displays of the voluminous

writings of St. Augustine. The number and aptness of quotations given lead us to believe that he must have made a life-long study of these beautiful works. And here we may invite attention to the rules he lays down (pp. 330, 331) for correctly interpreting the great Doctor. If these rules were observed many of the gross misrepresentations of St. Augustine's views and writings would be effectively obviated. In an additional chapter, which has not appeared in the earlier editions, the author criticizes St. Augustine's views on the Bible. To many this will not be the least interesting portion of his readable book.

We are grateful to Father Burton for supplying us with such a charmingly written biography of a saint that holds a high place in all Christian hearts, and we wish his book a still larger share of popularity than it has yet secured.

P. M.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MISSION TO THE GREAT MOGUL. Or The Story of Blessed Acquaviva and his Companions in Martyrdom of the Society of Jesus. By James Goldie, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Co. London: Art and Book Company.

WHILE the Spanish conquests in America opened a way for the introduction of Christianity into the New World, the arms of Portugal in the Indian Peninsula afforded a means for the evangelization of that benighted land. Under King John III. of Portugal, St. Francis Xavier preached the Gospel to the Indians, and all Europe rejoiced in the marvellous success that attended his labours. When the grave closed over the remains of that glorious missionary, his apostolic spirit still lingered in the breasts of many of his brothers in religion, and there were several members of the great society to which he belonged, whose one great desire and ambition in life was to convert the heathen or win a martyr's crown in the attempt. Accordingly, in the sixteenth century missionary volunteers were numerous. Scarcely a ship left the southern ports bound for India that did not include among its passengers some few souls whose mission was to illumine those that sit in the darkness of unbelief. To such a class belonged the Blessed Acquaviva and his four martyred companions, whose history is graphically described in these pages under notice. Descended, nearly all of them, from

the very first families of Italy, they renounced the world for the seclusion of the Society of Jesus, and, burning with a thirst to win souls from infidelity to God, they became missionaries, a district in India being appointed them as the seat of their operations. With what zeal they worked in this vast vineyard; with what fearless intrepidity the Blessed Acquaviva penetrated into the heart of the mighty empire, and even to the court of the Great Mogul; how the five were appointed to a dangerous position in Salsette; and how, in fine, they were here brutally murdered by the fanatic Brahmins, we leave our readers to glean from the very beautiful and pathetic narrative of Mr. Goldie. The cause for the martyrdom of these five missionaries was pleaded as early as 1598, but it was early in 1893 that the process was completed, when the Congregation decreed the beatification might take place.

A word of thanks is due to the writer of this instructive history for preserving these honoured names from oblivion, and to the publishers for the neatness and taste displayed in the bringing out of the book.

P. M.



TARA, PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN¹

MY purpose—at least my main purpose—in selecting this subject for my address this evening is to create and foster in the minds of the students of this college a deep and abiding love for the historic sites and ancient monuments of our native land. In the highest sense of the words, you are the heirs, and you ought to be, as it were, *ex officio* the custodians, of the historic monuments of the Gael. It would be strange, indeed, if the British Parliament should deem it its duty to preserve many of these monuments at the public expense, and that an Irish priest should be either ignorant of their history, or show himself indifferent to their defacement or destruction. No man can do more than a priest to aid in their preservation, and every sentiment of genuine patriotism, of national honour, and even of professional zeal, should move him to aid in the noble work of illustrating the history and guarding the integrity of these ancient monuments, which are at once eloquent witnesses of our vanished glories in the past, and hopeful emblems of a higher national life in the not distant future.

Now, my young friends, of all the historic sites in Ireland, there is no other that can at all approach the Hill of

¹ Lecture delivered to the students of Maynooth College, Nov. 25, 1897.
FOURTH SERIES, VOL. III.—FEBRUARY, 1898.

Tara, either in antiquity, in historic interest, or in the variety and suggestive significance of its ancient monuments. If we are to accept, even in substance, the truth of the bardic history of Ireland—and I see no good reason to question its substantial truth—there was a royal residence on the Hill of Tara before Rome was founded, before Athena's earliest shrine crowned the Acropolis of Athens; about the time, perhaps, that sacred Ilium first saw the hostile standards of the kings of Hellas. But before I sketch the history of the Royal Hill, I must first tell you something of its physical features, which alone have remained, through all the changeful centuries, unchanged and unchangeable.

I. PHYSICAL ASPECTS

Tara is not a high hill, its elevation above the sea being only about five hundred feet. It is rather broad and flat-topped, with gently sloping declivities. Still it commands a far-reaching prospect of surpassing beauty. On the north-east the hill of Skeen rises to the sky-line, and shuts out a wider view of the swelling plains beyond; but on every other side the prospect from Tara, of a fine summer's day, is one of enchanting loveliness. Nearly the whole of the great limestone plain of Ireland lies in view, with all its varied scenery of grassy plain, and deep embowering woods, and noble mansions peeping through their sheltering foliage. Then there are the towers of Trim, and the silvery windings of the Boyne, stealing, serpent-like, through sunlit meadows, with glimpses of the hoary walls of Bective and Columcille's ancient shrine, whose sweet-toned bells once tolled across the fertile fields and populous villages, where herds of cattle now roam in what is almost a primitive, though still a rich and grassy wilderness. Then, far away to the south-east, the Wicklow mountains rise up like giant ramparts against the blue of the sunlit sky. The smoke of Dublin shrouds its spires in the distance. Beyond Dundalk the hills around Cuchullin's ancient home are distinctly visible. To the north and north-west the peaks of Cavan and Monaghan are well defined against the sky, while to the south and south-west the isolated hills of the great

plain rise in solitary grandeur, with the immense range of Slieve Bloom on the southern horizon, which the men of old regarded as nature's barrier between the Hy-Niall and the warriors of Leagh Mogha. It is difficult to get anywhere else in Ireland, except, perhaps, from the Hill of Usnach, in Westmeath, and that is somewhat similar, a prospect to equal the view from Tara Hill in extent, in variety, in picturesque beauty, and historic interest. You may get grander and wilder scenes, but nothing more attractive to the eye, or more suggestive to the mind, than the matchless landscape revealed from the summit of Tara Hill.

It is no wonder, then, that the fertility of the soil, and the beauty of the prospect from Tara Hill, attracted the attention of even the earliest colonists in Ireland. These ancient men of barbarous times, in one thing, at least, showed far more taste and judgment than the cultured people of this nineteenth century. They chose for their dwellings and strongholds the breezy summits of fertile hills, which at once gave them health and security, and above all a far-reaching vision of picturesque grandeur. No doubt it was necessary for them to see the country far around them, so as to be able to notice the approach of the foe, and take measures for their own defence in unsettled times. But I think there was something else in their minds besides this idea of self-defence. They appreciated, in their own simple way, the manifold beauties of their island-home; they loved to see them and enjoy them; and the vision gave them loftier thoughts and bolder hearts. They would not dream—no, not the smallest Irish chief—of building his dun in a swampy plain or secluded valley. You will not see, in any part of the country, an ancient rath occupying such a site. No; they were in their own land, and they built their homes on the windy crests of the swelling uplands, where they could see their wide domains, their flocks and herds, the approach of the foe, and the gathering of the warriors to defend their hearths and homes.

II. HISTORY OF TARA HILL

Of the colonists that came to stay in the land, the Firbolgs were the earliest ; and the bards tell us that Slainge, the first high king of that race, chose Tara Hill as the site of his royal palace,¹ and called it Druim Caein or the Beautiful Hill. If we can trust the chronology of the Four Masters, Slainge was contemporary with Abraham in the Land of Canaan : so that we must go back some nineteen hundred years before the Christian era for the first dun that crowned the Royal Hill. I do not ask you to believe this. I merely quote the statement ; and it is probably as well founded as a good deal of what is set down as ancient history. O'Flaherty's chronology, however, which fixes the advent of the Firbolgs about the year 1250 B.C. is far more probable.

It is, however, to the second colony that occupied Ireland—the Tuatha de Danann that the origin of the Royal City of Tara is more commonly traced. Nine kings of the Firbolgs, it is said, ruled the land ; but as they reigned in all only thirty-seven years, they could not have done much for Tara. It was the new colony—a more civilized and powerful people—who brought the ogham lore to Erin and the Lia Fail to Tara, which they made—so the bardic story tells us—their Cathair, or capital city. Stone-buildings were certainly not abundant at Tara ; but still as it is called a Cathair by the poet Kineth O'Hartigan, in the tenth century, we need not hesitate to adopt the term.

Tara was called Cathair Crofinn even before it was called Tara ; and Crofinn is said to have been a queen of the Tuatha de Danann, remarkable both for her talents and her beauty. Doubtless she was buried within the precincts of the Royal Rath, to which she gave her name ; that is, if she did not, like many others of her people, take up her abode in the Land of Youth, either under the grassy slopes of Tara, or some other of the beautiful enchanted hills of Erin.

¹ Poem ascribed to Caoilte MacRonain.

They were a strange people, these Tuatha de Danann, dark-eyed and brown-haired, of unknown origin, but of much culture, ingenuity, and weird mysterious power, who left no survivors in the land of Erin, at least, amongst the children of mortal men. Would they had not vanished so completely, for the bardic story that tells of their advent and departure is full of a strange subtle interest which takes and keeps the mind by a secret, silent influence that cannot be measured or analysed. It pervades alike our history and our romance, the tales of our childhood, and the wanderings of our maturer fancy in mystic realms of a fairyland that is not all a fable.

It was the Tuatha de Danann who brought to Tara that wonderful Lia Fail, the Stone of Destiny, of which you all have heard something. Some say it is still in Tara, others that it is under the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey. I shall speak of it presently, but it is quite natural that the enchanted stone should be the gift of the enchanted people; and its history—part fact and part fable—is as strange and mysterious as their own.

So when the Milesian colony came to Erin, Tara, though not yet called by that name, was already the chief royal seat of the monarchy. Heremon was married to his cousin, a beautiful and accomplished princess named Tea, and she asked her lord, even before they landed, to give her as her dower her choice hill in Erin, "that she might be interred therein, and that her mound and grave-stone might be raised thereon," and "where every prince to be born of her race should dwell for ever." This favour was guaranteed to her; and then we are told that she chose Druim Caein, called also Laeth-Druim, the Beautiful Hill, which from her is called Tea-Mur, *i. e.*, Tara, the Mound of Tea, and therein she was interred. The Irish form was Tea-mur, latinized Temora, which by a kind of metathesis has become Tara in the genitive case. Other explanations of the name have been also given; but this is at once the most ancient, the most natural, and the most poetic. The pillar stone still standing on Tara Hill, over the Croppies' grave, which Petrie thinks was the original Lia Fail, was in my

opinion the gravestone raised over Tea's monument more than three thousand years ago. We know that such monumental pillars, 'hoary inscrutable sentinels of the past,' were raised elsewhere over royal graves, as at Rathcroghan over the grave of King Dathi, and at Roscam, near Galway, over the grave of King Brian, the great ancestor of the Connaught kings; and in some cases they came to be worshipped as idols. So Tea's pillar-stone was raised at Tara over her *mur* or grave mound, from which it was removed after 1798, but only a few paces, to place over the Croppies' grave, where the foolish insurgent youths made their last vain stand. And still it stands through all the changeful centuries, and the ashes of Tea's offspring, who died for the land she loved, now rest in peace beneath its shadow.

III. THE FEIS OF TARA

One hundred and twenty kings of the Scotie or Milesian race reigned in Erin from Heremon to the cursing and desolation of Tara in A.D. 565; and it may be regarded as fairly certain that all these high-kings kept their court (at least for a time) on the Royal Hill. The history of Tara would, in fact, during all this time, be the history of Ireland. So we can only refer to a few of the most noteworthy events in its annals specially connected with the place itself.

Ollamh Fodhla, the fortieth in the list of Irish kings, after a reign of forty years, died, we are told by the Four Masters, 'in his own house at Tara. He was the first king by whom the Feis, or Assembly of Tara, was instituted; and by him also a *Mur Ollamhan* was erected at Tara.' The king's real name was Eochy, the term *Ollamh Fodhla*, or Doctor of Erin, being given to him as an agnomen on account of his learning. There are not wanting critics who doubt of the existence of this ancient king; but the entry proves at least one thing, that the 'Feis Tara' was in popular estimation of very ancient origin. Reference is frequently made to this famous assembly in all our ancient literature, both sacred and profane. It was, in fact, the national parliament of the Celtic tribes in Ireland, and as such must have exercised a very great influence on the national life. It was held trien-

nially for one week at Samhaintide, that is three days before and three days after November Day. It is probable that in fine weather the chiefs met in council on the green of Tara in the open air ; but if the weather were inclement then the meeting was held indoors, and most likely in the great banquetting hall, which was the largest building in Tara. Its object was to discuss all matters of national importance, especially the enactment of new laws, the assessment of tribute, the examination and purification of the national annals, the settlement of tribal disputes, and the maintenance of a militia for the preservation of the peace and the protection of the nation. All broils between individuals or factions during its sessions were punishable with death, without the option of an eric, and it would seem that it was forbidden to bear deadly weapons, or engage in martial exercises, lest they might lead to strife amongst the champions. The place of every king and chief was fixed by the public heralds with the greatest exactness, and his arms and shield hung above the head of the chieftain, but were not worn in the hall. When the day's work was done the revels were begun, the feasting and drinking being often prolonged to a late hour of the night ; and they sometimes found it convenient to sleep beneath the couches on which they sat.

The next famous reign in connection with the history of Tara is that of Tuathal Teachtmar. In connection with Tara his most important proceeding was to take a portion from each of the old provinces to form a mensal kingdom for the high-king. These united together formed the new province of Meath, which henceforth was reserved for the maintenance of the royal court and royal levies of the high-king. The ancient Feis of Tara was preserved ; but Tuathal directed that yearly assemblies should be held in each of the four parts of his dominions taken from the other provinces. So he ordained that at Tlacht, near Athboy, a religious festival should be held at Beltane ; that a great fair should be held at Usnach about mid-summer ; and that a marriage-market, with sports and games, should be established at Tailteann on the first Sunday of August, called in consequence Lugnasa ; but this latter was probably of far

earlier origin. He also required an oath from the kings and chiefs assembled at the Feis Tara, that they would be loyal to his house for ever, and never set up a king from the Attacots, or even from any rival house. These were all just and wise regulations, which tended to concentrate and consolidate the royal authority over the whole nation in a single royal family—a thing greatly needed and much to be desired in Erin. But he was also partly responsible for another institution, which caused much bloodshed in Tara and much strife in Erin for many centuries, and contributed long afterwards, at least indirectly, to bring it under foreign domination. This was the establishment of the celebrated Borrumean Tribute.

IV. ORIGIN OF THE BORRUMEAN TRIBUTE

It arose in this way. Tuathal had two daughters 'more beautiful than the clouds of heaven.' The King of Leinster sought the eldest in marriage, and obtained his request; but after a while he heard that the younger was the more beautiful. So he sent a false message to Tara, saying that the elder sister had died, and that he now wished to marry her younger sister. This request was also granted; but after a little the two sisters happened to meet face to face in the dun of Naas. Then the eldest, heart-broken at the deceit practised against herself and her sister, died of shame, and the younger shortly afterwards died of grief at the cruel fate of her unhappy sister.

Word of these proceedings was soon brought to Tara, and to the kings of Ulster and Connaught, who were the foster-fathers of the maidens in question. A great army was raised; Leinster was harried with fire and sword; the wicked king was slain; and its princes and people were required to pay annually a tax of 1,500 sheep, 1,500 pigs, 1,500 kine, with many other things also; amongst the rest, a brazen boiler large enough to boil twelve oxen and twelve pigs at one go for the hosts of Tara. For more than five hundred years this oppressive tax was the cause of continuous bloodshed. It was often levied, but never without a fight; it was oftener successfully resisted, but always

caused hatred, strife, and slaughter between the two kingdoms until its final remission through the prayers and diplomacy of St. Moling. One enduring effect it produced was a great estrangement between the men of Leinster and Conn's Half, which was not without its influence in inducing the Lagenians to side with the Danes at Clontarf, and at a later date in moving false Diarmaid MacMurrough to bring in the Norman, in order to be revenged on his own countrymen. Such are the far-reaching consequences of public crime and injustice.

V. CORMAC MAC ART

One hundred and twenty years later the majestic figure of Cormac Mac Art is seen on Tara Hill; and Tara never saw another king like him—neither his grandsire Conn, nor Niall of the Hostages, nor any other pagan monarch of Ireland. If he had an equal at all it was Brian Boru, who may justly be regarded as the greatest of the Christian kings of Erin, even as Cormac was of the pagan kings. The monuments of Tara especially were the creation and the glory of Cormac. Most of its monuments were erected or restored by him; he appears as the central figure in its history, the hero of its romantic tales, the guardian of its glories, and the champion of its prerogatives. For forty years he reigned in Tara; he drank delight of battle with his peers in a hundred fights; but he was not only king but a sage, a scholar, and lawgiver, whose works, at least in outline, have come to our own times, and have challenged the admiration of all succeeding ages. When he came to die he refused to be laid with his pagan sires in Brugh, but told them to bury him at Rosnaree, with his face to the rising sun, that the light from the east just dawning in his soul might one day light up with its heavenly radiance the gloom of his lonely grave.

Cormac appears first of all as a historian and chronicler. He it was who assembled the chroniclers of Ireland, at Tara, say the Four Masters, 'and ordered them to unite the chronicles of Ireland in one book called the *Psalter of Tara*.' That great work is no longer in existence; but Cuan O'Lochan, a poet of the tenth century, gives us a

summary of its contents, which would lead us to infer that the *Psalter of Tara* was somewhat like the *Psalter of Cashel*, the contents of which are embodied in the *Book of Rights*. As a lawgiver, Cormac may be regarded as the original author of the great compilation known as the *Senchus Mor*, of course not in its present form; but he laid the foundations on which that immense superstructure was afterwards erected. And it is not improbable that in the text, as distinguished from the commentary of the older work, we have many of the legal *dicta* uttered, if not penned, by Cormac himself.

The learned work known as *Teirgasc na Riogh* has also been attributed to Cormac by our antiquaries, who say that he composed it for the instruction of his son and successor, Cairbre, when he himself was incapacitated to reign from the loss of one of his eyes. He was equally renowned as a warrior, and broke fifty battles against his foes, north, south, east, and west. He was the great patron of Finn MacCumhal and his warrior band, who really composed his staff and standing army; and to secure the friendship of that great warrior Finn, Cormac gave him his daughter Graine in marriage. The lady, however, was by no means faithful to her liege lord, and her elopement and wanderings with Diarmaid formed the theme of many a song. Cormac was also a great builder. He erected the rath, which still bears his name at Tara; he restored and enlarged the great banquet hall; he erected for his handmaiden Carnaid, the first mill known in Ireland, and thus made Tara the great capital of all the land—the centre of its strength, its power, its grandeur, and its civilization. An ancient writer has preserved a picture of Cormac presiding at the feis of Tara, which we have no reason to think exaggerated.¹ He describes Tara as a beautiful sunny city of feasts, of goblets, of springs, as a world of perishable beauty, the meeting-place of heroes, with twice seven doors and nine mounds around it, a famous strong cathair, the great house of a thousand soldiers, lit up with seven splendid, beautiful chandeliers of brass. Cormac himself sat at the head of all

¹ Kenneth O'Hartigan.

the princes of Erin, clothed in a crimson mantle, with brooch of gold, a golden belt about his loins, splendid shining sandals on his feet, a great twisted collar of red gold around his neck. We might well doubt the accuracy of this description, but that the twisted collars of gold have been found at Tara, and a golden brooch of exquisite workmanship, with many other ornaments not far off. Cormac was a Connaught-man; at least, his mother was a Connaught-woman; and he himself was born and nurtured under the shadow of Kesh Corran, in the county of Sligo.

VI. ST. PATRICK AT TARA

Cormac was the link connecting Pagan and Christian Ireland. The next scene on the Hill of Tara brings the two religions face to face in the person of St. Patrick and the Druids of King Laeghaire. My description of this meeting must be very brief, yet it was the most momentous event that ever took place in the history of Ireland, for it was a struggle to the death between the old religion and the new.

Here let me observe that Druidism was not an immoral and debasing superstition, such, for instance as now may be seen in many parts of Africa. It taught the immortality, or at least the transmigration, of souls, it inculcated the necessity of many natural virtues; and, though it was idolatrous and tolerant of fratricidal strife, its very superstitions were romantic, for it deified all nature. Hence the cult, as a whole, was very dear to the hearts of our Celtic forefathers, and was closely interwoven with their national life. As McGee has well said of the Druids:—

Their mystic creed was woven round
The changeful year—for every hour
A spirit and a sense they found
A cause of piety and power,
The crystal wells were spirit springs,
The mountain lakes were peopled under,
And in the grass the fairy rings
Excelled rustic awe and wonder.
Far down beneath the western sea
Their Paradise of youth was laid,
In every oak and hazel tree
They saw a fair immortal maid,—
Such was the chain of hopes and fears
That bound our sires a thousand years.

The battle then between Patrick and the Druids was a battle to the death; and the saint could not conquer without visible help from on high. There are critics that accept the natural but reject the supernatural facts in the narrative. The testimony for both is precisely the same; so their proceeding is extremely foolish. That Patrick could conquer the Druids on Tara Hill without a miracle, would, in my judgment, be a stranger thing than any miracle he wrought there.

It was Easter Sunday morning, A.D. 433. Laeghaire with the remnant of his followers had returned at dawn of day from his disastrous journey to Slane. He and his chiefs and Druids were gathered together to take a meal they needed much in the great mid-court or banquet-hall, and at the same time to take counsel for the future, when suddenly and unexpectedly, although not uninvited, Patrick with his few companions having divinely escaped the ambushes of the king, stood before them. Laeghaire was confounded at the sight, but the laws of Irish hospitality were imperative, and being there, Patrick was invited to sit beside the king, and eat and drink. Patrick accepted the invitation; but just before he took the cup the wicked Druid found time to pour in a drop of poison unnoticed into the ale. Patrick blessed the cup with the sign of the cross; the poison curdled, and when the cup was slightly turned fell out; whereupon the Saint drained the cup as if nothing had happened.

Failing in this, the Druid challenged him to work wonders. Patrick accepted the challenge, and the Druid brought a fall of snow on the plain, but he could not remove it: he was powerful for evil, but not for good; whereupon Patrick blessed the plain, and the snow instantly disappeared. Then the Druid brought on a thick darkness over all the face of the country, yet he could not at Patrick's challenge remove it. But the moment the saint made the sign of the cross the darkness disappeared, and the sun shone out in its splendour. Still the contest was not yet over.

Both sides had books—books of power—the Gospel of Patrick, and the magic rolls of the Druids. 'Fling them into the water,' said Laeghaire, 'into the stream close by, that we

may see which comes out uninjured.' 'No,' said the Druid, 'water is his God.' 'Then cast them into the fire,' said Laeghaire. 'No,' said the Druid, 'fire he has also for his God,' alluding to the fire of the Holy Ghost. Then said Patrick to the Druid: 'Let the matter be settled in another way. Let a house be made, and do thou, if thou wilt, go into that house, which shall be completely shut up, with my chasuble around thee, a cleric of my household will also go in with thy Druid's tunic around him. Let the house be fired; and so may God deal doom on you both therein.'

The men of Ireland thought that a fair challenge, and it was reluctantly accepted; yet even there Laeghaire was false, for he caused the Druid's part of the house to be built of green timber, and Benen's part to be built of dry wood. Then a mighty marvel came to pass when the house was fired; the green part thereof was burned, and the Druid within it too, although Patrick's chasuble in which he was clothed was not even singed; whilst Benen's part of the house though dry was not burned at all, only the Druid's cloak around him was burnt to ashes, he himself being untouched by the flames.

The site of Benen's house is still shown on the hill. The wicked king enraged at the death of his Druid would slay Patrick, but God scattered his men, and destroyed many thousands of them on that day. Then the king himself was sore afraid, and he knelt to St. Patrick, and believed in God; 'but he did not believe with a pure heart,' and continued to be half a Pagan all his life, and he died a Pagan's death, and was buried like a Pagan in his grave. Many thousands of the king's people also believed on that same day, when they saw the wondrous signs wrought by Patrick on the Royal Hill.

This was the crowning victory of the Cross at Tara; but it had for a thousand years been the chief seat of idolatry and druidism in the kingdom, and the same spirit lurked there long afterwards.

Oilioll Molt, the immediate successor of Laeghaire, does not seem to have been a Christian; Laeghaire's son, Lughaidh, who reigned for twenty-five years towards the

close of Patrick's life, was not a Christian, and was struck by lightning from heaven at Achadh-Farcha for his impiety. Druidism was not indeed finally destroyed at Tara until the year A.D. 565, when another memorable scene was enacted on the Royal Hill to which we must now briefly refer.

VII. THE CURSING OF TARA

The high-king at the time was Diarmaid, son of Ferghus Cearrbhoil, an able and accomplished prince, who was resolved to maintain the king's peace, order, and discipline, throughout the land. His purpose was certainly good; and it is greatly to be regretted that in enforcing his authority he acted in a very high-handed way, which brought him into conflict with the saints of Erin who triumphed over him.

In the first place there is strong evidence that Diarmaid, though generous to Clonmacnoise, kept Druids in his court and army, and was still secretly attached to the druidical rites. Then, again, he was high-handed in carrying out his laws, without counting the consequences. This led him into conflict with his own cousin, the great St. Columcille, whose person he insulted at Tara by tearing from his arms a youth who fled for refuge to the saint and who was not really a criminal, but, accidentally, a homicide. This outrage raised all the north against the king, and led to his defeat in the bloody battle of Cuildreimhne; but this was not, it seems, warning enough for him. He sent his herald and his high steward over the country to see that the king's peace was duly kept and the royal authority duly respected. This official, to show his own consequence, carried his spear cross-wise before him; and if the entrance to a chief's dun were not large enough to admit his spear thus crossed before him, he caused it to be pulled down, and made wider for the king's courier and for all others. In this manner he came down to the south of the Co. Galway, near the place now called Abbey, in Kinelfechin. The chief of the district who was going to get married and bring home his bride, had a short time before strengthened his dun, and raised a strong palisade of oaken posts over the earthworks.

But for security sake, the entrance was narrow, and the king's bailiff could not carry in his spear cross-wise. 'Hew down your doors,' said the bailiff. 'Do it yourself,' said Aedh Guaire, and at the same moment he drew his sword and with one blow struck off the man's head. It was treason against the king, and Guaire knew it well, so he fled for refuge, first to Bishop Senach his half-brother, and afterwards to St. Ruadhan of Lorrha, who was also his relative. But Ruadhan also feared the king, and advised the criminal to fly for safety to the King of Wales. But, even there, the king demanded his extradition; so that, in despair, he came once more to Ruadhan. Then Ruadhan hid him in a hole under his own cell, afterwards called *poll* Ruadhan. Whereupon the king, hearing that Guaire was at Lorrha, came in person to demand the criminal. 'Where is he?' said the king. 'Give him up to me at once.' 'I know not where he is if he is not under this thatch,' said Ruadhan. As the king could not find him, he departed; but reflecting that Ruadhan would not tell a lie, and that he must therefore be on the premises, he returned and discovered the unhappy fugitive whom he carried off to Tara.

Now, this was a violation of the 'right of sanctuary, *i.e.*, monastic sanctuary, which, if it were ever defensible, would be most defensible in that lawless and sanguinary time. So Ruadhan, summoning to his aid the two St. Brendans, his neighbours, and many other saints whom he had known at Clonard, in the school of St. Finnian, followed the king to Tara to demand the fugitives. The king refused; but they were not to be put off. They fasted on the king, and it seems the king fasted on them. One old chronicler says that for a full year 'they anathematized Diarmaid, and plied him with miracles, he giving them back prodigy for prodigy.' This would seem to imply that there was once more a conflict between the Druids and the Saints. But in the end the Saints were completely victorious. 'They chanted psalms of condemnation against him, and rang their bells hardly against him day and night;' and several of the royal youths of Tara died suddenly, without apparent cause. The king, too, had a dream, in which he

saw a great spreading tree on Tara Hill hewn down by strangers, and the mighty crash of its fall awoke him. 'I am that tree,' said Diarmaid, 'and the strangers who chop it are the clergy cutting short my life. By them I am overthrown.' So when he rose he yielded to the clergy, and gave up the prisoner; but, at the same time, he said: 'Ill have ye done to undo my kingdom, for I maintained the righteous cause; and may thy diocese,' he said to Ruadhan, 'be the first one that is ruined in Ireland, and may thy monks desert thee.' And so, says the old tale, it came to pass. Then upon the royal hearth Ruadhan imprecated the blackness of ruin—'that never more in Tara should smoke issue from its roof-tree.' This certainly came to pass; the king died a violent death before the year was over; and no king after him, though they were called kings of Tara, ever dwelt on the Royal Hill.

This, in substance at least, is authentic history; but it is clear that there is more beneath this story than appears at first sight. The conflict really was not between the king and the saints so much as between the saints and his counsellors, the Druids; and it was for that reason that the king was excommunicated, and that Tara was 'cursed,' or interdicted. Yet we cannot help feeling some sympathy for the king, and greatly regretting that 'never more in Tara should smoke issue from its roof-tree.' The curse has been marvellously accomplished; but what a pity that the home of a hundred kings, the royal house of Tuathal, and Cormac, and Niall should be desolate;¹ that the grass should grow in its empty courts; that the cattle should herd where the sages and warriors of the Gael once held high revel. It is surely a sad thing, and it was, moreover, a fatal blow at the unity and power of the nation. With a high-king ruling in Tara there was some chance of welding the tribes of Erin into one great nation; but when Tara fell it might be said that hope had disappeared.

Yet, though Tara was deserted by its kings, for none of them would risk the penalty of dwelling in the accursed site,

¹ Even the author of *Fiacc's Hymn* said: 'I like not that Tara should be made desolate.'

it was later on chosen by St. Adamnan and others as a place to hold great ecclesiastical synods. It may be that Adamnan, wiser than Ruadhan, wished to undo the ancient curse, and prepare Tara to become once more the seat of the monarchy. He certainly held a synod there of the prelates and chiefs of Erin, about the year 697, in which women were formally and authoritatively exempted from military service; so that they became non-combatants, entitled to the protection of all true Christian soldiers on either side.

VIII. THE EXISTING REMAINS AT TARA

The remains still existing at Tara, seen in the light of the lamp of history, are eminently interesting, and well worthy of a visit. I wish I had a luminous map on which I could exhibit them to you; but, failing that, I shall try to describe them as briefly as I can.

Now, suppose you approach the Royal Hill by the great road from the south, anciently called Slighe Dala, and still in existence, at least on the same lines, you turn a little to the left at the southern slope of the hill, and first of all you meet the triple rampart of Rath Laeghaire. It may have been the private residence of the king; but its chief interest for us is that its outer rampart was certainly the burial-place of the king himself. Laeghaire had in his character some traits which we cannot help admiring—bad traits, if you will, but still noteworthy. He was, above all, a steadfast Pagan, and a great hater of Leinstermen. ‘I cannot believe,’ he said, ‘for my father, the great Niall, would not allow me to believe, but told me to have myself buried like a Pagan warrior on the brow of Tara, face to face against my foes; and so shall I stand till the day of doom.’

Well, he obeyed his sire. He had sworn a great Pagan oath, by all the elements, that he would no more exact the Borrumean tribute from the men of Leinster, and he was released by them from captivity on the faith of his oath. But he did try to exact it, and he was slain by the elements—by the sun and wind—on the banks of Liffey. But the dying king was still true to his promise to his father. ‘Carry my body home to Tara,’ he said, ‘and bury me like a king.’

And so they interred him, with all his weapons upon him, in the south-eastern rampart of his own royal rath, standing up with shield and spear, and his face to Leinster, defying them, as it were, from his grave until the day of doom. I wonder is he still there, or did they do to him what the men of Tir Conall did to another old hero who gave similar directions—carry him off by night from his royal grave, and bury him flat in a marsh with his face down, that he might no more fight from his grave against his hereditary foes. At any rate, when Monsignor Gargan brings you to Tara do not miss Rath Laeghaire, and carefully examine its south-eastern rampart.

Now, leaving Rath Laeghaire, continue due north about one hundred paces, and you come to the outer rampart of Rath na Riogh—where it *was* rather—for much of it has been carried away. Within this outer rampart were all the most ancient monuments of Tara. It was also called Cathair Crofinn from the Tuatha de Danann Queen; and most likely contains her grave. A little to the right within this great inclosure on the east was ‘Cormac’s House,’ the palace which he built for himself, where he dwelt, and which was the scene of his glories. It had, at least, a double rampart round it to separate the palace from the other buildings of the Royal City; and was of considerable extent. Further on, only a few paces, was the Farradh or Hall of Meeting; the word also means a seat, and doubtless signified the place of the royal seat or throne, where the kings and chiefs of Erin assembled in council round the monarch. Then beyond the Farradh, still to the north, we find on the right or east side the Mound of the Hostages—Dumha-na-Giall—where the royal hostages were kept sometimes in fetters of gold to indicate their quality, but fettered all the same, for otherwise the light-limbed youths in bondage would soon clear the ramparts of Tara, and make their way to their distant homes. On the left, but close by, was the site of the famous Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny. I have already indicated that there is a great controversy about the identity of this stone, and I have signified my own opinion. This stone never could have served the purpose of an

inauguration-stone; for it is a true pillar-stone, and the king-elect could not be expected to stand upon it. The Lia Fail, we are told, was the stone on which the kings were inaugurated, and on which they planted their feet in symbol of sovereignty. Then, if the prince were of true royal line, the stone bellowed loudly to signify approval, otherwise it was dumb. This stone, we are told, was taken over to Scotland by Fergus Mor MacEarc, a brother of the high-king of Tara at that time, the beginning of the sixth century, that he might be inaugurated on this ancestral stone as king of the Scottish Dalriada. It was taken from Scone, it is said, in the time of Edward I., and is now under the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey. Petrie's chief objection to this story is two-fold—first, that we have no reference to this translation in our ancient annals; and, secondly, that the Milesian chiefs would never allow the stone to be carried out of the kingdom.

Well, in reply to the last point we can only say that most likely one brother lent the stone secretly to the other without consulting his chiefs; and the same thing would account for the silence of the Irish annalists. It is not recorded in the annals of the nation. The story of the translation came from Scotland, and is told only by our later antiquaries. It is a question, though very interesting, not yet by any means settled.

Outside Rath na Riogh, to the north-east, was the well Neamhnach, which still flows away to the north-east. It is chiefly interesting as the site of the first corn mill ever erected in Ireland. Cormac had a beautiful handmaiden, a bondswoman called Carnaid, whose duty it was to grind the corn on the hand quern. He pitied the hard toil of the maiden, and having got some idea of water mills during his foreign wars, he erected this to lighten the labour of the maiden. The well still flows, and until quite recently we believe its waters turned a mill at Tara.

Beyond the outer rampart of Rath na Riogh, still northward, was the Rath of the Synods—Rath Seanadh—where Adamnan, and Patrick before him, held a synod of the clerics and chiefs of Erin. It has been practically defaced by the

wall of the Protestant Church, a recent structure, wholly out of place on such a site.

Just a little north-east of this point, between the Rath of the Synods, and the southern extremity of the banquet-hall, on the very summit of the hill, the five great roads that led to Tara had their meeting-point. They can still to some extent be traced from the crown of Tara radiating in all directions. It is said that they were discovered on the night that the great Conn was born; but probably it merely means that his father, who had finished their construction, declared them formally open in honour of that event. I cannot now describe them at length, but it may be said that in general they ran in the route of the modern trunk lines of railway to all parts of ancient Erin.

Just beyond the Rath of the Synods still going to the north, we find the great Teach-Míodhcuarta, the mid-court house, or the mead-circling house, as others have translated it, by far the most interesting of all the existing monuments of ancient Tara. Its site can still be distinctly traced from north to south, and the measurements correspond with the accounts of the building given in our ancient books. It was no less than eight hundred feet in length, and from sixty to eighty feet in breadth, with six or seven great entrances on either side. You will at once perceive that this was an immense hall, larger than one of the sides of your largest square, and capable of accommodating an immense number of chiefs and warriors, either at meat or in council. There was a great range of couches all round the walls; the tables, loaded with meat, were in the centre; the lower portion seems to have contained a great kitchen for roasting and boiling, and we are told that some of the large pots could contain several beeves and pigs which were boiled together. When the meal was ready the attendants plunged huge forks into the boilers, which carried out several joints at once to be deposited as they were, without covers we may presume, before the assembled kings and warriors. At that time and long after, knives and forks were unknown; but I have no doubt skeans and daggers were called into

requisition, and perhaps did the work of carving quite as well.

I hope I have said enough to awaken in you a keener interest to know for yourselves all about the Royal Hill ; and if so, then I have gained my purpose in speaking before you here of ' Tara, Pagan and Christian.'

✠ JOHN HEALY.

THE POLICY OF CARDINAL WISEMAN¹

IT would be a pleasant occupation to deal with volumes so full of character and incident as these in the light of literature, and to compare them with some other famous biographies of celebrated modern men. But my task is not so easy, nor the scope at which I shall aim so level to the apprehension of those who read while they run their several ways, and who take up *The Life of Cardinal Wiseman* for their amusement. To me it appears that Mr. Ward has raised a vital issue, not only in his last far-reaching and speculative chapter on 'The Exclusive Church and the Zeitgeist,' but from his very setting out. In exhibiting Cardinal Wiseman as a preacher, a controversialist, a ruler, and a restorer, he has traced the lines upon which the first archbishop of a new Catholic England desired that the movement of recovery should go forward ; he has drawn out a policy, and directed our attention to principles of such high importance, if we once accept them as our own, that no ecclesiastical statesman or student, no public writer in the orthodox camp, no theologian or metaphysician, who dreams of being heard outside his college walls, can afford to pass them over in silence. If the Cardinal knew his age, the methods which he pursued in the hope of winning it deserve our closest examination. Nor will they lose in power or persuasiveness, should it be demonstrable that in

¹ *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman.* In two volumes. By Wilfrid Ward. London and New York : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1897.

following them, as he did, through a most varied and enthusiastic career, this great cosmopolitan and father of the Church in our day was one of a number whose thoughts and designs have at length had the seal of authority set upon them by Pope Leo XIII.

Not that we can separate Wiseman from his work, or leave him on one side as a mere abstraction, as the name we attach to a system, and an *ens rationis*, after the manner of certain scholastic pedants who, at their best, were a volume of impersonal syllogisms. The Irish heart of this lonely and sensitive student was exceedingly human. He suffered much, and knew that he suffered. With all his ardours, enterprises, and hopes he felt the need of sympathy, which was often denied him, and never, perhaps, quite answered his large expectations. He remained a shy creature, this imposing and stately person, with his six feet two inches of height, his breadth and bigness, his robes, and trains, and equipage. He was not in the least that dexterous, self-confident 'Bishop Blougram' fished up by a pattern Protestant in Italy—I mean Robert Browning—from the depths of his early but unfounded imaginations of what a Roman cardinal must ever be—no fool, but more than three parts knave, and wholly Epicurean. In that dark house of the Via Monserrato known as the Collegio Inglese, Wiseman lived a curious, dreamlike existence, free to study as he pleased, wrapt up in Eastern books and manuscripts, bent over his Syriac and his Hebrew, face to face with the sacred text so little familiar to many of those about him; and he went through a trial of fire that left its mark upon his spirit, and must have contributed towards the shaping of his policy in later years. I shall be allowed to quote this pregnant passage, in which we find the true Wiseman, simple, as he always was, loyal and candid; a witness to the faith wherein, if he now had his severe difficulties, yet, even thus, he could not be shaken:—

Many and many an hour have I passed [he writes to a nephew, in 1848] alone, in bitter tears, on the loggia of the English College, when everyone was reposing in the afternoon, and I was fighting with subtle thoughts and venomous suggestions of a

fiendlike infidelity which I durst not confide to anyone, for there was no one that could have sympathized with me. This lasted for years; but it made me study and think, to conquer the plague—for I can hardly call it a danger—both for myself and others . . . But during the actual struggle the simple submission of faith is the only remedy. Thoughts against faith must be treated at the time like temptations against any other virtue—put away—though in cooler moments they may be safely analyzed and unravelled.

In another letter of 1858 he speaks with painful feeling of these years as 'years of solitude, of desolation . . . years of shattered nerves, dread often of instant insanity, consumptive weakness, of sleepless nights and weary days, and hours of tears which no one witnessed.'¹

Remarkable, surely, is this disclosure of a depth below the surface that his friends did not imagine, and of experiences in which they could not share. Wiseman writes at all times with transparent sincerity; but his too florid style, which is the Spanish of Gongora or the Italian of Marini, seldom touches the heart. In these brief and broken words it is piercing. We seem to hear the accents of Lamennais; nor would it be difficult to detect in that sombre correspondence of the Breton cries which ascend in a like enthralling strain of mingled faith and perplexity. Are we astonished at a resemblance which turned out to be no sameness in the sequel? Those, certainly, will be far from taking scandal who are much travelled in the *Lives of the Saints*, and who do not forget the desolate hours of St. Ignatius and St. Theresa. If any man will be a guide through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, let him first explore its dolorous ways, and taste that darkness which may be felt. Nay, as the most lightsome of moderns has told us—and he, perchance, by temper a real Epicurean—whoso has not eaten his bread with tears, shall never know the heavenly powers; so true is it that sorrow is the beginning of wisdom. To have learned 'patience, self-reliance, concentration,' to have been 'self-disciplined' during a conflict

¹ Ward, i., pp. 64-65.

so absorbing—this, the Cardinal affirms, made him what he was :—

Amid these trials [he continues] I wrote my *Horae Syriacae*, and collected notes for the lectures 'On the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion' and the 'Eucharist.' Without this training I should never have thrown myself into the Puseyite controversy of a later period.

The testimony is clear as it is striking. To days and years of a torture that, in Montaigne's strong language, 'strips the man to his shirt,' that burns up delusions, and shows in what a fearful and mysterious world our lot is cast—to this baptism by fire, and meditation in the wilderness, we owe the Cardinal Wiseman who met the Oxford movement half way; who realized that faith is a gift of grace, and not the fruit of controversy; who was never self-righteous, or hard upon the weak and feeble; and who would not quench the smoking flax which others were sometimes tempted to trample into its ashes.

At his only English school, Ushaw, Wiseman describes himself as a 'lone unmurmuring boy,' dull and friendless, fond of reading, overlooked by superiors, but still not unhappy. The journey to Rome stirred his imagination. He was one of five students from St. Cuthbert's who began the new career of the Collegio Inglese, which had been shut up since the French depredations of 1798, and was opened now under Cardinal Consalvi's patronage. From that day Rome laid a spell upon the young Irish-Spaniard, a lad of sixteen, more at home always on the Continent than he felt himself to be later on at Oscott or York-place, and henceforth delivered from the narrowing influences that had given something harsh and stern, as well as an insular tone of thought, to the excellent, stubborn, old-world Catholics among whom he might have continued to vegetate save for this unexpected change of situation. He became an absolute Roman.

The season was, in Europe at large, a stormy spring-tide. Old things were passing away; the new were putting forth buds of promise. A mighty reaction had set in with Joseph de Maistre, with Chateaubriand, Lamennais,

Görres, and the Schlegels; all of whom quickened the Romantic movement which was looking to the Middle Age for inspiration, and which saw in the Catholic Church a majesty and a charm unapproachable by the sects, and enhanced by her recent victory over Napoleon. The grave religious figure of Pius VII., a suffering saint, represented to Wiseman that beauty of holiness, that hidden strength; and he went about Rome, studying it as an open book, as the visible and most touching evidence of a Christianity which gloried in its martyrs, and offered sacrifice in its Catacombs, and dedicated the ancient judgment-halls as its basilicas, and took over as its inheritance the arts, the literature, the laws, and the imperial instincts of that earlier city, the world's mistress. Rome was an epitome of the ages, not more mediæval than modern, abounding in memories of the Renaissance, but mindful yet of St. Gregory, of St. Callistus, of the Apostles themselves. Who could know its ways intimately and not be versatile, as a man that has learned how different is one period from another, how many are the tongues in which our faith is chanted, how obstinate and distinct are the characters of those countless tribes that come on pilgrimage to St. Peter's? The government of a Universal Church must be conciliatory, else it will fall into endless disasters. Schools of thought exist in the unity of the creed which no Pope or Council would allow to condemn or to extirpate their rivals; and yet the Augustinian, the Jesuit, the Dominican, the Scotist and the Thomist, the Aristotelian and the Platonist, agree to differ on points which are closely knit up with principles of immense and vital consequence to mankind. Often the Church's decision has been that she will not decide; she sets bounds to human rashness, and she leaves a wide domain for private exploration. She keeps a steady gaze on past centuries, suffers their memorials to persist side by side, is tolerant of many forms, takes her language from the current phraseology, chooses rather than creates, is willing to make the best of circumstances, developes by selection, and is at home with Orientals, Africans, Byzantines, Franks, Normans, Celts, and Teutons, indifferent to all their varieties, though neither

supercilious nor disinterested; and she cares at last for one thing only, 'the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.'

We shall never grasp Wiseman's ruling idea if we fail to understand this politic but sincere acquiescence in men's human qualities, so long as they did not run counter to any truth of Revelation. He was perfectly tolerant because he had learned to be orthodox in the Roman sense; large with the exquisite good-nature and the fine balance that belong to a system in which every phase of history has its assignable position. His first impulse could never be to anathematize a novel growth in the world around him, but to see whether it would not bear grafting on the Roman olive, and give its fruit and its richness to the sanctuary. The genuine Roman spirit is neither sectarian nor syncretist; for it relies upon a tradition that knows its own; and by long practice it has learned the wisdom of waiting, until light descends from all sides to illuminate the question at issue. In matters so delicate, and as momentous as they are full of a perplexing subtlety, haste is more to be dreaded than the longest delays. For submission to the Church's *magisterium* secures the faith; and it lies in the nature of development that contributions of knowledge will be frequently made by those without. All judgment, even that of the unerring Master, has its needful preliminaries, which, while they are indispensable, cannot be forced, and will not be anticipated.

The distinction which we may claim for Wiseman is that he never lost sight of either element in Church history. Rome offered him as a great series of facts and institutions, of memories and monuments, the philosophy in visible shape that to others, like Newman writing his *Development of Christian Doctrine*, or Möhler contemplating systems of grace and summing up decrees of Councils, was an inference painfully to be deduced from remote historical premises. He could say, with his future heroine, St. Agnes, 'Ecce, quod concupivi, jam video, quod speravi, jam teneo;' what proof was equal to the vision that came about him on every side, 'in splendoribus sanctorum,' and that refreshed his weary heart when difficulties and doubts assailed him, drawn these, not from the facts which he beheld, but from

a critical survey of problems darkened by their immeasurable antiquity and scribbled over with the comments of unbelievers? If Rome were one and the same thing as the Christian religion, for Wiseman this lower sphere must have been simply the gate of heaven. And when his 'desolate years' came to an end, when the yawning gulfs suffered him to rise towards the light once more, this Rome it was which he made the centre of his preaching. He knew no other Gospel; the touchstone of all good was the *Cathedra Petri*. How would it affect the doctrines, customs, prejudices, aspirations, activities, of those whom he was intended to convince or to govern?

As a boy he had seen something of the old English Catholics. Now he was making acquaintance, as a student of Eastern languages, a writer upon questions of Bible scholarship, a professor and a preacher in the Rome of Pius VII. and Leo XII., with antiquarians, tourists, ambassadors, and a mixed society, in which we do not hear of sceptics or German philosophers. Wiseman spoke and wrote in many dialects. It was too early for Westerns to busy themselves about Russian. And, well as he had learnt the speech of the Fatherland, it does not appear that he was deeply read in the classics of Germany. I cannot find any tokens of his intimacy with Kant, or Hegel, or Goethe, or Lessing. Abstract metaphysical studies had no charm for him; and St. Thomas Aquinas occupied but a little space in the curriculum of the Roman University or the *Apollinare* of those innocent days. The Romantic Movement, which suffered a severe defeat towards the middle of the century, had attended to letters more than to science or systems of pure thought, and its promise went beyond its performance. Still, we must remark, how liberal, in comparison with the Oxford of 1830, was the interest which Wiseman displayed, not only in exegesis and in the collation of Syriac manuscripts, but in physical science, in the philosophy of language, and in the movement of ideas throughout Europe at large. He corresponded with Tholuck, Möhler, and Döllinger; he was an eager disciple of Mai and Mezzofanti; with Lamennais he has recorded a most significant conversation;

and his friendship at the Prussian Embassy, when Bunsen resided there, led to his first acquaintance with Newman. Thus he had come into contact, before his thirty-second year, with old Catholics, modern Liberals of many schools, orthodox as well as heterodox, and the Via Media of the Church of England. But the school to which he belonged himself was at once Catholic and progressive, bent on reconstruction, and much more enamoured of conciliation than of controversy.

Rome was larger, as he found by an intimate experience, than Ushaw, Oxford, or Tübingen. On returning to England, in 1835, he was amazed as well as saddened by the apathy of which his Catholic friends everywhere gave tokens, in the presence of a new world of ideas into which they did not care to enter. Like the men in Plato's allegory of the cave, their eyes, so long turned to darkness, could not endure the fresh light that was streaming in upon them out of a morning sky. They were a remnant, helpless and divided. They lagged behind the age; but many of them had lost the brave old spirit of their religion—a hundred years or so, since the ruin of the Jacobite cause, had inflicted grievous wounds upon them,—the apostasy of great families, the infection of free-thinking, distrust or dislike of the Holy See, a Gallican gloom and rigour, a sense of total frustration and unavailing fatigue. They stood aloof as much almost from Rome as from England. Their devout men, with honourable exceptions like Milner, had fallen upon methods dry and harsh, foreign as they were now become to the *Vita Mystica* which is the heart and soul of Catholic piety. Good priests cried out against the Litany of Loreto, would not endure the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and looked on the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament as a strange thing. Pictures, statues, processions,—all the outward and visible signs of Catholic grace,—were abhorrent to their feeling. They showed the irritation and the feeble contempt of invalids for healthy enterprise, which seemed to them fraught with peril and doomed to inevitable failure. Comparison with a more active form of religion roused them to bitterness; it was cruel, false, impertinent. Yet

they could not help feeling proud when Wiseman's lectures at Moorfields drew all eyes upon him, stirred the country to its depths, and announced a champion whose learning, warmth, and courage, lent a charm that had long been absent to argument in this ancient quarrel. They presented addresses, and for the moment stood up frankly in the open air. But it struck upon most of them like a biting east wind. As soon as Wiseman had gone back to Rome, they retreated into their catacombs.

And yet the days were bringing on a wonderful change. Wiseman had set in the forefront of the battle not detached squadrons of arguments on a hundred points of doctrine, but the one argument, which was, and is, decisive—namely, that there must be, in matters of religion, a supreme, visible, historical authority as the safeguard and the witness of revealed dogma, from which authority there can be no appeal. He had not read De Maistre or talked with Lamennais, and failed to apprehend their governing principle. Upon them that principle had dawned in history, or was the secret of a universal philosophy; Wiseman knew it as the city which was eternal, his beloved Rome. The new Laudians of Oxford were still like men in a dream; slowly and intermittently they laid hands now on one great Catholic truth, now on another, feeling about in the visions of the night of antiquity for objects which appeared to them as dim but real, certain yet obscurely visible, while in Rome these very truths were embodied in sacred rites and institutions, not open to cavil, nor asking any subtle ratiocinations, in order to be recognised. In the *British Critic* Newman contemplated the discourses at Moorfields as a triumph over English divines whose principles were still those of the Reformation. He spoke of 'Romanism' as having in its truths 'which we of this day have almost forgotten, and its preachers,' he said, 'will recall numbers of Churchmen and Dissenters to an acknowledgment of them.' Wiseman was sure to win converts, and the Papal system would spread. Tract 71 opens with the admission that 'the controversy with Roman Catholics has overtaken us like a summer's

cloud ; ' that ' from long security ' no preparation had been made against it ; and that

The same feelings which carry men now to dissent will carry them to Romanism ; novelty being an essential stimulant to popular devotion, and the Roman system, to say nothing of the intrinsic majesty and truth which remain in it amid its corruptions, abounding in this and other stimulants of a most potent and effective character.¹

Sorry comfort these sayings offered to the multitude, who were not unwilling to be disciples of Laud, but who for years had thought of Rome as dead and buried. They spoke their indignation. Yet Newman was the witness of an influence far more concrete and actual than he realized in 1836. Not only was the Reformation victoriously borne down in argument ; the foundations of the National Church were undermined.

A singular and dramatic episode followed upon this engagement of distant artillery between the two leaders. Wiseman was made president of Oscott ; but in his study at Monte Porzio, looking out towards delightful Tusculum and Camaldoli, he had put together, piece by piece, the elements of a demonstration which was founded in the fathers' writings, yet by one stroke passed out of folios and planted itself alive in the nineteenth century. Mr. Ward has described the whole situation, in 1839, with candour and insight ; nor do I hesitate to say, and the acknowledgment is surely due from those who have read his pages, that they furnish no unworthy supplement, at this critical turn, to the *Apologia* itself, which keeps in view rather what was occurring in England than the general hopes and fears of Christendom. Abroad, the logic of the matter was more clearly seen on both sides ; authority made its claim against the omnipotence of individual reason or Private Judgment, and Private Judgment resisted. But there was no confusing issue of antiquarianism which could masquerade, though a disembodied ghost, in the outward shows of an Establishment. Religious minds at Oxford, haunting libraries, lived

¹ *Via Media*, ii., pp. 87-91.

in a realm of shadows; they opposed Antiquity to Authority, never observing that it is only by the power and prerogative of Authority now present that Antiquity does not fade away from the millions of struggling mortals who cannot be scholars and whose life is moulded by action, not by erudition or the fathers. To bring this controversy, otherwise interminable, to an issue, Antiquity itself must be made to pronounce, by one regal sentence, in favour of Authority as its living voice. The sentence was extant in St. Augustine. There had been Anglicans of the fourth century, as there were Donatists of the nineteenth—bishops and churches and local usages, and appeals to times past, exactly the same in both provinces, Carthage and England. But St. Augustine was Antiquity; and he, the greatest of the fathers, had cut through all these questions with a statement of simple fact. Schism, he said, was apostasy; and to be divided from the visible Church was to be a schismatic: ‘Quapropter securus judicat orbis terrarum bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum, in quacunque parte orbis terrarum.’¹

These miraculous words pulverized the *Via Media*, and converted Newman. But I think it has not been remarked that ‘securus judicat orbis terrarum’ is the very principle of Lamennais, translated from the region of metaphysics—where it is capable of doing harm, and may be so handled as to deserve condemnation—to the domain of history and revelation. It excludes private judgment from a subject in which that judgment can possess no *à priori* axioms or self-evident intuitions. The Gospel is a treasure confided to divinely-appointed keepers; if its home is not an historical society from which it cannot be lost, it will have undergone the fate of all previous and subsequent philosophies, which time and tide have disintegrated, broken up, and left at the mercy of mere speculation. Dogma is a fact—or it is nothing better than the fancies of Epicurus or Spinoza. And, if it is a fact, the proof of its existence will lie in the meridian of facts; we shall need only to open our eyes and see it, instead of searching through a thousand volumes for

¹ Ward, i. 323, *seq.*

evidence that it once existed. The parallel to Lamennais' denunciation of idealism is perfect. Lamennais said, 'You cannot prove the world to be a reality; no proof is possible, for none is requisite; your belief in a world is antecedent to all proof.' In like manner, the *Via Media* was Idealism in theology. Given the fathers, said Oxford, the problem is to arrive at an actual Church. Wiseman replied by showing that the problem was far more simple, and that its solution lay close at hand; that the fathers judged between heretics and Catholics by the test of obedience to authority; and that they gave as a sufficient token of authority the *vinculum pacis*, or unity in visible communion. It was obvious, from this point of view, that no Church could be at once apostolic and schismatical; for schism abolished, at one blow, the notes and prerogatives of a Christian Church, and reduced its disciples to a crowd of incoherent dissenters.

When Newman read that famous article, he was staggered. Never again did he see his English Church in the same fair light; and if he was not prepared to offer his submission, yet the *Via Media* had disappeared. His sole ground of reluctance was a Protestant one—belief in Roman corruptions which had crept in since the beginning. But were they corruptions? How if they should turn out to be not corruptions but developments? He yielded immediately, as one may say, to the negative force of Wiseman's quotation from St. Augustine; of its positive or protecting force as regards dogma he had yet to be convinced. In sound logic—I mean if the Gospel was to endure '*usque ad consummationem sæculi*'—the *charisma* of unity which guarded against schism could not fail to guard against corruption; the one Church must be truly Apostolic, and the Creed was, therefore, safe in her keeping. However, this demonstration from the nature of the case would not satisfy Newman. He resolved to work it out in detail, so far, at least, as to realize for himself the identity, under laws of development, which existed between different phases and epochs of the society whose unbroken record lay before him. And here, too, by a most happy combination of circumstances, Wiseman led the way.

It was in October of that same year, 1839, at the opening of St. Mary's, Derby, that the preacher who had just taken the ground from under Newman's feet delivered a sermon which might have been printed in October, 1845, as a summary or a preface of the *Development*. Mr. Ward has done well to give the long extracts from it which we read in his first volume; and, considering how significant is their anticipation of the *New Apologetics*, theological students will find their reward in turning back to so clear and unmistakable a recognition of principles, never, indeed, unknown, yet during this present century brought home to the Christian consciousness with startling vivacity. We must always bear in mind that it was not from Newman the preacher had acquired his doctrine or his illustrations. So much the more instructive is their spontaneous agreement. Wiseman's text, the 'grain of mustard-seed,' becomes, under his calm and conclusive handling, a theory, but a theory which as it moves along calls upon the events of past ages to confirm all that is advanced. If the Old Testament proceeded by way of growth and expansion—so runs his argument—the New has not lost this quality of life.

These principles [he observes, speaking of sin and the need of redemption, on which the Jewish Dispensation rested as upon a corner-stone] did yet seem to be neglected until gradually brought forth by circumstances into a clearer light, and made leading ideas of the first importance.

This is the very tone and spirit of Bishop Butler's *Analogy*; ¹ yet I am disposed to think that not Butler so much as Joseph de Maistre had taught Wiseman a view which is common to St. Augustine and St. Vincent of Lerins. He continues:—

So, in the New Law, we might be led to expect a similar course, and not be surprised if we have to trace practices or feelings which became, at particular times, the leading characteristics of religious thought to doctrines or principles which originally lurked as one seed in the furrow among others of greater magnitude. . . . Nothing is more common, yet nothing is more mistaken, than to confound the greater manifestation of things with their first origin.²

¹ See, especially, Butler, Part ii, ch. 3, p. 160.

² Ward, i., p. 315.

He proceeds to give instances of 'outward growth' and 'interior development':—

Everything [he says] was gradual. At first the Jewish worship was attended, and many of its ceremonial rites observed, with scrupulous precision . . . The hierarchy was not planted by our Saviour, nor by the Apostles themselves, in a systematic form; but the episcopal body, if I may so speak, evolved from itself, in due season, the priestly order . . . The very doctrines of Christianity were communicated with a similar proportion.

And, having laid down this large principle, he applies it, as Newman was to do later on, to the powers of the Holy See and the *cultus* of our Lady. Religious belief does not alter in its essence, but it grows and expands, and has its full effect according as circumstances allow. 'The germ only existed in the beginning;' still, as that germ was a living thing, it contained within itself developments of the grandest compass. 'Through the medium of the affections, as much as through dogmatical investigations,' the mysteries of the faith reached their perfect stature; nay, heresy itself brought out their meaning. Moreover, while

The vivid impressions of one age grew faint under the influence of succeeding agencies, yet enough was left of the spirit of each to be borne down to succeeding generations as a record of the vicissitudes through which their religion had passed. In this way the very evidences of Christianity partook of the character of all else connected with it, being themselves capable of increasing development.¹

Here is a view, we may confidently pronounce, which for the stationary or crystallized Church, whether of Anglicans or Russians, substitutes a doctrine of progress which it makes not so much a part as the whole of our creed, and declares to be the secret whereby, as Catholics, we maintain ourselves under the stress of opposition, as well as advance in the spiritual life. How little Wiseman was afraid of drawing inferences from his own principles of assimilation and evolution, both in dogma and ritual, was already manifest in the *Letters to Mr. John Poynder*, who had assailed the Roman Church as at once heathen and

¹ Ward, i., p. 318.

idolatrous, on the ground of her borrowing from Pagan antiquity. The answer came, not in the form of denial, but as a deliberate acknowledgment, for which the justification might be found in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*, and in St. Gregory's *Epistles*. There was a wider conception of Providence than English Puritan theology had grasped. Religious truths, and the symbolism by which they are fittingly shadowed forth, lie dispersedly in fragments, suggestions, gleams, and strange distorted figures, all over the surface of the world. Inspiration, without antecedents or material to work upon, is not the power which has established Christianity from of old.

If Rome has borrowed, so has Judea. The most peculiar of the dogmas confessed by every Church throughout the West—the Incarnation itself—may be paralleled in earlier forms of belief, and are not unknown to those enormous systems that have long held sway among Hindus or Egyptians.¹ In other words, the principle once admitted of a germ of divine life which grows by taking up into its circulation all the truths accessible to human intelligence, we cannot draw the line at any given stage in the Old Testament or the New; we must resolve the history of mankind into a series of 'moments,' or of a religious dynamics, where every single force acts upon every other, and nothing is so common or unclean that it cannot be purified, given the freedom of the spirit, and assumed into the heavenly synthesis. The sufficient reason of a method which some may think very bold is laid down in a hundred places by St. Augustine when he is refuting the Manichees.² He had discovered, after years of pain and anguish, that evil is a negation of good, not a substance in itself, nor a force, nor anything real apart from the truth which it denies or the virtue which it rejects. 'Total depravity' is a figment of the imagination; nature always keeps some element which it has received from its Creator, moral, physical, or rational, else it would cease to exist. This, then, is the underlying

¹ Ward, i., pp. 247, 248.

² *Contra Faustum*, passim.

unity, as it is the inexhaustible mine, from which we draw in assimilating, on our own principles, to a supernatural faith, capacities and acquisitions hitherto unblest, or standing in need of consecration.

It is singular that Newman, who had granted so much of this view, and expressed it with deep feeling, in his *Arians of the Fourth Century*,¹ where he was an enthusiastic disciple of the Alexandrians to whom he always clave, did not perceive its bearing on controversies of lesser moment. For who will compare the development of Papal prerogatives with the effulgence in Hebrew Monotheism of a doctrine so strange to it, in many eyes, as that of a Logos incarnate, of one substance with the Father, yet a Second Person in the Trinity? And what is the extent of the change in our religious attitude which the veneration of Mary brings with it to a mind already Christian, if we have at all measured the mental revolution that must have taken place, when those who had adored an unseen Deity in Jerusalem now bowed down to a crucified man as their God and Saviour? On the other hand, it was a direct consequence of the spirit in which Luther and Calvin approached history, that when they had bereft the Church of her charismata on the ground of abuses, they should go on to divide between the world and its Maker in such wise as effectively to resuscitate Manicheism. The antidote which alone could neutralize that deadly influence was to show the Catholic genius in its true light, engaged from the beginning upon its task of redemption, not laying life itself under anathema, but proving all things, and holding fast in its own strength to that which was good.

This new style of controversy perplexed the elder school which had been brought up on Bossuet's *Variations*, an admirable though incomplete statement of the points in dispute, now so successful as to be no longer needed. They failed to perceive a Catholic promise in the Oxford movement. To them movement of any sort was distasteful. They knew nothing of the philosophy of religious dynamics.

¹ Chap. i., p. 82, 3rd edit.

They were not even sensible of the loss which they had themselves sustained by not attempting to march onward when their brethren in other countries set them an example. They had ceased to assimilate, and they were ceasing to live. Wiseman established *The Dublin Review* that in its pages, contributed from all parts of the Catholic world as he meant them to be, some clear picture might emerge of the great things our religion had done in former times, and was capable of doing still, if a fair field were not denied to her children. It was to 'treat of living questions' and 'grapple with real antagonists.' In all its disquisitions, antiquarian or historical, the present nineteenth century was to be kept in view. But he also desired, says Mr. Ward, 'to fashion a zealous and cultivated priesthood,' as 'the first step in that general reformation of the English Catholic body on which his heart had been set since his English campaign of 1835.' And he writes with unusual sagacity as regards this training :—

What is principally to be aimed at [he tells Dr. Newsham, of Ushaw], is accustoming them from the early part of their course to think and judge, of which they seem to have little idea. They do not seem to know how to make things out for themselves, or to make one bear upon another; whatever they learn they seem to *put up* in their heads, and not to have it at hand when wanted for some other purpose.¹

He did not reform the education of the clergy, despite his excellent intentions. Without trained masters, shut out from the universities, and themselves appointed to teach before they had been taught, the next generation differed very little from their predecessors. Nevertheless, a current of life and animation flowed through Oscott while he reigned over the College, that made it a centre not unworthy to draw within its influence strangers from abroad, and the Tractarians who were soon to help Wiseman, or to occasion him fresh anxiety, in his efforts to make of Catholicism a force which should overcome the spirit of the age. He could reckon upon Pugin, that powerful but erratic genius, when he would restore the liturgical offices to their ancient

¹ Ward, i., p. 268.

splendour. But he still felt himself alone. As Lord Acton testifies, the motley group of men whom he found, or brought together at Oscott, followed their old instincts, nor took any severe trouble to make his thoughts and projects their own. Some of them who survived the Cardinal into my time, as I remember, did not appear to be living in the nineteenth century at all; they were shadows with faint voices, murmuring like pallid spectres of the only years in which they had drawn breath, long ago in some other world not known to moderns. What they felt when a being so versatile and hopeful stepped down among them, it is not easy to imagine.

He had from his first coming to Oscott [says Mr. Ward] marked the place out, in spite of the smiles of his critics, as the site of important accessions to communion with the Holy See; but the fulfilment of his dreams had not materially changed the attitude of the English Catholics who opposed the movement. The old fashion was to be extremely slow in accepting converts, and even to discourage them.¹

Lingard, judging the Oxford men by their ancestors in the time of Laud and Archbishop Wake, cherished no hopes of their submission. The Vicar Apostolic of London thought schismatics never came back to the Church. Another talked of Newman as a traitor, whose kiss of peace meant everything that was false and dangerous. The missionary spirit was dead among English Catholics. Oscott, says Wiseman in a touching fragment written at this time, was 'a mere place of education,' and how few were willing to see in it 'a great engine employed in England's conversion and regeneration!' He, therefore, as Newman felt, was 'the chief or rather the only promoter' among these hereditary Catholics, of those objects which all through, however unconsciously to themselves, the Tractarians had aimed at realizing.

But alone, or with Pugin and Spencer, he did bring them in after an anxious interval, thanks to the spirit of compassion and charity which he had acquired in Rome, nor without the aid and approbation of the Holy Father and the

¹ Ward, i., p. 447.

due ecclesiastical authorities. At Propaganda no difficulties were raised. His *Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury*, which discussed the terms of what has since been described as 'corporate reunion,' passed without censure, although it came close to *Tract Ninety*, and suggested, as a basis of negotiation, the Thirty-nine Articles, subject, of course, to explanations which were to follow the Council of Trent. After 1845 it was still his task to protect the neophytes, who were looked upon as doubtful Christians by many of their Catholic brethren—while they, in turn, experienced that strange, unpleasant sensation which was sure to spring up within them at the sight of a people so unlike the company from which they had separated. The cure for all this, in Wiseman's unalterable judgment, was Rome. Converts needed to make a pilgrimage thither, as St. Paul went up to Jerusalem to see the Prince of the Apostles, lest he should 'have run in vain.' Old Catholics needed the establishment among them of Roman devotions, of religious and ascetic communities, of the *Vita Contemplativa* and the full liturgy; of Canon Law and Christian art, and all they had lost in this long Babylonish exile from the life of the Universal Church. We cannot but admire the simple greatness which adherence to this principle manifested on Wiseman's part. He did not exalt any article in so large a design out of its relation to every other; he was remarkably well-balanced, and saw the whole as from its proper centre. And there is something magnanimous, and, one had almost said, philosophical—though he could not claim to be a philosopher—in his view of the divers elements that go to make up a fully-developed Catholic.

Wiseman did not commit himself willingly to any violent extreme. He was not the man to overlook the importance to Catholicism in fact of acquaintance with modern criticism, with literature and languages, with physical and mental science, as it is cultivated in the great schools of France or Germany, with Oriental studies, explorations, and documents. But it was his misfortune that opportunity never came to him of training disciples or raising up a succession of learned men. His practice, like Newman's theory, of

development, though surely destined hereafter to mould the Catholic spirit which will bring in a second and still grander Middle Age, encountered opposition, misunderstanding, and the wrath of those to whom their own history and antecedents were a book with seven seals. They held by the Creed with entire faithfulness; but how they came to have a creed at all they never had considered. They were Ptolemaics in doctrine for whom the earth stood still.

Had Wiseman enjoyed robust health after he came to Westminster, and had his life been prolonged another ten or fifteen years, it is possible that the Church, not only in England, but on the Continent, might have escaped some grievous troubles. For he was the one Cardinal of European fame who exercised a moderating influence, where moderation was the secret of progress. He never would have alienated Newman, since, in spite of remarkable differences in training and temper, he understood that rare kind of genius, and saw further into the principles of dogmatic development than his successor, Cardinal Manning, largely as Manning was to hansom them at the Council of the Vatican. He could have done much, and with the best grace in the world, to keep in check the Gallic ardour of the Veillots and the Gerbets and the Gaumes, which has cost our dearest hopes some twenty years of superfluous disappointment. Perhaps he might have held back the more spiritual-minded among the disciples of Munich from their fatal step in 1870. Given, at all events, the strong constitution which he never had, there was no reason why he should not have inaugurated a scheme of Oriental and German studies, the want of which is telling now, as it has told these many years, with disastrous effect on English theological education. Though not himself deeply read in the metaphysics of the School, he would have held out his right hand to St. Thomas; but his other hand would have been extended to modern research; and the unsatisfactory skirmishing which went on, thirty-five years ago, round the *Rambler* and the *Home and Foreign Review*, would have given place to a critical acquaintance with the text of the Bible, and to the sustained efforts, by which alone we shall

arrive at a genuine common measure, between the language of Eastern prophets and the exegesis of Western philosophers.

Wiseman's last ten years seem now, indeed, a time big with calamities; but they cannot be laid at his door. The worst charge ever brought against him may remind us of Newman's lines to St. Gregory Nazianzen: 'Thou couldst a people raise, but couldst not rule.' He was full of plans, missionary, ascetic, educational; but opposition threw him back, and some would call him faint-hearted. There is another light in which he appears, like a man forespent with long struggling, and none to help. Read, for instance, his singularly touching letter on the disappointment which was occasioned by those religious orders introduced solely through his exertions into London, the rules of which forbade them to take their place in evangelizing the mixed and modern population which lay on every side of them. He turned to the Oratorians, who did what was asked. But when he established, for a like purpose, the Oblates of St. Charles, that weary campaign of old Catholics against new began, which was not to end until a fresh generation grew up, intent on larger prospects. Our permanent loss, on looking back, appears to have been chiefly in the province of literature, sacred and secular. Catholics were debarred from Oxford until the other day, though having no university of their own in England to which they could resort; and the revision of the Bible, to which Newman had put his hand, was arrested; on what grounds it would be worth while to inquire, though, doubtless, they were as petty and inadequate as the reasons commonly assigned for other hindrances to the general advance on the part of hereditary believers.

Concerning this last project Newman has a significant passage, as early as the first days of 1847. He tells Wiseman:—

The Superior of the Franciscans, Father Benigno, in the Trastevere, wishes us, out of his own head, to engage in an English authorized translation of the Bible. He is a learned man, and on the Congregation of the Index. What he wished was that we should take the Protestant translation, correct it by the Vulgate, and get it sanctioned here.¹

¹ Ward, i., p. 354.

This was not done; but an English Catholic Bible is still indispensable and will some day be attempted. As for that 'blessing of an elevated secular education,' as Wiseman himself terms it, in the ancient seats of learning, it could be denied only so long as the hope was held out of a university founded and carried on with our small resources. When time bore witness against so ambitious a scheme, the doors were unlocked, always with due caution, which admitted Catholic young men to a share in the culture and the public life of their own generation. Thus Wiseman's original thought has proved to be the issue of a perplexed and irritating question, kept open—certainly not to our advantage—for no less than thirty years.

His lectures to mixed audiences, upon subjects remote from controversy and in their nature scientific or antiquarian, led to some criticism which we now perceive was not only futile but extremely shortsighted. The preacher who had delighted thousands at Moorfields, found himself, after the storms of 1850, no longer on friendly terms with his countrymen; but the platform was not inaccessible on which he could win their hearts by an eloquence and a frankness that were among his most taking qualities. He lectured to England, not in vain. He would not retire into his tent, or abide cloistered and secure, but ineffective. His literary success made it seem natural for the great Englishman who came after him to undertake a social and humanitarian crusade, not once, but repeatedly, until he attained the memorable triumph of the Dockers' Strike. Between Wiseman and Manning there was no difference of tactics. They both knew and felt that the day of isolation must come to an end. Nevertheless, in range of outlook and accuracy of vision, it will be difficult to deny that Wiseman was superior. He did not regard life or literature, the arts or the sciences, with a coldness such as the born Puritan finds instinctive in himself; constitutionally, he was more sanguine than severe, but he would have justified his views on the Roman principle, which has in it a wealth of sunshine, and is tolerant because it has learned what Mark Pattison truly calls, 'the highest art—the art to live.' That is an art

which, since the Reformation had its way, is not much cultivated among Englishmen. They are full of movements and counter-movements; but their Religion has too often aimed at suppression instead of regulation, nor has taken into account the joy of life.

It would be incumbent on one who was reviewing Wiseman's policy at length to show what I shall here briefly indicate—how it was of the same texture as that which will make Leo XIII. a great historical name among popes and reformers. We may describe it as constructive; but who can construct without materials, or in the discarded and obsolete style of another period, if his purpose aims at housing the present generation? Again, it may be termed a missionary plan, which takes for its object the winning to Christian faith and practice, not of barbarians, but of the civilized and the progressive. Hence it demands learning, sympathy, largeness, and a delicate sense of what lies nearest the hearts of moderns. It is universal in its enthusiasm for the different yet beautiful aspects of God's world, and it puts under anathema nothing but sin. The language employed by Cardinal Wiseman, as by Pope Leo, is studiously self-controlled, even where it condemns or refuses assent to untenable propositions. It allows of immense variety in tastes, in judgments, in peculiarities of disposition, and while tolerant of parties will not allow any of them to usurp the name or dignity of the Church. 'Peace within and conciliation without' may be said to express the spirit in which the modern Catholic programme is drawn up. But its designs cannot be fulfilled except at the cost of unceasing effort. When we relax in the contemplation of revealed truths, and decline to apply them in detail to the world in which we find ourselves, we are already weakening our hold upon them. Theology is not a science of the dead past, but of the living present; and as it goes back to Scripture in one direction, so in another it moves forward as the ages move, taking and giving, learning and teaching, not ashamed to borrow from to-day for its own high purpose, even as it made ample use of the Stoic and Platonic philosophies, and knew how to welcome the Aristotelians, and

has been a debtor to Maimonides, to Avicenna, and to the Arabians. Neither would it now be impossible to point out advantages which have come to us from a knowledge of Kant, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. But let these mere hints suffice. That regard which we owe to Wiseman's memory will, it is imagined, be most deeply felt by Catholics who pursue, as he did, the study of the Bible by turning to the languages in which it was written; who cultivate science, and are alive to the ever-growing significance of art and literature in modern days; and who throw themselves into the generous policy which Rome invites them to carry onward into the new age, under her guidance and blessing.

WILLIAM BARRY.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF SOCIALISM

II.

THE question before us is a definite one. It deals with but one of the many issues of socialism. With its possibility as a political scheme, we have nothing to do. It would be difficult to say whether, in theory, the threads of labour might run unentangled through an intricate national collective industry. Practically, I think that the details of commerce could never be controlled by any government, centralized or federal. The socialist schemes remind us, as a rule, of those chosen few, whom, Lord Bolingbroke tells us, are 'specially nurtured in the world by Providence for the maintenance and spread of impossible ideals.' Neither are we concerned with the attitude of socialism towards religion and the Church. Indeed beyond the decided trend of the revolution from which it sprang, and the tone and character of its advocates and adherents, socialism as a system does not *profess* to have any definite tenet or aim in reference to *doctrinal* matters at all. At times the public actions of its leaders evince the action of secret springs that undoubtedly are not of God. 'Ils aiment,' says

M. Louis Reybaud, 's'escrimer dans l'ombre, et, quand on les presse trop vivement ils s'enveloppent de leurs nuages.'

Such matters have no interest for us now. We are occupied with but one inquiry—the attitude of socialism to the production of wealth. The innumerable questions that this originates, the methods, aims, and promises of socialism; its virtue as an expedient; its adaptability to the varying market tides; its subtlety in ekeing out of the holes and corners of industry the treasures they afford to skilful manipulation, may all be embodied in this one inquiry—how will the proletarian fare when private capital has become effete, and collectivism supervenes? This is the question that concerns us now. To answer it we shall have to digress, at no small length, from the main topic under consideration.

To bring this matter to a definite issue, we may put it thus hypothetically. What would happen if every half-penny of the capital of England were disbursed from the coffers of private owners, and poured *en masse* into the national treasury, that ensuing profits might be dealt out evenly, or proportionally to each one's work? Popular feeling would certainly run high were such a law suddenly enacted. And naturally so. No economic scheme yet known offers to the unreflecting mind such rich and abundant fruits as socialism. It is this that has made it a popular creed. Now we can easily see how far such promises are likely to be realized. Let us examine them briefly. A little reflection will enable us to see, that the nationalization of our whole capital would be quite as unprofitable as the idea is chimerical. The greater number of our private concerns require for their existence the exertions of one who is conscious to himself, that *he* must sustain whatever is lost, as well as gain whatever is gained. Then, too, to confiscate the land in its entirety would be quite useless on socialistic lines. It would be much easier, in the socialistic state, for the smaller landowners to draw their income from the land they till, than to send the products to the national treasury, and then receive their yearly divide. The abolition of the richer landowners would quite fulfil the Socialistic aims,

because their incomes are a great deal in excess of what they could expect from the national divide. Indeed it is to those larger and more permanent factors in our industry, such as the large estates, the railways, and (outside of industry), the National Debt, and the expenses of royalty, that the popular mind naturally turns as the centre of its hopes. The workman is envious that the greater part of the product of lands should go into the pocket of an idle landlord, whilst his own daughter has to toil daily in the din and fluff of a city factory. He, naturally, hopes that at some future date, when rent, railway profits, and the interest on the National Debt are apportioned, without distinction of class, he may be saved, at least, from the pinch of hunger, if not from the need to work. 'The first impression of the intelligent population,' says Mr. Ruskin in his *Crown of Wild Olives*, 'is this, that as in the dark ages half the nation lived idle, in the bright ages to come the whole of it may.'

Let us now suppose, that all these things have been effected. Every farm of over a thousand acres has become the property of the nation. Railways are under government control, and the capital belongs to the whole people. Every soul in the realm has now its share in the interest of the National Debt. Royalty, too, has disappeared, and with it the heavy expenses of the court. What additions will now accrue to the incomes received under the old system? I shall take these items separately. The land account would be worth to each a little less than three farthings a day. If the whole rent were divided amongst us this income would be increased by a penny farthing. Railway profits and the National Debt would afford us each about three half-pence a day. If the royal court were abolished to-morrow, we should each be enriched by sixpence a year, or the one-thirty-sixth of a penny a day. Into such figures the socialist Utopia shrinks and dissolves. With such miserable results awaiting the proletarian, his eyes are made to swim, in the delusive vision of future greatness, and wealth, and ease.

This style of argument, I must admit, smacks strongly of the Chrysippean fallacy. Items that, separately, are

of little account, may be formidable enough when taken conjointly. What then about those lesser concerns from which considerable profits are at present realized? I answer, first: that the number of concerns it is possible to nationalize is a very insignificant portion of our industry. As I have said already, the greater number of private concerns depend for their existence on the energy and tact of a single capitalist, and can exist only because he is imbued and stimulated by the thought that whatever is lost, is lost to himself, and whatever is gained will be his own. But let us examine the more chimerical hypothesis, and suppose, for an instant, that the entire capital of the British nation is actually centralized in the national treasury. How far, we ask, would the ensuing profits exceed the wages apportioned in our industry for average labour in an average market? We are not contemplating the division of capital, but only of profits furnished by its use. The national income of England now, allowance being made for second countings, is about £1,200,000,000 a year. If every halfpenny of this money were divided, according to gradation of age and sex, Mr. Mallock computes that the result would be approximately as follows:—

	s.	d.	
For each adult male . . .	19	6	a week
„ „ female . . .	14	6	„
„ youth . . .	10	0	„
„ infant . . .	4	0	„

Now each of these with the exception of the infant would have to work for the amount received. Compare these figures with the average wages received for labour in the English markets. Mr. Giffen has shown that the average wage is over 20s. a week. Forty-one per cent. of the labouring population are in receipt of more than 25s. Only twenty-three per cent. earn less than 20s. Few boys and girls in the English factories are in receipt of less than 10s. a week. Most of them earn a great deal more. Of course, more women would be working than now, and that would be some increase to trade; and the support of the infant is not to be despised. But, as I said, the case is quite

chimerical. Our figures will fall on a slight analysis. I am not now referring to the decay of industry that should necessarily follow the introduction of socialism. I am speaking of quite another matter. Let us examine the nature of the national income, and then we shall see that an enormous portion of that same income is really not divisible at all, and that consequently the figures given above will be found to shrink to a smaller compass. Of the £1,200,000,000 that make up our profits, only £38,000,000 are represented by coin. An immense portion of what remains could never be divided as money can, consisting as it does, of service, transports, new works of art, expensive furniture, plate, &c. Even of that portion which is actually divisible, more than one half is made up of imports given in exchange for goods exported. But such exchange will last only as long as the untiring energy of capitalist and entrepreneur can put their products into competition with the best goods in the world's markets. We shall afterwards see how unfavourable socialism is likely to prove to the exercise of industrial energy.

We see now that that portion of the £1,200,000,000 income, divisible into lots falls very short of the total itself, for a picture cannot be cut in strips and served out to buyers like common cloth.

But a matter of importance awaits us yet. We have taken it for granted in the computations made, that our present income would continue to exist quite independent of the industrial revolution that socialism is to bring about. We have taken it for granted, that the profits of industry are a constant quantity, having nothing to do with particular systems of production, management, and administration of capital. But now I say that a very great part of our national income must necessarily vanish in the socialistic state. To prove it, we must see what is the cause of the immense additions that have accrued to capital in the century that has just now passed. We cannot do better in answering this question, than to follow the lines laid down by Mr. Mallock in his account of the growth of capital in England. But before doing so, there are other matters that

he has not touched, that must claim the reader's closest attention. A century ago the capital of England amounted to about £1,600,000,000. It now stands at £10,000,000,000. What is the origin of this increase? The answer is plain—capital has increased because profits are saved. £200,000,000 are put by annually, and added to the store of existing capital. But profits are saved because they belong to a few rich men, who cannot spend half of their income. If each could spend his entire income very little capital could be saved at all. This is the use industry makes of the Rothschilds, Vanderbilts, &c.

But now I ask, on whom in reality do the profits of these savings finally devolve? Who benefits most by the yearly additions that are made to capital? It is often said that the rich grow richer, and the poor poorer as capital increases. This, of course, would be a serious objection to the thesis I am defending: that socialism runs counter to the workman's interest, because it is unfavourable to the accumulation of capital. But what now are the facts of the case? Since 1843 the income of capital has increased only by one hundred per cent. But, on the other hand, the amount of capital has increased in the time as much as one hundred and fifty per cent. Thus the income of capital has been steadily declining in relation to the growth of capital itself. But I have not yet touched the crucial point. Let us put out of sight a few rich men like Vanderbilts, Rothschilds, Goulds, &c. Now how, I ask, has capital increased by one hundred and fifty per cent. in fifty years? Is it by additions to each man's capital, or by the augmentation of the number of capitalists? Mainly, I say, in the latter way. The number of capitalists has considerably increased, as can be seen from the statistics of probate duties. Capital then has reached its present dimensions, principally because with the progress of industry and wealth the proletarians have become so rich that a considerable number are enabled yearly to pass over to the body of capitalists. This then is the effect of the accumulation of capital. The poor are not poorer, but have benefited exceedingly by the increase of capital. But the increase or

capital was absolutely necessary for the life of industry. It will be easily seen, that the prime condition of increase of wealth, particularly in newly-opened countries, is the amassing together of sufficient capital to keep her thousands of wheels flying, and maintain the din and roar of her factories. How has capital been increased in America? It has increased because her rich men cannot spend their profits. Not a tenth part of the product of their capital could possibly be spent by the most extravagant owners. The rest is saved, and put out as capital, with this result, that in a hundred years the wages of labour have more than quadrupled, and that innumerable labourers are becoming capitalists, renewing the vigour and life of trade, and setting fresh industries afloat.

But the reader may object, if socialism were once established, could not such capital be saved by the state, before the general distribution of the profits? In this she might maintain her industries quite as efficiently as can now be done. This brings me to the central point of this whole critique. We shall see that the state could not hoard up capital, and for this one reason, that socialism entails the decay of industry, and the consequent decline of the profits of capital. We shall see that the incentives that now quicken trade will be altogether wanting in the socialistic state, and that in the vapid industry that will then ensue the growth of capital must be impeded. Let us remember too, that in a living industry the very same process that impedes the growth, must carry on finally to industrial decay.

Let me briefly restate the question to be treated. We have just been treating as a chimerical hypothesis the division of the entire capital of England. We admitted, however, that if such a division could be carried out, the poorer families would be slightly richer than they are under our present regime. This is quite natural. The levelling down of the rich man's profits, the sum to be divided remaining the same naturally entailed a rise elsewhere. The increase, however, was slight and disappointing. Now socialism would destroy the interest on capital, and bring all

salaries to a common level. To keep the salaries of the entrepreneur at their present level, would entail the accumulation of private capital. This must not be in the Socialistic State. Salaries must fall to a very low level, and the poor man's wages accordingly rise. This is the balance on which socialism works. But now let us notice that the balance in question rests, as on a fulcrum, on one condition, viz., that the sum to be divided is a constant factor. That condition I must now examine. We shall see that it never could be fulfilled. We shall see that the extinction of private capital, and the general levelling of wages for work, will entail the instant decay of industry, and the consequent decline of profits and capital.

To what shall we attribute the increase of profits in the century that is about to close. A century ago the income of Great Britain was £140,000,000. The labouring population was then ten millions. To these ten million, half the income, that is £70,000,000 were annually assigned. What is the state of labour to-day. Every ten million labourers to-day receive not £70,000,000, but £200,000,000. Let us mark this well. These ten million labourers are now in receipt of £60,000,000 a year more than if the whole (not half) of the entire income were divided amongst them a century ago. These are figures that ought to be engraven on every mind. They surpass the wildest dreams of socialism. They proclaim, moreover, an accomplished fact, whilst socialism is only tentative. Let us examine this matter closely. To what are we to attribute the vast increase in our national income? Is it to labour? Decidedly not. Labour was more skilled two thousand years ago than it is to-day. The skilled labour of the ancient Greeks, as evinced, for instance, in the cutting of gems, will be looked for in vain in the workshops of to-day. Labour as such is unprogressive. What, then, is the source of the growth of profits? It is not Labour. It is not Capital. It is not the Land. The economic factors in the production of wealth must henceforth be written Land, Labour, Capital, and Ability. Ability in investing, ability in maintaining, in extending the range, and perfecting the methods

and deepening the intensity and life of our industries. Ability is not mere idle genius. It is talent, and tact, and energy, and prudence strained to the utmost in trade and commerce. Ability is more than mere skilled labour. One stroke of ability can reach to thousands. It increases the product of each man's labour. Skilled labour affects one labourer alone. One stroke of ability, Cartwright's invention, left two hundred and fifty thousand men idle, with their hand looms beside them in the market-place. But ability employed them and enriched them again. Skilled labour may teach me to push my barrow, or hold my file, or adjust the tin sheet in the lamp stamp; but it cannot make me facilitate the work, and increase the products of thousands of men. But inventions are barren, and often destructive when not directed by able men. The ability of the entrepreneur is of more importance than that of the inventor. The terrible evils of over-production, that have merged whole cities in the blackest ruin, are an instance of what invention may do without the exercise of directive ability. Let diligence sustain and ability direct the pace of industry, and then invention is a source of wealth. England's wealth is fabulous to-day; but let her keen business-men depart from her shores, let her cease to inspire them with the hope of gain, and her independence and wealth would decline more rapidly even than they rose. When trade declined in '91 cheeks grew pale at the catastrophe that threatened. It is the keen eye of the entrepreneur that keeps us yearly from such calamities.¹ And what has been eliciting the exercise of ability? The hope of gain; of gain proportioned to the worth and work of one who knows that he is worth more than a hundred labourers in the manipulation of capital, and the production of profits.

The man who must live from week to week, who

¹ In an interesting article, 'Le règne de l'argent,' in the December number of *Les deux Mondes*, M. Anatole Beaulieu writes as follows:—'S'il n'y avait à la Bourse que des hommes d'affaires, des financiers, des banquiers, les crises seraient plus rares, et les chutes moins profondes. Ce qui en fait la fréquence et la gravité, c'est le plus souvent l'intervention du public.'

receives just what keeps him for the week, and cannot make capital out of what is left, who is sure of the pittance that the nation allots him, with no overseer to spur his energies, or with an overseer who is paid like himself, as secure as himself, as unaffected by loss as himself; will such a man spend sleepless nights, and toil all day, studying, devising, planning new modes, and selecting grooves for the industry he directs? 'The knowledge,' says professor Walker, 'that he will gain what is gained, and lose what is lost, is essential to the temper of a man of business.' This, I repeat, could alone have induced him to watch with anxiety the tides of trade, to grasp the opportunities of fitful markets; and to propel his industry through dangerous channels, when so little might have submerged it. Mr. Dale Owen had lived with the socialists at Nashoba, and he writes thus:—

A plan which remunerates all alike, will, in the present condition of society, ultimately eliminate from a co-operative association the skilled, and efficient, and industrious members, leaving an ineffective and sluggish residue, in whose hands the expedient will fail both socially and pecuniarily.

And Mrs. Annie Besant, apparently for the moment off her guard, admits

That the abnormal development of the gold hunger [which characterizes our present system] will disappear upon the certainty for each of the means of subsistence. Let each individual feel absolutely secure for his day's subsistence. Let every anxiety as to the material wants of the future be swept away, and the tyranny of pecuniary gain will be broken, and life will begin to be used in living, and not in struggling for the chance to live.

I know that the theory I have been propounding is not in accordance with that noble trust that the socialists evince in future man. The socialist heart revolts at the idea that man is moved by the hope of gain. They deny that the dynamics of the human heart are naturally selfish or material. They tell us, too, that socialism will come, not with revolution, but with the evolution of the human ideal, when selfishness shall have passed away. We can only say, that such a process is by no means visible in the

facts and periods of the history of industry. Socialists, like Mr. Kirkup, affirm that the selfish system is of recent growth. Evolution then has been working backwards. The poverty and isolation of the proletarian succeeded to happier feudal days. The classes then separated more and more. The labourer sank till he could sink no further. The capitalist fed him as he fed his horse. He gave him just what kept him alive, that his hands might not drop whilst he dug the gold out of the capitalist's industrial gold mine. 'O God,' said Hood, 'that bread should be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap.' And if labour has advanced in recent years, to what are we to refer its progress and power? To what shall we attribute the power of the trades-unions? To the evolution of the philanthropic man? No. Mr. Howell, their greatest advocate, informs us that trades-unionism is now recognised in the land solely on account of its 'innate strength.'

I have dwelt on this, not because it is worth considering on its own ground, but because the socialists have been so tenacious in offering their idea of the 'unselfish man.' Listen to this, from Mr. Blatchford's volume on *Merrie England*. He speaks of those who think men selfish:—

These flaws [*i.e.*, the opinions we have been propounding] are due to the fact that the founders and upholders of the system of grab and greed are men who have never possessed either the capacity or the opportunity for studying human nature. Mere bookmen, schoolmen, logic-choppers, and business men can be no authorities on human nature. The great authorities on human nature are the poets, the novelists, and the artists . . . The only books for the study of human nature are the works of men like Shakspeare, Hugo, Cervantes, and Sterne, and others who have studied in that school.

The day is coming, therefore, when poets and artists shall direct our industries. Business men know nothing of the tendencies and wiles of buyers and sellers. Let poets and artists, therefore, rule our factories, our imports and exports, our markets and salehouses; let them dream their day-dreams in our banks and exchanges; let *Hamlet*, and *Don Quixote*, and *The Muleteer* replace our weekly market journals and financial reviews. 'Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened.'

Let us now inquire what are the incentives which the socialists substitute for the hope of gain. Mrs. Annie Besant enumerates them thus—(1) The starvation that would follow on the cessation of labour; (2) the determination of our fellow-workers not to allow us to shirk our work; (3) the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness to win social approval, the instinct of benevolence, &c. Let us review them briefly. But first let me say that these incentives are supposed to stimulate not only ability, but also the work of the ordinary labourer.

The first incentive I may instantly dismiss with this one remark, that we are not concerned with the *existence* of industry, but with its maturity, pace, and growth. We are not questioning the cessation of labour, but only its decline. Both managers and men may *cling on* to their employment, and receive the wages appointed by the state; but this is not the point at issue. The work of the dilettante may keep him from starvation. But what we ask is this—what incentive has the socialist to offer to that keen, unrelenting, untiring energy that has brought our industry to its present state?

The second incentive is the eye of our companions. Life shall become a system of mere universal espionage. Will such a system be welcome to mankind? It were better to be poor, most men would reply, than that every man should be my keeper.

Tanti tibi non sit opaci,
Omnis arena Tagi, quodque in mare volvitur aurum
Ut somno careas, ponendaque præmia sumas
Tristis, et a magno semper timearis amico.¹

But let us consider the case as it stands. Two men are working at the same lathe; they both earn a pound a week. A idles most of his time. He has a right only to ten shillings a week; but the state pays him his full wages. It is evident that the divide will suffer by this. Now, to what extent is B injured? To the one seventy-six-millionth of a pound. The same objection might be put also in

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*

another form—will it not be a man's own interest to work his best? His idleness ultimately recoils upon himself. The profits to be divided will not be so large. The answer is the same as in the last case. If a man were to live to the age of sixty, and during most of that time, were to neglect his work, spending his time drinking and sleeping; to what extent would he suffer in the end? The calculation is very simple. He would lose about the one forty-thousandth of a pound, or the one-hundred-and-sixtieth part of a penny. Such trivial effects are not likely to stimulate either his neighbour's vigilance or his own energies. Besides, does he not know that numerous workmen throughout the country are wasting their time and receiving money, and shall he strive to do justice to the nation, whilst others are living at his expense?

Thirdly, there are, the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness for social honours, the instinct of benevolence, &c. The first two of these could never maintain or push on our industries. They might influence a race of poets and artists, but they have little effect on the mass of labourers. Social honours are much more palpable. What these honours are to be is not yet decided. They will, probably, resemble the honours of Nashoba, *i.e.*, 'the very good, good, indifferent, and bad,' indicated by the colour of the ribbon on the head; such honours as these have been generally adopted in our infant schools, and are found to work very effectually. Even grown-up men have set much value on the medals of the Humane Society; but if twenty millions were to receive them yearly they would scarcely incite us to deeds of heroism. I have already spoken of the instinct of benevolence. These then are the incentives that the socialists offer for the maintenance and progress of our industries. We can scarcely regard them as very effectual.

Let me sum up briefly what I have been saying on the benefits we may expect from socialism. The present system of the market entails fixed wages for the proletarian, which, taken from the varying product of industry, leaves for the capitalist a varying and uncertain profit. In the socialistic state the case is reversed. Fixed wages for the manager,

but a varying divide for the mass of labourers, from a very changeable and uncertain product, that is supposed to be kept at its present level by certain sentimental stimuli, that for the mass of men are wholly ineffectual, and for all are necessarily short-lived.

I come now to a matter that has probably suggested itself to the reader already. I have been endeavouring to show, that socialism entails the decay of industry, from want of appropriate and adequate incentives. But does not the existence of co-operative industries portray in miniature what might be expected from the socialistic state? The principles and results of both are the same; but co-operative industries continue to exist, and afford their shareholders an annual divide. I am not now speaking of joint stock companies, with a few capitalists, and a host of efficient and well-paid managers. I speak, for instance, of co-operative stores, where the entrepreneur is almost dispensed with. I answer, the cases are very different. For we may store up as capital whatever we reap from co-operative industries, and put it out at premium, which could not be done in the socialistic state. But, as a matter of fact, what has been the history of co-operative industries? Have they succeeded where they have been tried? We can answer only by appealing to facts. The co-operative cotton mills that were started in England either failed or were converted into joint stock companies. The co-operative stores that were started in France, after the revolution of '48 were an utter failure. In Switzerland, where everything favoured their adoption, the people never took kindly to them. Even joint stock companies with a number of capitalists, where no one has heavy stakes to risk, are not likely to advance like private concerns. Studnetz informs us that, in 1878, he found the mills of New York all idle, and those of Philadelphia working away; and he attributes the fact to this alone, that the former were under joint stock companies, but the latter belonged to private owners. It will be readily seen that the co-operation of which I have been speaking has nothing to do with that co-operation which is advocated in agricultural matters,

a system that has proved of use to farmers here and elsewhere.

I shall just refer to one other matter. The reader may say I have treated this question as if socialism demanded a number of centres; as if England, France, Germany, &c., were each to possess its own treasury. But the aims of socialism may be wider than this. If nations were linked one to another, and the whole world were but one treasury, would not depressions of trade in a particular centre be counteracted by a proportional rise in another department of the universal industry, as surface depressions in particular places are followed by the upheaval of hills elsewhere. Thus the fluctuations of local markets would have no effect in the final divide. Now, the reader will admit that the system of industry here advocated is certainly one of the impossible ideals of which I spoke in the beginning of this paper. But let us examine it for what it is worth. I say that the objection that has just been offered embodies a serious economic fallacy, a fallacy that assumes many different shapes throughout the course of economic science. The fallacious principle involved is this—that any depression in a particular industry, carried through the easy channels of commerce in a perfectly adjusted organic system, is necessarily followed by a rise elsewhere. The principle means that capital and profits are a constant quantity, and that, consequently, whatever is lost to a particular market is gained by another, as a matter of course. I might call it the fallacy of the ‘profit fund,’ from its close resemblance to the ‘wages fund.’ Now, I say profits are not a constant quantity. They are capable of growth and diminution. They are more unstable than capital itself. We know very well that the failure of an industry in a particular place will often occasion its rise elsewhere, as the Lancashire cotton famine some years ago stimulated to a very large extent the growth of cotton in India, Egypt, and Brazil. But I fail to see why the economic effects of over-population or of over-production of market goods is bound to enrich a market anywhere. Products often have a limited market, inside of which alone they can sell. The surplus supply cannot be

transferred. In a case like this over-production is necessarily a loss. A case like this may easily entail the general collapse of trade and commerce. Now, the want of incentives is of such a kind ; where incentives are not adequate, industry must flag. We must also remember that industry does not right *itself*. If equilibrium is ever established, it is secured by artificial means, by positive interference on the part of the manager. But such interference is often useless, and often it is quite impossible. We sometimes unconsciously touch a spring that sets markets heaving all over the world, for the springs of commerce are very hidden, and often utterly out of our control. In 1885 it was impossible to tell why trade was depressed in 1882. Mr. Giffen could only conjecture the cause. He said it was *probably* due to the fact that the demand for gold was very great, and the supply was so small, after the enormous output of that metal that followed the Australian and Californian discoveries.

I say then that we have no reason to expect, that the centralization of the world's industry will ensure the stability of profits and salaries. On the contrary, I can easily retort, that no security may be hoped for in a system where the least convulsion in any locality would thrill through every fibre of our industry, and set markets heaving in the remotest places.

There are many points on which I have not touched, that bear down intimately on the question in hand. But we must leave them aside for the present. I have shown, I hope, that socialism would not favour the production of wealth ; that labour would suffer by such a system ; that all that socialism might have attempted in the past, has been secured on quite other lines ; that the same success could not have been reaped had socialism been the national system ; that, therefore, we have nothing to hope for from its adoption, but a very great deal to fear.

The reader may ask, is there no redress, then, for our present evils ? I answer that socialism could offer none. But the future is full of hope for labour. It is only recently that the rights of labour have been really recognised. Capitalists see that it is more in accordance with their own

interests to give to labour what is due to it. The system that Macaulay described so vividly is already passing or passed away, and it has come to this that labour is in a position to exercise its rights, and capital is not in a position to ignore them. Political economy is an altered science, for the school of *laissez-faire* is dead. 'It needs,' says Mr. Howell, 'no prophet to foretell that human labour will not in the future be divorced from the man-worker, and be treated as a mere commodity like pigs or potatoes, corn or cabbage, as was the tendency of most writers, more than a generation ago.'

Let us hope that in the future we may see accomplished what the Church's voice has been ever advocating, the recognition of our common destiny, to be reached by many diverse paths.

M. CRONIN, D.D., M.A.

DANTE'S FIRST DEFENDER

AT the beginning and at the end of Dante's life, Bologna produced two poets closely connected with the singer of the *Divine Comedy*: Guido Guinicelli, and Graziolo de' Bambaglioli. The one was as the morning star to the sun, the other a fainter light just visible in its setting. Both, like Dante, were exiles, and like him solaced their banishment with song; Guido Guinicelli, Dante's master and father in poetic art, was exiled for his devotion to the Empire; Graziolo de' Bambaglioli, his earliest apologist, and almost his first commentator, for his adherence to the party of the Church.

Graziolo, or Bonagrazia, de' Bambaglioli was born about 1291, of an old Bolognese family. His father was a wealthy citizen who had held various offices under the Republic, and seems to have possessed estates in the country. Our poet became a notary, and rose to considerable eminence and authority in the Guelph party of Bologna; and, in July, 1321, he was elected Chancellor of the Commune, at a

peculiarly critical time when a revolution had violently expelled Romeo de' Pepoli (a rich usurer, who had become practically lord of the city), and had established a new form of government, in many respects resembling the famous popular constitution of the Florentine Republic, with its Priors of the Arts and its 'Gonfaloniere di Giustizia.' Two months later, on September 14th, Dante died at Ravenna. The poet of a renovated Empire and a purified Church had passed away upon the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, which he represents in his poem as the connecting band with which Christ had united the two.

It was while Chancellor of Bologna that Ser Graziolo wrote the first of his two great works that still remain to us, his commentary upon the *Inferno*. Dante's writings, perhaps, excited even greater interest in Bologna than elsewhere, although in the *Inferno* he had assailed the moral character of its citizens and treated its renowned University with scant courtesy. His lyrics were certainly known and sung there before their author's exile. In the early days of his banishment Dante had probably been a well-known figure in the city, before the disturbance of 1306 hounded the exiles out of Bologna too. Towards the end of his life those charming pastoral letters in Latin hexameters which he interchanged with Giovanni del Virgilio, a young lecturer of the university, show that there was a cultured Bolognese circle who eagerly read the *Divine Comedy*, as its cantos appeared; and that the city would gladly have bestowed the laurel crown upon its author. But, above all, the *De Monarchia* must have appealed strongly to the Bologna University, which in spite of the Guelphic politics of the Commune remained in theory ardently Ghibelline and imperialist, and from whose jurists the emperors had often, in times past, applied for confirmation of their pretended rights over the Italian cities.

The conflict between the Pope and Ludwig of Bavaria, following soon after Dante's death, increased the interest taken in his writings, and added the stimulus of a burning political question. Boccaccio tells us that the Imperialists used arguments from the *De Monarchia* in support of

Ludwig's pretensions, and that the book, which until then was little known, became very famous. Calumniators and detractors now arose. Antonio Pucci, a Florentine poet, who wrote nearly half a century later, declares that in his days the Pope and the cardinals would have been among the foremost champions of Dante's reputation. But at the time things were not so obvious. Not only did such free lances as the poet Cecco d' Ascoli sharpen their tongues against him, but even the official clerical party in Bologna fiercely assailed Dante's orthodoxy and denounced his works as heretical, both from the *De Monarchia* and from certain passages in the *Inferno*. A Dominican friar from Rimini, Fra Guido Vernani, made himself their spokesman. With Escalus, 'we shall find this friar a notable fellow,' although nothing seems known of him except his extraordinary attack upon the memory of the divine poet. *De Potestate summi Pontificis et de reprobatione Monarchiae compositae a Dante Aligherio*, is the title given by the Dominican to this remarkable production, which he dedicates to 'his well-beloved son, Graziolo de' Bambaglioli, Chancellor of the noble Commune of Bologna,' probably as one of the leading Guelph politicians of Bologna, distinguished alike for his undoubted orthodoxy and for his enthusiastic admiration of Dante. In his exordium, Fra Guido represents Dante's works as a growing danger to the faith, as a vessel lovely to look upon, but containing cruel and pestilent poison. The poet, according to him, is an agent of the father of lies, a fantastic and verbose sophist, who, by his alluring eloquence and sweet siren strains, by uniting the philosophy of Boëthius to his own poetical imaginations and fictions, and combining paganism with theology, is deluding 'not only the weaker brethren, but even studious and learned persons. Dismissing Dante's other works with contempt, this daring friar proceeds confidently to make manifest the worthlessness of the treatise on the Monarchy, from which attempt he trusts that Ser Graziolo will derive much spiritual profit and edification:—

This then do I send to thee, well-beloved son, in order that thy intellect clear by nature and acute by divine grace, eager in

the investigation of truth, as far as the great affairs committed to thee allow, whilst studious of the beauties of this man's work, may choose and love what is useful, reject what is false, curtail the superfluous, and avoid the useless and harmful.

It must be admitted that the friar sometimes manages to score rather heavily off the poet, especially where he answers two of Dante's favourite arguments about the divine approbation of the Empire. Thus, when Dante declares that Christ approved the empire of Cæsar when He willed to be born under the edict of Augustus, the friar answers that it would follow from this line of argument that the devil acted justly in tempting Christ, and Judas by betraying Him, the Jews by crucifying Him with their tongues, the soldiers when they scourged Him, and Pilate when he condemned Him to death; for Christ willed to be in their power, and was offered up because it was His will. Again, Dante argues that, if the Roman Empire did not exist by right, the sin of Adam was not punished in Christ, and that the judgment of Pilate must have been the sentence of a regular judge under the Emperor, who had universal authority over all mankind. Fra Guido answers that this is mere nonsense, for the punishment of original sin cannot possibly be subject to the power of any earthly judge, or else such a judge might lawfully put to death the new-born child.

Fra Guido's dedication clearly implies that Ser Graziolo was known to be engaged upon a commentary on the divine poet; and it was probably in answer to this challenge that Graziolo produced the work, which still in part remains to mark its author as the first Catholic apologist for Dante, the first in the long line of writers from Bellarmine to Hettinger and Cornoldi, who have written from the essentially Catholic point of view, to show the true relationship of the Church towards her greatest poet. The key-note to the intention of Graziolo's commentary is struck in the passage where he explains Dante's treatment of the suicides: *Credo tamen auctorem præfatum tanquam fidelem Catholicum omni prudentia et scientia clarum, suo tenuisse judicio quod ecclesia sancta tenet*: 'I believe that our author as a faithful Catholic held what holy

Church holds.' This commentary first appeared about three years after Dante's death. It became very famous; contemporary, and even later commentators quoted and borrowed from it. The author of the *Ottimo Commento*, generally called the *Ottimo*, who wrote about ten years later, in 1334, twice quotes Ser Graziolo as a defender of Dante's orthodoxy, although he himself holds that there is no need of any such defence, and that the *Paradiso* in itself contains a sufficient answer to any accusation of heresy. Already in 1334, theories casting doubt upon Dante's Catholicity were regarded by the poet's best commentators as mere antiquated curiosities.

Ser Graziolo's commentary has come down to us in an early Italian translation, and in a very fragmentary version of the original Latin. The former was published by Lord Vernon, in 1848; the latter was first edited by Professor A. Fiammazzo, in 1892.¹ It is mainly its position in the history of the literary study of the *Divine Comedy* which gives this commentary its interest, and invests it with charm. It gives us, about certain special points, the opinion of one who was perhaps Dante's first commentator, and who may even, like Pietro Alighieri and the *Ottimo*, have been in personal contact with the divine singer. It is clearly Graziolo's own enthusiastic admiration for Dante, and the resulting desire to defend his hero from all detractors, that is the prime object of his undertaking. His generous proem, full of genuine enthusiasm, will find an echo in the heart of every loving student of Dante:—

Although the unsearchable Providence of God hath made many men blessed with prudence and virtue, yet before all hath it put Dante Alighieri, a man of noble and profound wisdom, true teacher of philosophy and lofty poet, the author of this marvellous, singular and most sapient work. It hath made him a shining light of spiritual felicity and of knowledge to the people and cities of the world, in order that every science, whether of heavenly or of earthly things, should be amply gathered up in this public and famous champion of prudence, and through him be

¹ Fiammazzo, *Il Commento all'Inferno di Graziolo de'Bambaglioli*, Udine, 1892. Cf. also Rocca, *Di Alcuni Commenti della D.C. composti nei primi vent'anni dopo la morte di Dante*, Firenze, 1891.

made manifest to the desires of men in witness of the Divine Wisdom ; so that, by the new sweetness and universal matter of his song, he should draw the souls of his hearers to self-knowledge, and that, raised above earthly desires, they should come to know not only the beauties of this great author, but should attain to still higher grades of knowledge. To him can be applied the text in Ecclesiasticus : 'The great Lord will fill him with the spirit of understanding, and he will pour forth the words of his wisdom as showers.' And of him can be expounded the writing of Ezechiel : 'A large eagle with great wings, long-limbed, full of feathers, and of variety, came to Libanus, and took away the marrow of the cedar ; he cropt off the top of the twigs thereof, and carried it away into the land of Chanaan.'

Certainly this comparison would have delighted the heart of Dante, finding himself likened to the emblem of his universal Roman monarchy, the Bird of God, the sacrosanct sign, whose praises he had sung in the sixth Canto of the *Paradiso*. It is to be devoutly hoped that a copy of this work penetrated into the Dominican Convent of Rimini, and was carefully studied by Fra Guido Vernani.

Throughout his commentary Ser Graziolo rather disregards the general allegorical meaning, that splendid but difficult field upon which the *Ottimo*, and, later in the century, Benvenuto da Imola, were to do such admirable work. He is strong upon the *personal* aspect of the poem. According to him, the sleep that Dante describes in the first Canto is the poet's own sinful life ; he had wandered from the way of truth, and was stained with luxury, pride, and avarice. Virgil represents Reason ; he appears in order to lead Dante to true knowledge, to awaken his conscience, and so raise him from vice and dispose him to virtue. Graziolo seems likewise to distinguish between a literal and an allegorical Beatrice ; in the one sense, she is some supreme virtue, *summa virtus* ; and in the other, the noble soul of Lady Beatrice, *anima generosa dominae Beatricis*. True to his intention of, above all, defending Dante's orthodoxy, Graziolo manages to very much tone down the terrible and bitter words addressed to Pope Nicholas III.,¹ and turns away Dante's shaft from the Papacy to strike the

¹ *Inferno* xix.

great and mighty of the world in general. In commenting upon the famous and much-disputed passage: *Colui che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto*,¹ 'He who made through cowardice the great refusal,' Graziolo admits that St. Celestine V. is the person meant, but tries to interpret the passage so as to defend both St. Celestine and his successor: 'Through the carefulness and sagacity of Pope Boniface, he renounced the papacy.' It was a far easier matter to prove Dante's complete orthodoxy on the two points which his enemies had specially seized upon as heretical; the one in connection with the power and influence of fortune, which was supposed to involve a denial of the possession of free will;² and the other on the fate of the suicides whose souls were apparently never to be reunited to their bodies,³ which was represented as opposed to the resurrection of the body. In neither case did the hostile critics think it worth while to look beyond the special passages to the Cantos in which these two sublime Catholic doctrines are so fully and splendidly treated; and Graziolo, instead of pointing out the absurdity and triviality of such objections, solemnly protests his conviction that the poet adhered to the Church's doctrine upon these and all other subjects, and then enters into a rather long and dreary digression upon each. It does not even occur to him that Dante's treatment of the suicides is merely a fine poetical fiction; but he regards it as a metaphorical way of speaking, and thinks that perhaps the poet only meant that there is no remedy for this sin of despair, so as to give men a terrible warning against cutting themselves off from the hope of divine mercy by committing suicide.

Perhaps, of all the problems arising out of the *Divine Comedy*, not one has proved so incapable of certain solution as that most mysterious prophecy uttered at the beginning of the poem, of the coming of a Deliverer, the *Veltro* or greyhound, who is to be the salvation of Italy, and to hunt the horrible she-wolf back to hell. Hardly two critics are in

¹ *Inferno* iii.² *Inferno* vii.³ *Inferno* xiii.

complete agreement as to what Dante really meant by this prophecy, which in slightly varied forms is repeated several times in the course of the poem ; and the fancies of modern commentators have run riot in suggesting fresh and impossible interpretations of the wolf and his mysterious destroyer. The position of Ser Graziolo at the very beginning of the critical study of the *Divine Comedy* gives peculiar interest to his interpretation of the question. For him the wolf is cupidity, *radix omnium malorum*, and he sees no political meaning in the matter. He mentions that even then a great variety of views was held upon the *Veltro*, but declares that it ought certainly to be understood in two ways—in a divine sense and in a human sense, both of which he works out in detail. In the former, this *Veltro* refers to the coming of the Son of God at the last judgment ; in the latter, the *Veltro* is some Pope or Emperor, or some other hero who will arise by the influence of the heavens, under whose wise and just rule universal peace will be established, and the human race will again turn to virtue and truth. And Ser Graziolo, in support of his view, quotes the famous canzone or ode which Dante wrote in exile, commencing with the line :—

Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute.

‘Three ladies have come around my heart.’ These three mystic ladies are Righteousness, Generosity, and Temperance ; exiles too, they appear to Dante in his banishment, and assure him that, although the virtues have been all expelled from men’s hearts, yet they are not dead, and that a nobler age is to come in which the sacred darts of love will again shine brightly amongst men :—

We to the eternal rock may turn ;
 For, be we now sore driven,
 We yet shall live, and yet shall find a race
 Who with this dart shall each dark stain efface.¹

It was in this canzone, so loved by Graziolo, that Dante exulting in these noble spiritual companions in misfortune,

¹ Plumptre’s translation.

had uttered the sentence which strikes the key-note of his life:—

L'esilio che m'è dato onor mi tegno.

‘I hold my exile as an honour.’ And Dante’s defender and commentator was now to experience the same fate.

Bologna lay restlessly beneath the strong hand of Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto, who had been sent into Italy by Pope John XXII., in 1326, as Papal Legate to defend Tuscany and the Romagna against the petty tyrants who were rising up on all sides. Abusing the authority committed to him to serve his own ambitious ends, Bertrando had taken advantage of the alarm and confusion caused by the Italian expedition of Ludwig of Bavaria to make himself lord of Bologna and several of the neighbouring cities. His rule was at first eminently popular; but, embittered by suspicion and carried away by success, he gradually assumed the part of a typical Italian tyrant, and by his arrogance and cruelty aroused the fiercest animosity in the very men who had hailed him with acclamations as the Church’s champion, and the deliverer from the hated Bavarian Emperor. Amongst other arbitrary acts, he gained considerable notoriety by a disgraceful attempt to desecrate Dante’s tomb at Ravenna. At last, in 1334, the Bolognese rose against him. The Cardinal found himself besieged in the castle he had built to overawe the city, until, after a blockade of twelve days, he was allowed to escape under the protection of the Florentines, by virtue of a secret understanding with the leaders of the Bolognese, who were anxious to recover their liberties without embroiling themselves with the Pope.

The part played by Graziolo in these events was probably only a passive one; but, nevertheless, he became involved in the Cardinal’s fall. Through the assistance of the Florentines a new form of communal government was now established at Bologna, not without more disturbances, in which the party that had overthrown the Cardinal drove out their opponents. It is said that in June, 1334, more than a thousand Guelphs were thus expelled from Bologna, or sent

into exile, including nine members of the Bambaglioli family, and amongst them the Chancellor himself. Ser Graziolo does not seem to have been one of those who were violently expelled, but to have pledged himself to obey the decree of the Commune and remain in banishment. His paths are hidden in obscurity, but it is probable that he never returned to his native city. In 1340 there is a record of money given to the Franciscans for Masses to be said for the repose of his soul; and in 1343 he is mentioned as dead in an application of his son's to the Commune.¹

Like his great master Dante, Ser Graziolo in exile turned to poetry, and with the same noble end: 'To rescue those who live in this life from their state of misery, and to guide them to the state of blessedness,' though with immeasurably slighter powers, and therefore by humbler means. With a more modern poet, Graziolo might say:—

Of heaven or hell I have no power to sing.

He could not, like Dante, set forth the hideousness of vice and the beauty of virtue by a sublime vision of the world beyond the grave. He set himself, therefore, to attain the same end more simply, by plainly treating of the moral virtues, of their effects upon human society, and of the evils resulting from vice; and so, in his own way, to render testimony to his Maker:—

A tua eterna lode, alto signore.

This *Trattato sopra le Virtù Morali*, or *Treatise on the Moral Virtues*, which is the work of Graziolo's exile, as the commentary upon Dante had been the literary product of his political life, was originally sent by its author, together with a Latin commentary and a dedicatory letter, to Bertrando del Balzo, the kinsman of King Robert of Naples. In this way the treatise became afterwards ascribed to King Robert himself, under whose name it has more frequently been published than under that of its real author. In the dedication Graziolo describes himself as *olim civitatis Bononiae cancellarius*, and imitates the

¹ Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori Bolognesi*, Bologna; 1781.

epistolary style occasionally employed by Dante : *exul immeritus, humilis*. The letter itself is exactly in the spirit of Hamlet's words :—

Sure, He that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and godlike reason
To fust in us unused.

The divine wisdom and clemency, he says, made man to His own image and likeness, that he should not fust in pernicious idleness and uselessness, but should use his intellect in speculation, so as to seek and find the truth ; for this does the Gospel, through St. Matthew, summon the labourers, whom no man has hired, to work in the vineyard of the Lord :—

Wherefore I, since no man has hired me to humbly labour or to hold office in the state, in order to remain no longer in idle waste of time during this unjust exile which envy prepared for me, have drawn out this treatise on natural morality from the approved writings of venerable authors.

The work is divided into three sections, each composed of a number of *sentenze*, short Italian stanzas of varying length and structure. Quadrio called it one of the finest and wisest of early Italian poems, and, although such praise is more than excessive, the treatise certainly has great merits. Before Graziolo, Francesco da Barberino and Dino Compagni produced somewhat similar works ; but Graziolo at the outset strikes a higher note, and his opening stanza :—

Amor che muovi 'l ciel per tua virtute,

shows that he had studied Dante's philosophical lyrics, as well as the *Divine Comedy* :—

Love, that movest the heaven by Thy power, and by the working of the stars dost alter all things here below, transferring kingdoms from state to state and from nation to nation ; mercifully lend ear, Almighty Lord, and deign to inspire me that I may make manifest man's virtues and the result of his actions ; to Thy eternal praise, Lord, for right affections can never be without Thy potent aid.

In its own modest and humble way, Ser Graziolo's poem is a supplement to the *Purgatorio*. The *Purgatorio* repre-

sented allegorically the life of man upon earth, striving to reach the Earthly Paradise in accordance with the moral and intellectual virtues. Graziolo, therefore, treats of the virtues which especially pertain to this life, the cardinal virtues which attain to human reason, and which 'perfect the intellect and appetite of man according to the capacity of human nature.' As for Dante in his *Purgatorio*, so for Graziolo the whole system of the poem is based upon the supremacy of free will.¹ The Lombard Marco, in *Purgatorio*, Canto vi., had exposed the 'admirable evasion' of man's referring his own misdeeds to the 'enforced obedience of planetary influence;' and Graziolo, in very similar strains, asserts the freedom of man's will and his own moral responsibility in spite of the planets. And, just as the *Purgatorio* is based upon the universality of love, and the consequent need of setting love in order, and centres in the doctrine that love is the cause of every action, so the first part of Graziolo's *Trattato* deals with love, starting with that noble invocation to the Supreme Love that moves the sun and the stars, and passing thence to love of charity and true friendship. Love and friendship unite all ranks in the common weal, put an end to strife, open all roads. Through love the world has peace and the heavens have beauty. Love exalts the lowly, makes the weak strong. To the state it gives unity for self-defence. It fills the world with sweetness and nobleness. The true lover, *il vero amico*, in prosperity and in adversity, loves and serves alike, expecting no reward. There are stern words, too, against ingratitude and against false friends; in many passages it is the exile's voice that is heard, pleading for that charity which opens gates, dispels civil strife, unites cities, and produces true peace and happy security.

The second part treats of the four cardinal virtues. It shows to some extent the influence of Dante's *Convito*; but the treatment is more slight and popular, and they are throughout considered with an eye to the direction of conduct in a man who is called upon to deal with politics, and with special reference to the maintenance of the state.

¹ Cf. F. Falco, *Moralisti Italiani del trecento*, Lucca, 1891

and the order and welfare of the commune. It might, indeed, be described as a practical handbook of the cardinal virtues in their application to life in an Italian commune of the fourteenth century. Under Prudence there is a curious sketch of the duties of an ideal ruler towards his city, his household, and his subjects. He must curb his own will, and be ever intent upon the good of the commune; a very centre of charity, loving all his subjects in union, and winning their love in return; affable and pleasant to all, he is a bond of peace and unity. Especially he must be very careful as to the behaviour and morality of his own household, and at once weed out any undesirable member. He is to be prudent in rewarding and honouring merit, to beware of flatterers, but be open to receive good counsel from discreet and trusty friends. Warnings against indulging in plots on the part of the subject, and against unjust sentences on the part of the ruler, are followed by general denunciations of calumniators. Like Dante, Ser Graziolo had known what it was to suffer injustice,

Through sin of cursed slander's tongue and tooth.

The sentences on Fortitude are indeed applicable to the poet's own position. In adversity, he says, mental peace and joyfulness should be cultivated, for sadness is not only useless, but real spiritual suicide. Leave all vengeance to heaven, and await the turning of fortune's wheel. The man of true fortitude will thus experience how honour is gained in noble suffering :—

Come del bel soffrir s'acquista onore.

What Divine Providence permits is to be sustained with patience, for such things lead through body's loss to the eternal felicity of the soul in God :—

Per dar felicitate
Allo spirto che in Dio vive eternale.

There is here almost a faint foretaste of Shakespeare's sonnet :—

Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,
And let that pine to aggravate thy store;
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;
Within be fed, without be rich no more.

The third, and concluding section treats of the seven deadly sins, and of the vices and defects of human life. It must be admitted that our good Graziolo has nothing very new to tell us upon these themes, and the best and most poetical passages are those in which he catches an echo from the *Convito* or the *Divine Comedy*. The two final *sentenze* are a kind of corollary; the first laments the malice of party spirit, and the second finds a cause for this, and for the resulting ruin of Italy, in the utter selfishness of states and individuals alike. The common good is neglected; each looks only to his own gain; the most zealous partisans will readily change sides for mercenary considerations; states are no longer in arms for great causes, but to maintain the power of individuals.

As he had commenced by invocation of the divine grace for his poem, so, before closing it, Graziolo gives thanks that his prayer has been answered, and ends by lifting the thoughts and desires of his readers from the life to which these virtues pertain, to that eternal and celestial life on the way towards which they are a step. The stanza has usually been omitted from the published editions of the *Trattato*; but it is, in its own very humble way, as essential a conclusion to the whole work as the *Paradiso* is to the *Purgatorio* :—

Opra novella, poich' hai dimostrato
 Li vitii e le virtù d'umana vita,
 Consiglia che ciascun' anzi l'uscita
 Provegga bene al suo eterno stato;
 Poi renda lode, gratia e reverentia
 All' infinita e superna eccellentia,
 La qual per pietade
 Ti ha spirato per la veritade.

'My little book, since thou hast shown the vices and virtues of human life, counsel each one before his death to provide well for his future state. Then render praise, thanks, and reverence to the infinite and supreme excellence which in compassion hath inspired thee for the truth.' There is, perhaps, a faint echo here from the *Convito*,¹ where the noble soul in the fourth and last period

¹ Book iv.

of life returns to God, and blesses the voyage she has made; and Graziolo's accompanying commentary ended in a similar strain: 'That with the heavenly citizens of the triumphant and holy Jerusalem we may glory and be at peace in Him, who is the last end of perfection and glory, who alone perfectly fulfils and sets at rest all human desires.' Thus we take leave of one who, although himself neither a great poet nor a very profound thinker, yet by his rectitude and sincerity wins respect in every fragment of his that remains to us, and who certainly claims considerable interest from his connection with Dante and the *Divine Comedy*, at the time of the poet's death and the beginning of the critical study of his work.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

MASSES FOR THE DEAD

REV. DEAR SIR,—From the answer given with reference to the 'Dead List' in the December number of the I. E. RECORD, it would seem that the November offerings must be looked upon as honoraria, and that the obligation attached cannot be fulfilled by saying second Masses when honoraria are already received for the first.

Now, if the method of division can be taken as determining whether these offerings are to be regarded as honoraria or dues, it seems to some and to me that a sound distinction would regulate the matter. If the offerings are distributed as honoraria the obligation is the same as for any other honoraria, and, consequently, it is prohibited to attempt to satisfy it by the second Mass when a stipend has been taken for the first; but when the division has been made according to the mode of parochial dues, then the celebrant is free to discharge his obligation by the second, as dues are not regarded as honoraria, but part and parcel of his official endowment or salary. As the question is important, practical, and subject to diversity of interpretation, I would be glad to hear more on the matter from the wise and the learned among your readers.

DUBIUS DUPLICANS.

The readers of the I. E. RECORD will, no doubt, readily understand our correspondent's point of view when he insists that this is an important and a practical question. But we decline to believe that, learned or unlearned, they will take his estimate of the relevancy or force of the argument on which he relies. Apart from the taste in making the distinction, we venture to think that our correspondent was singularly unfortunate in addressing his argument to the 'wise and learned' among our readers.

What are generally known as 'November offerings' our

correspondent prefers to describe and regard as 'dues.' We must confess to a preference for the ordinary designation; but the point is quite immaterial. Our correspondent conveys that the 'November offerings' are, in his parish, divided among the parochial clergy after the manner of the ordinary 'dues.' He seems to think that the custom of his parish or diocese is universal, and that it should settle terminology and practice. In both particulars he is in error. The practice of his parish is not universal; it cannot, therefore, settle terminology—still less practice. We gather from his letter—(1) that a portion of the November offerings reaches him; (2) that there is attached an obligation to offer a certain number of Masses for those whose names are on the 'Dead List'; (3) that he has sometimes legitimate permission to duplicate on Sunday; and (4) that, without any dispensation, he considers himself justified in offering his second Mass on Sunday in discharge of one of these 'November Masses,' though he has already taken a stipend for his first Mass on that same day. We are informed that this view is shared by others whom our correspondent has consulted. For the present, we prefer to believe that he has misunderstood these theologians.

It is admitted that in accepting his share of the November offerings, he contracts in justice to offer the requisite number of Masses for the dead. Otherwise, his difficulty, in case of duplication, could not arise. Now, that obligation in justice being admitted, it is manifest that our correspondent, if he acted on his own opinion, would take two stipends on the Sunday on which he celebrates his first Mass for an ordinary *honorarium*, and his second in satisfaction of the obligation arising from the 'November offering.' He may call the latter stipend 'part of his dues,' and he may have come by it by any process of division that ingenuity can suggest; it is still a stipend, and usually a good one, with an obligation in justice attached; he cannot take two such when he duplicates *ex dispensatione*.

This is true enough, our correspondent admits, when there is question of 'honoraria,' but not, he thinks, when there is question of offerings divided 'after the mode of

parochial dues.' For 'then the celebrant is free to discharge his obligation by the second Mass, as dues are not regarded as *honoraria*, but part of his salary.' We take it that our correspondent is a curate. Of course, apart from offerings such as these so-called 'November dues,' the maintenance that a curate receives from the parish imposes on him no obligation regarding the application of his Masses, and, therefore, does not affect the question of a double stipend. But, our correspondent has probably heard that a parish priest, in accepting his dues, contracts in justice to offer certain Masses *pro populo*, and, moreover, that a parish priest, duplicating on Sunday, cannot at one Mass take an ordinary *honorarium*, and by the other lawfully satisfy the obligation of celebrating *pro populo*. So, too, a curate duplicating on Sunday, is not justified in taking an ordinary *honorarium* for one Mass when he wishes by the other to satisfy the obligation in justice arising from his 'November dues.' We assume, of course, that he has not got a dispensation to take a double stipend.

Our correspondent cannot hope to hear from the 'wise and learned' readers of the I. E. RECORD until the March number appears. Meantime, as the question is 'important and practical' from points of view other than his, we have thought it our duty to illustrate his alleged liberty by contrasting it with the obligations of his parish priest.

D. MANNIX.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—Whether designedly or otherwise, the compiler of *The Ancient Irish Church* has adopted an effectual method of bringing the present discussion to a close. A tirade of thirteen pages, with less than half devoted to a defence, such as it is, and affecting to treat as trivial, whilst ignoring, grave charges, including breaches of good faith, cannot lay claim to serious attention.

Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis.

It only remains, accordingly, in dismissing 'this little publication,' to give typical instances of the errors alluded to at the end of the letter in the December number.

To show the intelligent use made of the 'works quoted,' the following is accepted as correct: 'the Brehon Laws assume the existence of a married as well as an unmarried clergy. They make reference to two classes of bishops: the "virgin bishop," and the "bishop of one wife." The "virgin bishop," if he lapsed into grievous sin, did not, they say, recover his grade or pristine perfection, according to some; but the "bishop of one wife" did, provided he performed his penance within three days' (pp. 136-7). A reference is given, '*Senchus Mor*, i. p. 57.'

Here, as in so many other instances, the compiler has taken statements upon trust. Had he used his own eyes, as he was strictly bound to, he would have seen that the Brehon Laws contain nothing of the kind. To state the matter briefly. The native Corpus Juris consists of statutes, running commentaries and verbal glosses. In the MSS., these three are respectively written in large, medium, and small script,—a lucid arrangement, adopted, as to Irish and English, in the official edition. Among the four territorial magnates liable to degradation for malfeasance, the Law (in large letter) places a *stumbling* (i.e., incontinent) *bishop* (i. pp. 55-56) (The gloss, it has to be remarked in passing, gives an etymology of *stumbling*—*tuisledach*—that is beneath notice.) Hereupon is the commentary (in medium character, pp. 56-59), which the compiler mistook, at second or third hand, for the

Law! These are the full data, and they prove that the 'objection' in question was the outcome of ignorance or malice.

Now, for the scholium. This affords internal evidence that it was composed at a time when married bishops did not exist. In the (sixth-century) Penitential of Finnian, both the delinquents named in the commentary received six years' penance, and were to be rehabilitated in the seventh year. Whence it follows that to make one culprit incapacitated for life and restore another equally guilty after three days' fast never represented an actual state of things. Equity of the sort was devised for Utopia.

Nor is this all. Once more, as in the case of the St. Gall *Ordo*, the proof can be extended and completed by aid of a volume not on the compiler's list. Another commentary (in medium hand), treating, *inter alia*, of punishments and fines to be imposed for assaults upon bishops and priests, applies the distinction of 'virgin' and 'of one wife' to the two grades (*Brehon Laws*, iv. pp. 362-9). By good fortune, however, the enactments themselves, most probably in the original language, are extant. They are the (eight) decrees of a *Synodis Hibernensis*, and they mention *episcopus* and *presbyter* without qualification (Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, pp. 140-1).

Thus, neither in the Civil nor in the Canon Law of ancient Ireland is the existence of a married clergy assumed. Such, no doubt, existed (down to what time, it is immaterial for the present purpose to discuss); but this falls short *toto coelo* of proving that the number was so great as to obtain formal recognition in the legislation of Church and State. The commentaries, accordingly, were purely fantastic,—arising from the misdirected (and in this case perhaps malicious) ingenuity inveterate in the Brehon legists.

The value of the Irish testimonies is apparent in another of the three extracts that profess to be taken directly from the *Speckled Book*. This excerpt, containing little more than eight lines, will be found to present no fewer than eighteen errors, whether of transcription or press; whilst, in addition, a clause of nine words is not rendered in the translation, leaving the English reader to infer that the native writer did not believe in the Crucifixion (p. 79)!

Coming to the Latin, one page (37) is adorned with a rescension and a translation, each equally notable. *Qui potestatem habens*, 'who hast the power;' *adversariis potius manus dantis*

quam resistentis, 'yielding help to, instead of withstanding the enemy.' 'Tried by the Dictionaries,' this version, it must be admitted, 'may claim an acquittal': *manus dare*, to give hands; i.e., to yield help to! At the risk of being taxed with 'hyper-critical carping,' one is tempted, however, to question whether this was the sense which Columbanus (the words are from a Letter of the Saint) learned, in the school of Bangor, to attach to the expression.

Elsewhere (pp. 201-2), a quotation from the *Book of Armagh* has *crucem quae erat juxta viam sitam* and *interrogavit qua morte abierat*. The two editions referred to have the emendations *sita* and *obierat*. The compiler, it may be, judges these 'recensional' details to be erroneous.

In the matter of 'the early hymnology of the Irish' (p. 163), the compiler is a veritable pundit. The severe rescensions he approves of remind one of Hebrew without the points. For example (p. 161):—

Celebra iuda festa christi gaudia

The scansion and translation are equally striking. 'Rendered as English prose' the words, we learn, signify 'Celebrate, O festive Juda, the joys of Christ.' The humdrum prosody, in vogue before St. Patrick's Day, A.D. 1897 (when the new *Gradus ad Parnassum* burst upon the world), had it that the line was made up of two parts of five and seven syllables respectively, thus expressed:—

Celebra, Juda, || festa Christi gaudia.

Festa would consequently be accusative plural, not vocative singular; agreeing with *gaudia*, not with *Juda*:—

Celebrate, O Juda, the festal joys of Christ.

These, however, are doubtless some of the results of 'a slender acquaintance with the study' (p. 163).

The adoption of Warren's text of the Stowe Missal has resulted in some drastic liturgical changes. To appreciate them to the full, and for a reason to be mentioned later on, the rejected readings of the Royal Irish Academy edition are likewise supplied.

The Ancient Irish Church,
p. 158.

Libera nos christe
audi nos christe
Christ, deliver us.
Christ, hear us.

Trans. R. I. A., xxvii.
p. 192.

. . . libera nos [Ps. cliii. 7].
Christe audi nos;
Christe audi nos;
Christe audi nos.

[a]

Trans. R. I. A., xxvii. pp. 193-4.

'To facilitate comparison to some extent, numbers are placed on the margins.)

Propitius esto, parce nobis, Domine,
Propitius esto, libera nos, Domine.
Ab omni malo, libera nos, Domine.
Per Crucem tuam, libera nos, Domine.

- [5] Peccatores, te rogamus, audi nos.
Fili [Fili, MS.] Dei, te rogamus, audi nos.
Ut pacem dones, te rogamus, audi nos.
- [8] Agne Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,
miserere [miserere, MS.] nobis.

[b]

The Ancient Irish Church, p. 160.

(The petitions are here arranged in the usual order; on the page quoted from, they are given continuously, 'for the special satisfaction of scholars.')

- | | |
|--|--|
| Propitius esto. | Be propitious. |
| Parce nobis domine. | Spare us O Lord. |
| Propitius esto. | Be propitious. |
| Libera nos, domine, ab omni malo. | Deliver us O Lord from all evil. |
| [5] Libera nos, domine, per crucem tuam. | Deliver us O Lord by thy cross. |
| Libera nos, domine, peccatores. | O Lord deliver us sinners. |
| Te rogamus audi nos. | We beseech Thee hear us. |
| <i>Fili Dei, te rogamus audi nos.</i> | <i>Son of God, we beseech Thee, hear us.</i> |
| Ut pacem dones, te rogamus. | We beseech Thee, grant us peace. |
| Audi nos, agne Dei. | Hear us O Lamb of God. |
| [11] Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. | Who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us. |

Thus by chopping and changing which elude specific classification and comparison, the eight items of *a* have been expanded into eleven in *b*; the petition here given in italics being, it will have been observed, the only one that is left intact. To cap the climax the five Irish virgins of the Litany are individually invoked under the title *Sancte*! The original, written in a hand as plain as print, has *Sancta* in every case.

The Canon of the Mass, it consequently appears, is not the sole part of the Liturgy that has felt the reforming zeal of the compiler. Whether his labours in these directions 'in the interest of the faith' are destined to merit the approval of competent authority, will doubtless be seen in the 'proposed enlarged edition.' Meanwhile, to set the seal on his critical judgment and show at the same time how closely he has kept in touch with the subject, it has to be recorded that, as far back as ten years ago, Warren publicly disavowed and apologized for the errors of his transcript; leaving that 'for which' the editor of the Academy edition 'is himself responsible' the *Textus Receptus*!

Quem secutus es errantem, sequere poenitentem.

Still further to show his 'tacit preference,' having stated that the Stowe Missal, 'in part, is thought' to date 'about the early seventh century,' the compiler is careful to add that Warren refers the whole MS. to the ninth (p. 48; cf. p. 61). Yet once more, however, a volume not found among the 'works quoted' will enable readers to rightly appraise this attribution. In his *Liturgy and Ritual, etc.* (1881), which is on the list, Warren assigns the two parts to the ninth and tenth centuries respectively (pp. 199, 201). But in his *Manuscript Irish Missal*, issued only two short years before (1879), he was himself the first to print the Preface and Canon of the Stowe Mass. These he heads (p. 2): "STOWE MISSAL. (*Seventh and ninth centuries.*)" Then, to mark the changes of script, he has "*9th century hand*" and "*7th century hand*" alternating four times throughout (pp. 2-12)! Such is the rigid consistency of the 'ripe erudition' (p. 220) that captivated the compiler.

Sooth to say, the conclusion is foregone. A compilation of sheer diligence, pervaded with such radical defects as have been set forth (*and the list defies exhaustion still*), arising from glaring inability to deal at first hand with the sources and materials of our Sacred Archæology can only prejudice the cause it professes to serve. A weak defence is an aggravated betrayal.

B. MAC CARTHY.

DOCUMENTS

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

ARCHCONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF COMPASSION

BRIEF OF ERECTION AND STATUTES

LEO XIII., POPE

IN PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE

IT is known to all men that the efforts of Our Apostolic Ministry have long been specially directed to securing the return to the centre of Catholic Unity of those Christian nations which the sad vicissitudes of past centuries have torn from the bosom of their Mother the Church. Inspired by this ardent desire, We have been solicitous for the return to religious union of the Oriental nations, and have devoted unusual care to this task. In like manner have We cast our eyes upon the illustrious British nation, which for so many conspicuous reasons has won the especial good-will of the Roman Church. Our earnest wishes are centred upon Great Britain, in union with the wishes of so many men distinguished by sanctity, learning, and dignity, more especially St. Paul of the Cross, the religious founder M. Olier, Father Ignatius Spencer, and Cardinal Wiseman. We have, indeed, good hope that Our voice, like good seed, may some day produce the wished-for fruits in that land whose past history is so glorious, and whose present splendour and civilization dispose it to follow the highest aims. Yet We are sensible that all efforts and labours towards this end will be unfruitful without the powerful help of Divine Grace. This grace We have never ceased to invoke from the bottom of Our heart, and We have asked also the prayers of the Universal Church.

But now, desiring to add to these efforts, so that there may be a more widely extended and more powerful combination of prayer, We have erected a pious Society, in the form of an Archconfraternity, with the object of hastening, chiefly by constant prayer, the reunion of Great Britain with the Roman Church. In this work of charity We have Ourselves, in a manner, led the way. For two years ago We addressed a Letter to the English People, in which We treated of the all-important subject of

Christian unity ; and after exhorting to repeated prayer for Our English brethren, especially the recitation of the *Angelical Salutation*, We appended to the Letter a special prayer to the Most Holy Virgin. This prayer We have enriched with indulgences, and have recommended it to the members in the Statutes or Rules of the recently-erected Archconfraternity, which are comprised under nine headings. We have placed this Society or Archconfraternity at St. Sulpice, as a centre for the whole Catholic world, from which other Confraternities, like streams from an abundant spring, may flow forth into every part of the Lord's vineyard.

We have selected the Church of St. Sulpice as the seat of this Society, both because France is near to and in very easy communication with Great Britain, and also because M. Olier, the founder of the Congregation of St. Sulpice, together with his disciples, most earnestly longed for the reconciliation of England with the Roman Church. Moreover, as the Congregation of St. Sulpice extends to almost every part of the world, it will be able to establish other Confraternities of the same kind in every country. For We are particularly desirous, as, indeed, the object itself requires, that this pious Society be spread far and wide ; and, therefore, We earnestly exhort all Catholics, not only in France, but throughout the world, who are solicitous for the cause of religion, to enrol their names in this Society.

Wherefore, absolving and holding as absolved, for this present purpose only, all and every one to whom these Our Letters are directed, from all sentences of excommunication and interdict, and all other ecclesiastical sentences, censures, and penalties, in whatever manner or for whatever cause imposed, if by them incurred, by Our Apostolic Authority and by virtue of these present Letters, We erect and constitute, in the Church of St. Sulpice, an Archconfraternity of prayers and good works for the return of Great Britain to the Catholic Faith, under the patronage of Blessed Mary the Sorrowful Virgin. This Archconfraternity We place first under the patronage of the great Mother of God, 'whose dowry England is ;' and We assign as its heavenly patrons St. Joseph, the most chaste Spouse of the Blessed Virgin ; St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, under whose patronage England is placed : St. Gregory the Great, Pope,¹ and

¹ St. Gregory was added by the Holy Father after the date of this Brief.

St. Augustine, bishop, the thirteenth centenary of whose coming to England, to bring the Catholic Faith and the means of salvation, is at this time specially celebrated.

Moreover, by the same authority, We grant in perpetuity to the presidents, officials, and members of the Archconfraternity, both present and future, the right and permission to aggregate other Confraternities of the same object and name, existing in any part of the Catholic world, observing, however, the form of the constitution of Our predecessor, Pope Clement VIII., and other Apostolic Ordinances on this matter; and to communicate to them all and every one of the indulgences granted to the Archconfraternity, and communicable to others.

The following are the indulgences granted:—

The members shall be able to obtain a plenary indulgence—

I. On the day of enrolment in the Archconfraternity.

II. At the point of death.

III. On each of the Feasts of the Most Holy and Sorrowful Mary, the one during Lent, and the other during the month of September; also on the Feasts of St. Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary; of St. Peter the Apostle, of St. Gregory the Great, Pope; and of St. Augustine, Bishop, Patron of England.

IV. On the day of the monthly meeting provided for in Article IX. of the Statutes or Rules.

Moreover, We grant a partial indulgence of fifty days, to be obtained once a day by those members who shall piously recite the *Hail Mary*, as provided in Article IV. of the Statutes or Rules of the Archconfraternity.

The members, if they wish, may apply all these indulgences, both plenary and partial, to the Souls in Purgatory.

And We decree that these Our Letters are and shall remain firm, valid, and efficacious, and shall have and obtain their plenary and full effect, and shall be of full avail to all whom they concern, and may concern in the future, in all respects and in all circumstances, and shall so be judged and defined in their premises by all judges whatsoever, ordinary and delegate; and that whatsoever shall be attempted, wittingly or unwittingly, by anyone with any authority otherwise in this matter, shall be null and void, notwithstanding Apostolic Constitutions and Ordinances,

and all others whatsoever, even though deserving of special and individual mention, of contrary tenor.

Given at St. Peter's in Rome, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the twenty-second day of August, 1897, in the twentieth year of Our Pontificate.

L. ✠ S.

ALOISIUS CARD. MACCHI.

THE STATUTES

The following are the Statutes of the Primary Association of Prayers and Good Works, under the patronage of Our Lady of Compassion, for the return of Great Britain to the Catholic Faith :—

I.

The object of this pious Association is that its members shall endeavour, by prayers and the exercise of good works, to obtain from God the return of Great Britain to the Catholic Faith.

II.

To attain the object of this pious Association, the members shall not be content only with prayers, but shall add to prayers the practice of good works of every kind, whether of piety or of charity, such as the frequentation of the Sacraments, the exact observance of the commands of God and the precepts of the Church, &c., and the putting in practice of all that may efficaciously contribute to the end of the Association.

III.

Besides the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, the pious Association venerates as its special protectors St. Joseph ; St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Patron of England ; St. Gregory the Great, Pope ;¹ and St. Augustine, Bishop and Apostle of England.

IV.

To take part in the Association, and to gain the Indulgences with which it is enriched, the associates shall every day add to their daily prayers a special prayer—at least a Hail Mary—in order to obtain from God the conversion for which the Association is founded. They are specially exhorted to recite the prayer to the Most Holy Virgin, for our English brethren, inserted in the Apostolic Letter *Ad Anglos* of April 15th, 1895.

¹ St. Gregory was added by the Holy Father after the date of the Brief and of those Statutes.

V.

The primary Association has its seat in the city of Paris, at the church of St. Sulpice; and it has the right to aggregate any other similar Associations which may be erected throughout the world with the consent of the respective Ordinaries. The Sulpicians, however, have the right of erecting the Association in their church wherever they have a residence.

VI.

The President of the Primary Association is the Superior-General, for the time being, of the Sulpicians, who shall be able to delegate as his representative a Father approved by him for the transaction of business. The Presidents of the diocesan Associations, wherever canonically erected and aggregated to the primary one, shall be nominated by the respective Ordinaries.

VII.

The President of the Association may select from among those members who are specially distinguished for zeal and piety, Zealators of either sex in such number as he shall judge fitting; and these Zelators shall devote themselves, as far as possible to promoting the welfare of the Association. For this purpose they shall meet together with the President at certain fixed times of the year, in order to take such measures as may seem opportune for the welfare of the Association.

VIII.

It shall be the duty of the Zelators to endeavour, as far as possible, to increase the number of members, and, with the authorization of the President, to issue to them the certificate of enrolment. They must be careful to keep a register of the names enrolled to be given to the President himself, who shall transcribe the names into the general register of the Association.

IX.

On one Sunday of the month, to be definitely fixed, there shall be a meeting of the members in every church where the Association is erected, for the purpose of praying together, if possible, before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, in order to implore more efficaciously from God the wished-for return of Great Britain to the Catholic Church.

The present copy perfectly agrees in all its parts with the

original of the Statutes preserved in Rome, in the archives of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.

Given at Rome, in the Secretariate of the aforesaid Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, on the 30th day of August, 1897.

L. ✠ S.

A. TROMBETTA, *Secretary*.

PRAYER FOR THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

The Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars by which the Statutes were confirmed, and which was approved by the Holy Father is then given, and after it the following prayer from the Apostolic Letter *Ad Anglos* :—

‘ O Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and our most gentle Queen and Mother, look down in mercy upon England thy “Dowry,” and upon us all who greatly hope and trust in thee. By thee it was that Jesus, our Saviour and our hope, was given unto the world; and He has given thee to us that we might hope still more. Plead for us thy children, whom thou didst receive and accept at the foot of the cross, O sorrowful mother. Intercede for our separated brethren, that with us in the one true Fold they may be united to the Chief Shepherd, the Vicar of thy Son. Pray for us all, dear Mother, that by faith fruitful in works, we may all deserve to see and praise God, together with thee, in our heavenly home. Amen.’

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SONGS OF SION. By Mary Stanislaus MacCarthy, O.S.D.,
Sion Hill, Dublin. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1898.

THIS volume of sacred verses has already been well described as 'a holy and a beautiful book.' It is impossible to read it through without acknowledging the genuine religious fervour of the 'Songs,' and the truly uncommon gifts of imagination and expression with which their author was endowed. Owing to the systematic oppression of the Church in these countries, and the persistent denial of higher education to Catholics, our religious poetry had not, until recent times, reached a very high standard. A few gifted writers of the present day have done much, however, in spite of all obstacles, not the least of which was a want of appreciation and cultivated taste amongst the public at large, to fill up this vacant space in Catholic literature. Amongst the number, limited though it be, Sister M. Stanislaus must be awarded a very high place. Superficial and half-educated persons may be inclined to discount religious poetry, and even to exclude it altogether from the field of interest of the modern world; but genuine poets, and men and women of the highest intellectual cultivation, in all the centuries of the Christian era, have ever admired religious poetry, and found enjoyment and happiness in the strains that called them away from earthly cares. From the humble cell of Hermann Contractus, in a lonely island in the Lake of Constance, come down to us the 'Salve Regina' and the 'Alma Redemptoris Mater.' St. Francis of Assisi, in an age of feudalism and of chivalry, did not hesitate to sing of 'Holy Poverty' as the lady of his heart, his *fiancée*, and his spouse. St. Bonaventure, Fra Pacifico, Jacomino da Verona, and the Blessed Jacopone da Todi, have achieved, in poetry alone, a glory which the materialistic versifiers of modern times are never likely to rival. Do we not find religious poetry at the fountain-head of all the great literatures of the world—English, German, French, Spanish, Portuguese? And in our own country we know how our Irish ancestors devoted the very best of their genius to that religious poetry which is not yet entirely lost, and

which Irish scholars of the present day take a pride in rescuing from oblivion.

It is in this celestial garden that Sister Mary Stanislaus has culled the precious flowers that grace this handsome volume. She sings of Him whom she had chosen and loved beyond all human love, and of His angels and saints, and of the monuments of His boundless love, His Sacraments, His churches, His hospitals, His schools. These are the themes of her *Songs of Sion*. It is but poor praise to say that the author of such excellent poems would have achieved high repute in the world, if she had devoted her talents to the worldly aspects of life, or if she had aimed at more finished literary effect in these religious verses. They are, as they stand, the outcome of a fervent and cultivated mind, uttered as occasion called them forth ; and as such they will remain a lasting monument of honour to 'Sion Hill,' and the worthy expression of a pure life. We have only to say, in conclusion, that the publishers have turned out the volume in perfect style. The paper, type, and binding are all in keeping with the contents, and reflect the highest credit on Messrs. Browne & Nolan, Ltd., who have now established themselves as capable of executing all sorts of artistic work, in binding as well as in printing.

J. F. H.

BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Tornaci Nerviorum. Sumptibus et Typis Soc. S. Joannis Evangelistae. Desclée, Lefebvre et Soc. Pontif. Editorum. 1897.

HORAE DIURNAE. Same Publishers.

WE have much pleasure in bringing under the notice of our readers this excellent edition of the Breviary, published by Messrs. Desclée, Lefebvre & Co., of Tournay. It is in many respects the most convenient edition of the Breviary that has come into our hands. Its great advantage is that there is the least possible turning of leaves, the fine quality of the paper making it possible for the publishers to print the psalms, versicles, &c., in many of the special offices, whilst in other breviaries one is constantly obliged to turn over for them to the common or to offices of similar feasts in other parts of the Breviary. The edition which has been sent to us is printed on fine, though rather thin, India paper, which has the advantage, notwith-

standing its slender leaf, of being perfectly opaque. It is bound in black, flexible Morocco, with gilt edges and round corners. It seems to us excellent value for £1 16s. 2d. Messrs. Desclée, Lefebvre & Co., have besides, a large stock of more expensive breviaries; but for practical use, we believe this is the one that is most in demand.

The *Horae Diurnae*, which costs 6s. 9d., has the same characteristics as the Breviary; but, besides the ordinary contents of the *Horae*, it has, at the end, the prayers of the priest before and after Mass, before and after confession, together with some most useful excerpts from the Roman Ritual, such as the method of administering Holy Communion to the sick, the rite of Extreme Unction, the 'Benedictio Infirmi,' the 'Benedictio Rosariorum B. M. V.,' the 'Forma Brevior Benedicendi et imponendi Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo,' Benedictio Imaginis vel Numismatis,' 'Benedictio Domorum.' 'Benedictio ad Omnia.' This supplementary part will, we have no doubt, be found very useful. We should mention that the Irish proper is included in both Breviary and 'Horae' at the prices mentioned.

J. F. H.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIAE DOGMATICAE. Auctore R. P. J. Herrmann, Congr. SS. Redemptoris. 3 vols., of about 650 pages each. Rome, Cuggiani. Vico della Pace, 35. Bureaux de la Sainte-Famille à Antony, Seine, France, 1897. 12½ francs.

THE Bishop of Malaga, in an official paper, which appeared on the 16th of June, 1897, wrote:—

'The theology of Father Herrmann is a complete work of its kind. His method, his clearness, and the great purity of his doctrine . . . makes his work more adapted for a class-book than any we know. A student may with the greatest facility make the contents his own; and whoever does so can rest assured that he has acquired the knowledge most necessary for our times, while he enters at the same time on the road opened to us by the great restorer of theological studies, the great Pontiff, Leo XIII.'

The Holy Father himself, through his Eminence Cardinal Rampolla, wrote to the author:—

'Multum gavisus est de amore ac diuturno et frugifero studio, quo animum applicuisti ad exponendas mentibusque alte inserendas doctrinas Angelici Doctoris Thomae et

S. Doctoris Alphonsi : quas ipse Pontifex doctrinas memorandis commendarat documentis. Id quoque singulariter ei gratum accidit quod te in veritati defensionem, tanta haurire subsidia ex actis concilii vaticani et ex Litteris suis encyclicis.'

The *Revue Ecclésiastique de Metz* points out that Father Herrmann has really given us something new. We all know St. Alphonsus as universal master in moral theology ; but how few there are who realize that he has written much on the dogmas of our holy religion. He popularized St. Thomas, adding at the same time, in many questions both practical and speculative, the weight of his own authority, which certainly counts for something since he too is Doctor of the Church. 'In hisce exarandis institutionibus [says the author] Ducem et Magistrum S. Thomam sequi conatus sum.' He has even kept his word as far as the limits of a compendium allowed. He adds :—

'Propositum etiam mihi fuit, ut, praeter Doctorem angelicum, sanctum quoque Doctorem Alphonsum de Liguorio in Ducem et Magistrum mihi assumerem, eo nomine (verba sunt SS. D.N. Leo PP. XIII.) quod eum sanctus auctor saepe in scriptis suis angeli scholarum doctrinam se sequutum fuisse gloriatur ; ex hujusmodi recentioris Ecclesiae Doctoris erga illum obsequio nova S. Thomae doctrinae laus accedat et gloria.'

At page 656, vol i., we find a long list of St. Alphonsus' dogmatic works, and these are referred to in the *Breve Concess. tituli Doctoris*, die 7, 1871, in which Pius IX. says :—

'Nullum esse vel nostrorum temporum errorem qui, maxima saltem ex parte, non sit ab Alphonso refutatus.'

Moreover St. Alphonsus examined thoroughly many difficult questions discussed by the older theologians, and drew from his examination conclusions quite his own. Thus, for example, in the question : how we are to conciliate grace and liberty, he has now his own system. In vol. ii., cap. iv., p. 429, under heading *Systema Catholica*, we have systema Thomistarum, Augustinianorum, Molinistarum, Conquistarum et *Systema S. Alphonsi de Liguori*. In future in discussions on this subject this last system must have its place. Light is often thrown on obscure passages in St. Thomas by the teaching of St. Alphonsus. Hence, in uniting these two Doctors, the author has given us what is both new and useful. Useful, for the *Breve* cited above continues :—

'Hujus Doctoris libros, commentaria, opuscula, opera denique omnia, ut aliorum Ecclesiae Doctorum, non modo privatim, sed

publice in gymnasiis, Academiis, Scholis, Collegiis, Lectionibus, Sermonibus, omnibusque aliis ecclesiasticis studiis . . . citari, proferri, atque, cum res postulaverit, volumus et decernimus.'

Father Herrmann has given effect to this mandate of the Holy See in his *Institutiones*. He has done for dogmatic theology, as far as the matter permits, what Mare and Aertnys have done in moral theology; and for this he deserves the thanks of both students and professors.

The universal praise with which this work has been received, and the high place which has been assigned to it as a manual, has led us to examine it with particular care. We have found it complete as to matter, wonderfully clear in diction, and methodic throughout. The schemas which precede the different tracts give the student a bird's-eye view of what is before him. Each part therein indicated is taken up separately, and so logically and clearly subdivided that the task of learning is made comparatively easy. This is enhanced by the perfect manner in which the book is printed. By a careful selection of type, the propositions, divisions, proofs, and objections immediately catch the eye and keep the memory. Moreover, that which every student should know is in bold type, while certain questions which are useful, but not necessary, or aspects of questions which the more talented students will study and develop with profit, are put in smaller type. To this end he gives at the beginning of each tract *auctores consulendi*. Full room is left to professor for further development of doctrine.

We do not venture to say that this manual is perfect, but we are of opinion that in most respects it is excellent, and that professors will soon see that Father Herrmann has profited of his long experience of the needs and capabilities of students.¹

And now we wish to go a step further, and say that we believe this work to be a most useful hand-book for priests on the mission. Its conciseness, clearness, and order make it admirable for dogmatic instructions. The schemas, of which we have already spoken, the indices of each volume, and especially the two general indices at the end of the third volume, are excellent,

¹ In a second edition which is sure to be soon called for, the author might consider whether it would not be better to unite what he has written, *de Fontibus Fidei*, vol. i., Nos. 16 and 17, and the fuller treatment, Pars. iii., cap. i. and ii., of Scripture and Tradition. We think also that in some places the texts taken from St. Alphonsus might have been more to the point.

one *Index Rerum notabilium*; the other, *Index continens Alphabeticò ordine Errorum Fautores* : this is, in reality, a compendious dictionary of errors and their authors.

Before finishing this necessarily short notice, we call special attention to *Tractus Quintus*, vol. ii., *Marialogia*. A glance at the *Conspectus generalis*, p. 281, shows how fully and with what perfect order the subject is treated. We see in the pages that follow how solid were the principles on which St. Alphonsus, devotion to the Madonna rested; also to *Tractatus Sextus, De Gratia*. Priests who have to labour for the saving and perfecting of souls will read with pleasure the proofs given of two propositions proposed by one who is rightly called an apostle of prayer, namely :—

‘*Gratia sufficiens, quae, urgente praecepto, omnibus communiter conceditur, ita est immediate et proxime ad orandum sufficiens, ut quilibet cum ea actu orare possit, si velit, et per orationem uberiora auxilia, quibus ad difficiliora peragenda et ad salutem consequendam indiget obtinere,*’ No. 1,225.

And :—

‘*Ad gratiam efficacem obtinendam oratio est medium necessarium et omnino infallibile,*’ No. 1,226.

Just as in his moral and ascetic theology, so likewise in his dogmatic treatises, St. Alphonsus is pre-eminently practical. Father Herrmann has, it seems to us, thoroughly seized his holy founder’s spirit, and he has given us a book which has come to stay.

J. M.

SERMONS. By Father John Kelly, B.A., late Rector of St. Joseph’s, Birkdale. Manchester: P. Deschamps, Blackfriars Bridge.

THE author of this volume of Sermons belonged to the diocese of Liverpool, where he served at first as Secretary to the Bishop, and afterwards as pastor of more than one important district. As far as can be known, the discourses now collected were all prepared and delivered during the author’s missionary career, and were addressed to ordinary town and country congregations. They were not written with a view to publication, but were collected after the author’s death by one of his friends, who found many of the manuscripts in a dilapidated condition, some

written in pencil and in many places nearly illegible. They narrowly escaped being burned as worthless,—a fate which has befallen many similar efforts which in their day served to kindle divine love in the hearts of Christians.

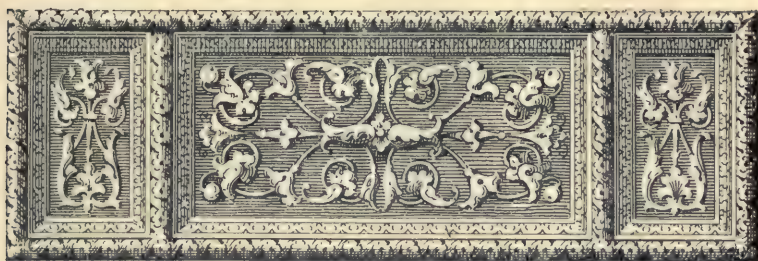
Most missionary priests will, I imagine, think all the more of these discourses of Father Kelly's, forasmuch as they are here printed as they were prepared, for delivery in the ordinary routine of parochial work. It has been often said that a man's truest biography is to be found in the letters which he may have written to intimate friends, wherein he unaffectedly reveals his passing thoughts and feelings. Writing with a view to publication is like sitting for a portrait; it develops an unconscious but inevitable tendency to pose. There is a charming frankness and simplicity in discourses which are intended merely for the faithful of the parish,—one's own household and familiar friends, as it were,—and in which there is no attempt, consciously or unconsciously, to satisfy the larger and more critical audience to which a published discourse necessarily appeals.

There is another point of view from which the volume before us is of special interest. It is a chapter, so to speak, from the biography of a gifted and zealous priest, in which he reveals quite unconsciously the kind of work he did on the mission, and from which others may learn not only what a good pastor should endeavour to do, but what one has actually done in the way of preaching to and instructing his people. During our college course and at the annual retreats the lesson is again and again repeated, that preaching without preparation—which for many years, at least, means without writing out the discourse beforehand—is of little value. But so many impediments arise in the missionary's daily life; and it is so easy to find excuses for appearing in the pulpit after a hurried preparation. Now, here is one who was neither a college professor nor a conductor of retreats, but the rector of many important and populous missions, where the work pressed heavily on a delicate constitution. And here are samples of the discourses he used actually to deliver to his people, just as he delivered them; the ordinary Sunday morning or evening lectures, which he never imagined would reach a larger audience than was collected for the occasion within his parish church. What has been done by one may be done by others in similar circumstances; not, perhaps, as gracefully and well as by Father Kelly, for all have not his talents; but according to the capacity with which each one is endowed.

It remains to say something of the sermons as sources which may be utilized by others in preparing for similar work. It seems to me that from this point of view there are two kinds of discourse: one formal, with the various divisions pointed out explicitly, as well as the principal arguments and appeals with which each point is amplified; the other free and flowing, not making so many divisions, nor distinguishing them so formally one from another, but content to propose some one lesson, and to illustrate and enforce this in many ways—from theology, philosophy, history, art, science, experience of men; each sentence and paragraph arising out of the preceding almost imperceptibly, and leading to a more artistic if not a simpler and more useful whole.

For those who can afford to make but a hurried preparation, the first kind of sermon is manifestly the most valuable; and Father Kelly's discourses are not of that kind. Those preachers, however, who carefully write out their sermons, and aim at producing not only solid but artistic results, will find very valuable suggestions in the volume before us. It would also serve, I think, as useful spiritual reading, especially for the laity, inasmuch as it was for the laity the instructions were originally prepared.

W. McDONALD.



MODERN SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

A NECESSITY OF THOUGHT

WE crave the reader's indulgence for this brief excursion into a region more or less abstract. The abstract atmosphere is, we admit, unpleasantly thin. Its first effect is not unlike that of a great mountain height; we experience a difficulty in catching our intellectual breath, and are disposed to grow dizzy at the surrounding emptiness. Then it is such a ghostly place—the home of disembodied ideas, entities as elusive as the sprite. We altogether prefer the bustling concrete, where ideas wear bodies of some sort through which you can lay hold of them, and exhibit them before the great popular tribunal of common sense, and make them show cause why they should not be regarded as disturbers of the public mind. However, it is with a view to afterwards doing all this the more effectually that we now propose to have a short consultation with that *eminent chamber lawyer—consciousness*.

The subject we are about to discuss is of great—even of supreme importance. It is, therefore, industriously hidden away by the 'scientific philosophers' under vague forms of words that seem profound while they are really only indefinite. In fact our present subject shows us our philosophers in a new light. Whatever their

shortcomings, we have not hitherto had occasion to charge them with want of courage to go on. It is therefore the more surprising to find them come to a dead stop at a point of the philosophic road which is clearly not the end, declaring that they have reached the limit of speculation even for them. They boldly trace the universe back to a certain primordial condition, and then, muttering something about 'the unknown and unknowable,' leave it an unsolved problem. Nor must anyone else touch it. It must be held inscrutable, a mystery, something lying outside the pale, not only of science, but of thought. Having seen the universe ground down in the philosophical mill to elementary matter and force, you must be content to stop there, to regard that condition as ultimate. You must not seek to know where these elements of a universe came from, or who or what established among them those special relations which, according to the teaching of 'advanced philosophy,' led to all subsequent developments. You are left to conclude, as the only way of pacifying your insubordinate reason, that the great elements probably constituted an effect so prodigious that it could dispense with a cause! Of course the conclusion is not to be put forward in that shockingly naked form. Artistically shrouded in the mystery of 'the unknown and unknowable,' it will begin to look quite reasonable!

In fact we have in this great problem of the ultimate origin of the universe the veritable skeleton in the philosophers' cabinet, and they are never quite at ease about it. Hence, even while solemnly ticketing it 'unknown and unknowable,' they at the same time try to convey an impression that science has somehow partly solved it in the negative, or at least is just about to do so. And as a last resource, they metaphorically snap their fingers at it as an unpractical speculation, a mere metaphysical subtlety which may be dismissed by practical men.

But like the calling of spirits from the yasty deep, the dismissal of the ultimate problem of causation from the human mind is hampered with a fatal difficulty in practice—*it won't go*. Try all we may, we cannot think out a reason-

able theory of the universe without coming at last face to face with the question of its origin. The solving of that question in some fashion becomes for us, therefore, *a necessity of thought*. Further, we contend that the solution is equally inevitable—that as reasonable beings we can come to only one conclusion, viz., that the existing universe had an originating cause, which primary cause was necessarily a transcendent *intelligence*. This conclusion we shall now endeavour to work out with as little abstruseness as may be.

We suppose it is unnecessary to say a single word as to the importance of the question and its answer. The special *note* of the scientific philosophy is the elimination of the idea of an intelligent First Cause from the system of nature, that is to say, the elimination of the idea of God. In the hands of the infidel philosophers the universe has become the great argument against the existence of its Creator. As we see it around us now, it can be explained without reference to any such being ; and when traced to its primordial condition, it vanishes ‘ behind the veil.’ That is the sum of the scientific philosophy ; and whoever would retain his belief in a God must be prepared to meet it.

The line of thought followed in this paper was suggested by some pregnant sentences in the concluding paragraph of Sir John Herschel’s lecture *On the Origin of Force*.¹ Having called attention to the fact that the universe, as far as it is observable by us, presents to us three orders of phenomena—viz., physical, vital, and intellectual—Sir John Herschel continues :—

The first and greatest question philosophy has to resolve in its attempts to make out a *Cosmos*—to bring the whole of the phenomena exhibited in these three domains of existence under the contemplation of the mind as a congruous whole—is whether or not we can derive any light from our internal consciousness of thought, reason, power, will, motive, design : whether, that is to

¹ *Familiar Lectures*.

say, nature is or is not *more interpretable* by supposing these things (be they what they may) to have had, or to have, to do with its arrangements.

The suggestion here thrown out really takes us down to the very root of all profitable study of natural phenomena. The very first question certainly is—*How* are we to approach the study of these phenomena? What standards have we to refer them to? What weights and measures have we to gauge them with? To answer this fundamental question we turn the search-light of our intellect in on ourselves, and examine how we stand related to the phenomena of which we have the best because the most immediate experience—namely, our own works as free agents. How do we account for these phenomena of our own production to ourselves or to our fellowmen?—why we did that act, or went to that place, or bought or sold that thing? At once we discover ourselves referring them to internal, intellectual conceptions more or less clear and deliberate. And the more closely we watch the process of explanation the more we realize that a work of ours is always and only explicable when clearly referable to a prototypal thought; that such perfections and defects of the work as are not merely mechanical are traceable to the thought; and that confusion in the work or its interpretation comes of confusion in the thought. The steps that lead to the phenomena we produce ourselves—our works as free agents—we thus find to be substantially these: (1) a conception, clear or confused, of an end to be gained—a design; (2) a conception, also more or less clear or confused, of means to be applied to gain that end—a plan; (3) the actual carrying out, with more or less success, of the different parts of the plan, thus realizing, more or less perfectly, the original design. This last step is still traceable to a mental origin in reason and will.

In all the steps of this process we of course recognise that we are handicapped by the limitation of our powers, mental and physical. We have also to admit that, owing to our limitations, the steps are not always so clearly distinguishable as here set forth. Indeed occasionally the first two steps seem to be reversed, the conception of means

coming first and suggesting possible ends. Still these defects do not in the least shake our belief in the truth of the general conclusion at which we have arrived—namely, that our works are external projections, more or less perfect, of previous intellectual conceptions; that they existed as thoughts before they existed as facts; that they are ideals more or less perfectly realized. The first result, then, of self-observation is to trace back all self-produced phenomena to the initial influence or impulsion of some of those intellectual powers or forces named by Sir John Herschel. In so far as we are conscious of being originators of *formative force*, leading to the production of phenomena, we are to the like extent conscious of the purely *mental* origin of that force. In other words; all phenomena of our own production—our works as free agents—are traceable to *previous formative thought*. This is unquestionably the testimony of our consciousness. It is information directly gained, or, as we may say, at first hand.

We now proceed to extend the range of our knowledge by inference; and the first extension we give it will hardly, we think, be questioned. It rests on our reasonable conviction of the unity of human nature—that mankind is all of a piece. Therefore the works of our fellowmen are related to them as ours to us, that is, they are expressions of previously existing intellectual conceptions. This considerably increases the number of phenomena clearly interpretable by a rule founded on our own consciousness. The category now embraces all the works of man as a free agent. Looked at through the medium of our consciousness, every such work of man stands forth against the background of an interpreting thought. Any particular work of man is a puzzle to us only when we cannot clearly refer it to its intellectual background.

Let us assure ourselves by experiment, so to speak, that all this is no mere abstract dreaming, but a true account of what we are instinctively doing every day of our lives. Let us suppose ourselves viewing one of those triumphs of modern engineering—a great steel railway bridge.

What association of ideas would be most likely to occur to us—the bridge and the foundry, or the bridge and the engineer? Certainly the latter. Even if the first did occur to us, we could not rest in it; for this association of ideas would be really our instinctive reference of the work to its origin, and no conceivable wealth of machinery would here fulfil the idea of that relation. Inevitably we should go back to the mind of the engineer, when the great work would resolve itself into a great thought. Then and not till then should we feel that we had satisfactorily accounted to ourselves for the existence of this particular phenomenon. This is a solitary instance of an ever-recurring act, always substantially the same. We pass a neat cottage on the roadside. Instantly we refer its neatness, not to the white-wash and creepers, but to an æsthetic ideal in the mind of the occupant. Even a heap of broken stones, if we notice it at all, is instinctively referred to an ideal, good, bad, or indifferent, in the mind of the humble operator, or, further back, in that of Macadam.

Hence we may safely conclude that we have here got hold of something like a law of our intellectual nature, in virtue of which we trace *things* to *thoughts*, and feel fully satisfied only when we can so trace them. Without the background of thought the works of our fellowmen become unintelligible to us. Nay, even our own works, if perchance we forget the thoughts that inspired them, become equally unintelligible. We have all had experience of this curious verification of our principle. How often have we had to stop before one of our own works quite puzzled to account for its occurrence or existence. Why did I do this? Why did I place this here? We know well we did the work in question; but that does not explain it to us. That was a stage in its production, not its origin. We are as certain of a mental origin farther back as we are of the actual existence of the work there confronting us. There was an originating thought, whatever has become of it. And until that thought is traced and found in the memory, the work remains unintelligible—an effect without a cause.

And here let us hark back for a moment to check our work by comparison with our text. The question proposed was, whether natural phenomena become more interpretable by referring them to mind. Towards the solution of this question we have made this much progress. We have found that the phenomena most within reach of our experience are more or less interpretable according as they are more or less clearly referable to mind. This reference to mental prototypes thus establishes itself as *a rule of interpretation* for these phenomena. Further, we have found it to be our *only* rule in these cases—the one principle by which we could satisfactorily account for the existence of the phenomena in question. When it failed us, we were for the time intellectually lost. The work of our fellowman, and even our own, became a puzzle when the thought that underlay it could not be traced. This last, or negative result of our inquiry, is by far the most important for the object in view. It was a good thing to find out that for certain phenomena we had an instinctive method of interpretation which we found to be quite satisfying to us as rational beings. It was a still better thing to find out that we had *no other* method that gave us any satisfaction. For this latter discovery has prepared us to give full, intelligent acceptance to Sir John Herschel's final extension of our principle, at least in its negative form, to all the phenomena of nature—'Constituted as the human mind is, if nature be not interpretable through these conceptions [of relation with mind], *it is not interpretable at all.*' Here we have at last reached a great *general* rule for the interpretation of nature—a rule which, on the warrant alike of intellectual necessity and of strictly scientific analogy, claims the whole field—a rule woven into the very texture of our minds, and so interwoven with our intuition of cause itself that to strangle one is to paralyze the other. Let us thoroughly convince ourselves of all this—(1) that we have, *de facto*, in this rule a reliable guide to the satisfactory solution of the great puzzle of the universe—the origin of things; and (2) that all attempts to solve the problem on other principles invariably lead to intellectual chaos.

When we look at our triple universe of matter, life, and mind, we cannot help regarding it as a *work*—a product of the operation of some power, force, energy, or whatever other word will properly express the ultimate Efficient Cause.¹ It bears the stamp of workmanship on every part, great and small. So patent is this that few, even of the most reckless of the ‘advanced philosophers,’ venture to question it. They too, like ourselves, instinctively refer the universe and its parts to *causes*, thereby admitting that they have to view them as *effects*—as *works* of some agent or power. But having thus far followed the lead of their intellectual instincts, when they come to take the next step—that of tracing the work to its source, they deliberately abandon what is for them as for us ‘the method of nature’—a method that is as much a part of our intellectual outfit as the intuition of cause itself. In doing this they necessarily also turn their backs on that boasted ‘scientific method’ by which they profess always to interpret the ‘ultra-experiential’ in nature by analogy of the observed and known. The works of man they can only account for satisfactorily by tracing them, like ourselves, to an intellectual origin; but the far more elaborate works with which the three-fold universe overflows they are content to refer to the action of unintelligent forces. To be consistent they should also content themselves with referring the bridge to the foundry, maintaining that the varied and powerful machinery there was the ultimate and sufficient cause of its existence, and that its pedigree went no further back. They say in fact: ‘We cannot account for the existence of this bridge without going back to the mind of the engineer, from which came the plan that was worked out by the mechanical and chemical appliances of the foundry. But this other work—the solar system, or this one—the growing plant, or this

¹ According to some recent authorities it would seem that a correct use of the terms *force* and *energy* is almost as rare an accomplishment as that of *shall* and *will*. As regards the more common term, *force*, we take shelter behind Faraday:—‘What I mean by the word *force* is the *cause* of a physical action—the source or sources of all possible changes amongst the particles or materials of the universe.’—*Experimental Researches*, p. 460.

one—the sentient animal, or even this one—man himself, with his wonderful originating power—all these we trace, not to an intellectual origin, but to the interaction of the ordinary forces of mindless matter. We cannot indeed imagine unintelligent forces planning the bridge, but we *can* fancy them forming the engineer!’

Let it not be said that this is but a travesty of the ‘advanced philosophy.’ Those who have had the patience to follow us throughout, know that we are not overstating the case. They will easily recall many pronouncements of the ‘philosophers’ that would entirely bear us out. ‘The existing world lay potentially in the cosmic vapour.’ There, according to Professor Huxley, is the remotest thinkable origin of all the exquisite and intricate works of nature we see around us. But is such an origin really thinkable as *ultimate*? Can we stop there? Do we not here realize the full truth of what Sir John Herschel says—that, constituted as our minds are, we must interpret nature by reference to mind, or not at all? There is no use in offering us matter and force in any quantity. We can no more stop at these than we can at the ore and the foundry in tracing the bridge. No doubt the bridge ‘lay potentially’ in the ore, and was ‘evolved’ out of it by the powerful machinery of the foundry. But is all this thinkable by us *as an ultimate origin*? The potential existence of the bridge in the ore might have continued till doom’s day, and never become actual existence, but for the thought in a man’s head. That is the only ultimate origin that satisfies us. So with ‘the existing world.’ Granting that it ‘lay potentially in the cosmic vapour,’ and granting to the said ‘cosmic vapour’ all the properties that can reasonably be claimed for mere matter—forces, motion, high temperature, whatever you like—the formation of the existing world out of it all is still unthinkable without some representation of the engineer, some intelligent power to plan, to initiate, to guide.

Here Professor Huxley tries to baffle us by one of those metaphysical suppositions that seem for a moment to confuse the reasoning powers—‘Our present universe,’ he pleasantly suggests, ‘may be but the last stage of an eternal series of

metamorphoses.' Now this may sound very imposing, but it is really no better than cuttle-fish philosophy—a meaningless phrase designed to darken a clear issue. As the wily professor very well knew, an 'eternal series' of things is to the average man as slippery as a circulating decimal. You may go on for ever trying to see to the end, and it keeps always just out of sight. It is like Jack's cable that kept on steadily coming up out of the water until he was ready to swear that 'the devil must have cut the other end off!' It does not demand much reasoning to show that this eternal series of changes in matter is no more than a philosophical scarecrow—a frightful figure in the path, which it is hoped you will not go near enough to examine. When you do examine it you find it to be only a mystifying way of saying that an effect does not need a cause. For each change—each new stage in the series—is an *effect* arising from, or in some way caused by, the preceding one. Admittedly no particular stage can be conceived to arise except from a preceding one; that is to say, no stage can be conceived as an *absolute beginning*, an ultimate cause of all that follows. In other words, the supposed 'series of metamorphoses' *can have no ultimate cause*. Whence 'our present universe' stands forth as the biggest and grandest instance within our ken of an effect without a cause! So this high-sounding 'eternal series of metamorphoses' is at bottom a negation of our intuition of causality, and impliedly of the capacity of human consciousness to bear reliable witness to anything. Even so thorough-going an evolutionist as Weismann rejects the notion of eternal matter as an adequate substitute for a First Cause.—'The assumption of eternal matter with its eternal laws by no means satisfies our intellectual need for causality.'¹

Has Professor Huxley anything further to say to the question? Yes; he has just one thing more:—'The scientific investigator is wholly incompetent to say anything at all about the first origin of the material universe.' (What! not even 'hocus-pocus'?) This will, perhaps, seem at first

¹ *Studies in the Theories of Descent*, 1882, p. 716.

sight the one sane statement the Professor has made on the subject; yet not even with this can we agree. We hear a great deal at times from all the 'advanced philosophers' about 'the scientific method' by which they are enabled to 'cross the boundary of experimental evidence,' and 'discern' wonderful things that lie outside the region of experience. These are 'derived by a process of abstraction from experience. . . . In this way, out of experience, arise conceptions which are wholly ultra-experiential.'¹ Again—'Having determined the elements of their curve in a world of observation and experiment, they [*i.e.*, the scientific philosophers] prolong that curve'² into regions of thought beyond.

Furnished with this 'open sesame,' how can Professor Huxley declare himself 'wholly incompetent to say anything at all about the first origin of the material universe'? Is not this a case where we can 'determine the elements of our curve' of causality 'in a world of observation and experiment,' namely, the world of phenomena of our own originating? In that world of our immediate experience the elements of the curve are found to be all purely mental. Must not its prolongation, therefore, through and beyond 'the primitive nebulosity,' lead us to an analogous originating cause there? If we are to credit 'the scientific method' with the powers claimed for it, this must inevitably be the result of its application here. But perhaps that is just the reason it is not applied!

This agnostic pose is rather a favourite one with our 'advanced philosophers.' It gives the impression of moderation and caution, and contrasts favourably with 'the intolerant dogmatism of theology.' Mr. S. Laing in his *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, having traced *energy* back to the cosmic atoms, continues:—

If we ask how came the atoms into existence endowed with this marvellous energy, we have reached the furthest bounds of human knowledge, and can only reply in the words of the poet—

¹ Tyndall, *Belfast Address*.

² *Id.*, *Scientific Use of the Imagination*.

‘Behind the veil, behind the veil.’ We can only form metaphysical suppositions, or I might rather call them the vaguest guesses.¹

This may be taken as a typical statement. We have it reproduced in many impressive forms by Tyndall, standing with bowed head before the Mystery of Matter; by Spencer, in the sanctuary of his own special deity, ‘the Unknown and Unknowable;’ by Huxley, also worshipping in silence ‘at the altar of the Unknown and Unknowable;’² and by many lesser lights eager to parade their emancipation from the trammels of worn-out creeds, and their adoption of ‘the scientific idea of a First Cause, inscrutable and past finding out.’³ As this is ‘a more sublime as well as a more rational belief than the old orthodox conception,’ it is worth examining a little. Passing by the ‘sublime,’ let us look at it from the ‘rational’ side.

Whatever we know, or seem to know, of atoms and energy, are but *deductions from phenomena*; for atoms and energy themselves are just as much ‘behind the veil’ as their First Cause. Now the phenomena which teach us all that we know of atoms and energy—do they not speak with equal plainness of a third thing, *mind*? This, at any rate, was the view of Sir John Herschel—no weak-kneed metaphysical guesser, but as robust a scientific thinker as the century has produced. ‘It is reasonable,’ he says, ‘to regard the force of gravitation as the direct or indirect result of a consciousness or a will existing somewhere.’⁴ Certainly this is no more than ‘reasonable.’ If the planetary motions prove the existence of a linking force, surely they prove just as plainly the prevalence of a far-reaching order and plan, implying ‘a consciousness or a will existing somewhere.’ Our ‘philosophers’ are not always so blind to the evidence of design, nor so slow to draw the proper conclusion. When

¹ Page 79. This book is an able, and therefore a dangerous, popular statement of the agnostic philosophy. In ten years it has had a sale of over twenty thousand.

² *Lay Sermons*, p. 14.

³ *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, p. 222.

⁴ *Outlines of Astronomy*, 5th ed., p. 291.

the matter is one that seems to favour their own theories they are only too ready to conclude. Their proof of the remote antiquity of man is a case in point. Fragments of flint chipped in a peculiar way have been found in ancient drift deposits. These flints, the 'philosophers' tell us, show evident marks of *design*—of having been 'intentionally chipped into their present forms.'¹ They scout the idea that such forms could result from any conceivable action of the forces of nature, or could be the handiwork of any kind of ape however 'anthropoid.' The signs of *purpose* are too evident; and *purpose* is unanswerable proof of a *reasoning intelligence*. Therefore beyond all doubt, they conclude, man existed at the drift period. We are not now considering the validity of this proof, but only the method of it. Let it be borne in mind that *not a scrap of human bones* has been found with these flints, nor in any certainly coeval deposits elsewhere. Consequently the proof is *purely inferential*—*a conclusion from the evidence of design to the necessary existence of an intelligent being*. Behold the chameleon consistency of the 'philosophers'! A few doubtfully-marked fragments of stone are sufficient evidence of plan and purpose to prove intelligent authorship; but the elaborate and exquisite works of nature are quite incompetent to establish a similar conclusion. The men of the drift are clearly seen in their very questionable works, but the Author of Nature is 'behind the veil.'

Taking the three factors of the universe—matter, force, and mind—we find the same state of things. The 'philosophers' see as much as they want to, and no more. These three mysterious entities lie equally 'behind the veil,' are equally 'metaphysical conceptions.' Natural phenomena bear witness to the existence of all three in exactly the same way, viz., by special characteristics from which we necessarily *infer* the existence of each. From the reality of these phenomena we infer a real basis, *matter*; from their actual occurrence we infer an agent or power at work, *force*; from their orderly character we infer a controlling and

¹ Sir John Lubbock, *Scientific Lectures*, p. 149.

guiding influence, *mind*. Why are two of these inferences valid, although they point to things 'behind the veil,' while the third is to be regarded as invalid *because* it too points to something 'behind the veil'? If we are able to read the existence of two of the things in their effects, why not that of the third as well? The evidence is as plain in one case as another. Nay, we can bring forward proof that the evidence for the third is actually plainer than for either of the other two—that mind is more clearly revealed in nature than either matter or force.¹ To this the forms of ordinary speech—the crystallized thought of the people—bear undeniable testimony. When the 'scientific philosophers' attempt to describe natural phenomena, they find that they must use *the language of design* if they wish to be understood. We have only to look into any of their books to see this; Darwin's *Origin*, for instance, is full of it. What does this show? It shows *how* natural phenomena present themselves to the eyes of mankind in general. Whatever the philosophers may do, the people describe things *as they see them*. When, therefore, we find that the notion of design in natural phenomena has so moulded the usages of the common speech that all *must* recognise it if they would be intelligible, the fact is clear proof that design is *the most generally evident characteristic* of these phenomena.

Our 'philosophers' may answer superiorly that in a matter of this kind the people are incompetent witnesses: in fact, like the law, 'the people is a h-ass.' No doubt from the scientific standpoint the people is a very poor concern. It knows little or nothing of sciences or '-ologies.' It stands agape at the most elementary scientific demonstration. It has no proper reverence for that great mechanical providence, the law of inverse squares. But there is here no question of scientific attainments. The question simply is—What special characteristic of natural phenomena most strikes the popular mind? And the answer recorded in

¹ This would seem to be the impression made on Tennyson himself, from whose *In Memoriam* the phrase 'Behind the veil' is quoted. 'Matter,' he said, 'is a greater mystery than mind'—a thing less plainly revealed in nature. See *Life*, by his son, vol. ii., p. 424.

the forms of every civilized speech is *design, intelligence*. Science has nothing to do with this unanimous testimony but to accept it as a fact, and to ponder its significance. A common intuition, as Balmes says, is 'a land-mark of philosophy';¹ and this seems to be one. 'That philosophy,' continues Balmes, 'must be erroneous which is *opposed to a necessity*, and contradicts an *evident fact*.' This exactly describes the position of the agnostic philosophy. It is opposed to a necessity of human thought, and contradicts a fact so evident that it has stamped itself on the speech of every civilized people.

In fine, we will call two individual witnesses whose claims to speak for Nature no one will venture to dispute. One shall speak for the Universe of Life, the other for the Universe of Matter and Force, and both will testify to the all-pervading evidence of Mind.

Whatever we may think of Darwin as a philosopher, no one questions his eminence as a naturalist. He cannot be suspected of any desire to favour the doctrine of *mind* in nature, seeing that the whole tendency of his system is to eliminate mind altogether from natural phenomena. Therefore when we find him in his later years, after all his unique experience, forced to bear unwilling witness to the overpowering evidence of an intelligent First Cause which living nature supplies, we can hardly overrate the importance of his testimony. In a private memoir written in 1876, we find this remarkable statement:—

Another source of conviction in the existence of God, connected with the reason, and not with the feelings, impresses me as having much more weight. This follows from the extreme difficulty, or rather impossibility, of conceiving this immense and wonderful universe, including man with his capacity for looking far backwards and far into futurity, as the result of blind chance or necessity. When thus reflecting I feel compelled to look to a First Cause having *intelligent mind* in some degree analogous to that of man.²

¹ *Fundamental Philosophy*, vol. i., p. 267.

² *Life and Letters*, vol. i., p. 312. Nevertheless he concludes inconsequently — 'The mystery of the beginning of all things is insoluble by us: and I for one must be content to remain an agnostic.'

In the year of his death (1882), discussing this question with the Duke of Argyll, he admitted that the conviction of design in nature often still came over him 'with overwhelming force.'¹

What have our agnostic philosophers to say to these repeated admissions, dragged, so to speak, from the reluctant lips of the very father of the philosophic faithful, 'the Abraham of scientific men'?² At Belfast Tyndall proudly paraded Darwin as rejecting 'teleology' and 'the notion of a supernatural Artificer.' What hollow mockery it all seems in the light of the pitiful revelation here made? For it is pitiful to see this really great naturalist, in the interests of a mistaken idea, blindly struggling to free himself from a necessity of thought, to stifle the voice of consciousness within and nature without, to persist in saying 'no' while the universe thundered 'yes.'

Our second witness is the Seer of modern science, the man whose scientific inspirations are still a fruitful source of scientific discovery, Faraday. Who will question his insight into the mysterious universe of matter and force? And the revelation it made to him is conveyed, not inappropriately, in the language of another and higher revelation. 'I believe that the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are, even His eternal power and Godhead.'³

One more witness we take leave to call—that peculiar American genius—philosopher, lecturer, essayist, poet—the Carlyle of the New World, Emerson. Tyndall apparently would appropriate him; but we dispute his claim. We do not say he agrees with us in all, or even in much; but we do say that he has more in common with us than with materialism. We might quote many passages in support of our contention, but we restrict ourselves to two—one from each of his essays on *Nature*.

Through all its kingdoms, to the suburbs and outskirts of things, [Nature] is faithful to the cause whence it had its origin.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 316, note.

² Tyndall, *Science and Man*.

³ *Experimental Researches*, p. 465

It always speaks of Spirit. It suggests the absolute. It is a perpetual effect. It is a great shadow pointing always to the sun behind us.

And to the like effect these two golden sentences—
'Nature is the incarnation of a thought. . . . The world is mind precipitated.'

But there is little to be gained by arguing this question with the 'advanced philosophers.' As far as they are concerned, the case is closed. Their intellectual position might be represented by the figure of Justice without the scales, or Sam Weller when he 'didn't see' his father in the gallery, though he 'rayther thought' he was there. Put into words, regardless of 'bulls,' it might be expressed thus: 'There is no evidence of God in nature; and if there is, we *won't* see it.'

Let us briefly resume the argument before leaving it. Three classes of phenomena, viz., our own works, our neighbour's, and the universe, present three cases of causation. All three are alike inexplicable without reference to mind. All three alike become quite comprehensible by reference to mind. Of the mental origin of the first we have the most absolute certainty we can have of anything. Of the mental origin of the second we have a certainty almost as absolute, resting on our certainty of our neighbour's likeness to ourselves, and on his constant testimony regarding the origin of his own works. Therefore in the third case, from the analogy of these two, and prescinding altogether from any testimony there may be in the shape of a revelation, it becomes a *necessity of thought* with us to assume a mental origin—an intelligent First Cause. We cannot stop at the agnostic terminus. We cannot say—'I admit the first because I have the testimony of my own consciousness; I admit the second because I have the testimony of my neighbour, resting on that of *his* consciousness; but I do not admit the third, because, not believing in a revelation, I have no testimony.' This is to deny the validity of every sort of evidence but human testimony—an absurdity which would at once make a clean sweep of three-fourths of the conclusions

of physical science! As Professor Asa Gray says:—‘In Nature we have no *testimony*; but the *argument* is overwhelming.’¹ If that silent but overwhelming argument is to be set aside, the sooner we disabuse ourselves of the notion that we are reasonable beings the better. In fact the only real justification of agnosticism is Darwin’s ‘horrid doubt—whether the convictions of man’s mind, which has been developed from the mind of the lower animals, are of any value or at all trustworthy. Would anyone trust the convictions of a monkey’s mind?’² On this view of the nature of the mental faculties, and on this alone, does agnosticism become logical. If we are highly developed apes, and no more, not only our conclusion about a First Cause, but all our conclusions become untrustworthy. But in that case it would not matter much one way or the other.

The agnostic philosophers are fond of pointing to the *inconceivableness* of creation as proof that it is impossible and cannot have taken place. Is creation inconceivable, and therefore impossible?

Let us begin by clearing up the term of comparison, *inconceivable*. A thing may be inconceivable (1) *relatively to us* by reason of some deficiency in ourselves, as colour is inconceivable to a person always blind; or (2) *absolutely in se* by involving a necessary contradiction which renders it unthinkable, as that two and two make five, or that a triangle may be round.³

Evidently the only sort of inconceivableness that involves impossibility is the second. Is creation inconceivable in that sense?

In creation we distinguish two things—the *act* and the *mode*; and it may be conceivable or inconceivable as regards the one and not as regards the other. By the *act* of creation

¹ *Darwiniana*, p. 74.

² From a letter written in 1881, the year before his death. *Life and Letters*, vol. i., p. 316.

³ There is a third and looser sense in which a thing is often said to be inconceivable: when it is so fantastic, so opposed to the nature of things as known to us, that we refuse to believe it possible; e.g., the existence of such beings as the fabled Centaurs.

is meant 'the transition of a substance from not-being to being by virtue of the productive action of another substance.'¹ Is this transition inconceivable? Taking for granted the existence of the First Cause—already sufficiently demonstrated—we have in this transition 'only the idea of causality in its highest degree, that is, as applied to the production of a *substance*.² But since we have the idea of cause, the idea of creation is not a new and inconceivable idea, but the perfection of an idea which is common to all mankind.' So far then from the *act* of creation being inconceivable in the sense of self-contradictory and therefore impossible, we see that it is, on the contrary, the most perfect expression, the most complete realization in *fact* of a common fundamental intuition.

Is the *mode* of creation inconceivable? In the first place let us say that we are not much concerned to prove whether it is or no. Having once established the possibility of creation *in se*, and its entire conformity with right reason, the mere question of *how* represents a point of very secondary importance. Whether the mode of creation be conceivable or not cannot in the least affect either the *possibility* or the *fact* of creation. How many things do we recognise as indisputable facts without knowing the *how* of their existence. Can anyone tell us how we see things? We can trace the light-picture as far as the back of the eye, but then it becomes something else, which we call *sensation*, while in the brain it becomes still another thing, which we call *vision*. *How* all this happens, who can say! That it does happen we can all say. To the astronomer the force of gravitation is a fact, but the man who will demonstrate *how* it is exercised will at once take his place beside Newton, if not above him. Let it be clearly borne in mind, then, that the rest of this discussion has no bearing whatever on the *possibility* or the *fact* of creation. They are established.

¹ Balmes, *Fundamental Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 453.

² Balmes distinguishes between the power of a *finite* cause, which is limited to the production of *modifications* of substances already existing, and that of the *Infinite* Cause, which extends to the production of *substances themselves*. The mode of production, however, we judge to be alike in both cases, viz., by *willing*.

The question now is merely whether we can conceive *how it took place*. Whether we can or no, the fact remains a fact. Our investigation henceforward possesses that merely *scientific* interest which attaches to the study of every great and wonderful phenomenon. In this attitude of reverent scientific curiosity we repeat our question—Is the *mode* of creation inconceivable?

The only way in which we can form any idea at all of the mode of creation is by observing the manner in which we exercise the faculty of causation ourselves. We find that it is by an act of will. We *will* the things which, as free agents, we do. As this is the only mode of original causation with which we are acquainted, we must conclude that it was the mode of creation—that the Creator produced all things from nothing by an act of *will*.

How far is such a production conceivable by us? Just as far as the production of our own acts is conceivable by us. We can conceive a thing beginning to be in response to an act of the Creator's will, just as we can conceive a thing beginning to be in response to an act of our own will; but *how* such effects in either case follow from such a cause is incomprehensible to us. We know no more, *and no less*, how an act of the Creator's will produces a thing out of nothing than how an act of our own will moves a limb. The one is as inexplicable as the other.

To this then is the inconceivableness of creation reduced, viz., to the manner in which the *production* of a thing follows from the *willing* of it. But, as we have insisted at such tiresome length, this inconceivableness of *mode* does not touch the *possibility* or *fact* of production. It would not matter in the least if it were shown to-morrow that our theory as to the Creator's mode of operation was all wrong—that His way of working is quite different from ours, or from any conception we can form of it by analogy of our own. In the absence of any other clue, the said analogy supplies a tolerably satisfying basis of inference in a matter of comparatively speculative interest. In assuming that the Creator works as we do by *willing*, we are simply making the most of our limited intellectual resources.

As to the nature of this inconceivableness attaching to the *mode* of creation, it is clearly of that relative kind which arises from a deficiency in ourselves owing to the limitations of our state—limitations which make so many things within us as well as without us mysteries to us. Yet are they none the less *facts* to us. Who doubts his capacity to *will*, and by willing to *do*? Yet who knows how the *doing* springs from the *willing*? This relative inconceivableness of *mode* affords no more ground for denying the possibility of creation, than for denying the possibility of the acts we are ourselves doing every moment. For the relation of these acts to our will is as incomprehensible as the relation of created things to the will of the Creator.

The following lively statement of the point by Balmes is well worth adding:—

God wills, and the universe springs up out of nothing:—how can this be understood? To him who asks this I say—Man wills, and his arm rises; he wills, and his whole body is in motion: how can this be understood? Here is a small, weak, and incomplete, but true image of the Creator—an intelligent being who wills, and a fact which appears. Where is the connection? If you cannot explain it to us in so far as concerns finite beings, how can you ask us to explain it with respect to the Infinite Being? The incomprehensibility of the connection of the motion of the body with the force of the will does not authorize us to deny the connection. Therefore, the incomprehensibility of the connection of a being which appears for the first time with the force of the infinite will cannot authorize us to deny the creation.¹

When Agnosticism rejects creation as inconceivable, presumably it has a more conceivable substitute to offer us instead. Herbert Spencer, at any rate, is bound to provide such a substitute, for he maintains that, 'while the process of special creation cannot be rationally conceived, the negation of it is perfectly conceivable.'²

We might set off against this the equally dogmatic

¹ *Fundamental Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 483.

² *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1895.

declaration of Professor Huxley, that the hypothesis of creation is 'perfectly conceivable, and therefore no one can deny that it may have happened'—that it is an alternative 'not scientifically unthinkable.'¹ However, let us take 'the Apostle of the Understanding' on his own ground, and see how he himself 'rationally conceives' this 'negation.' His 'perfectly conceivable' substitute for the creation of matter is a 'persisting force' which 'transcends human knowledge and conception,' and is 'an unknown and unknowable power!' There is no denying that 'negation' is here at a discount; the 'perfect conceivableness' is hardly so apparent. The reader will recall with new interest the same 'Apostle's' eminently 'rational conception' of the origin of life heretofore quoted; it is very concise, but supplies endless food for thought. *Life arose 'through successive complications'!*

In conclusion we will reward the reader's patience with a tit-bit of 'advanced philosophy'—something our American cousins would call "'reel" good"—an up-to-date agnostic Genesis. We extract it from a wildly gushing life of Darwin, contributed to the 'English Worthies' series by Mr. Grant Allen, a gentleman who, since the extinction of greater lights, has been making himself very prominent as an evolutionist of the most 'advanced' type. This *tour d'imagination* portrays the ideal realization (if we may use such a combination of words) of 'the illuminating doctrine of Evolution' as representing 'a cosmical process, one and continuous, from nebula to man, from star to soul, from atom to society.'² Comment seems needless; and we content ourselves with directing the reader's attention by means of italics to a few specially pure gems of thought or reasoning.

The evolutionist looks out upon the Cosmos as a continuous process unfolding itself in regular order in obedience to definite natural laws. He sees in it all, not a warring chaos restrained by the constant interference from without of a wise and beneficent

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1886, pp. 202, 203.

² Page 191.

external power, but a vast aggregate of *original elements* [?] perpetually working out their own fresh redistribution in accordance with *their own inherent energies*. . . .

In the very beginning [?] the matter which now composes the material universe *seems to have existed* in a very diffuse and nebulous condition. The gravitative force, however, with which every atom of the whole vast mass was *primarily endowed*, caused it gradually to aggregate around *certain fixed and definite centres* [?] . . .

Biology next steps in with its *splendid explanation of organic life*, as due initially to the secondary action of radiated solar energy on the outer crust of such a cooling and evolving planet [1] . . . How the first organism came to exist, biology has not yet been able *fully* to explain to us; but aided by chemical science it has been able to show us *in part* how some of the simple organic bodies *may have been originally built up*, and it does not despair of showing us in the end how the earliest organism may actually have been produced from the prime elements of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon.

Psychology in the hands of Herbert Spencer and his followers, not wholly unaided by Darwin himself, . . . has traced *the origin and development of mind*, without a single break, from its first faint and half-unconscious manifestation in the polyp or the jelly-fish, to its final grand and varied outcome in the soul of the poet, or the intellect of the philosopher.

Sociology . . . taking from biology the evolving savage . . . has shown how he has grown up to science, to philosophy, to morals, and to religion.

And there you are !

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

THE GLEN OF ALTADAVIN

MY first visit to Altadavin was in the month of August, 1883, during a mission in Aghaloo, the next parish to Errigal-Truagh, in which Altadavin is situated. The Rev. Daniel O'Connor, then P.P. of Errigal-Truagh, now Canon and P.P. of Newtownbutler, was my kind cicerone. In May and June, 1884, we gave a mission in Errigal-Truagh, where my work lay in the outlying district of Portclare, in which the Glen is situated, which I then twice revisited.

My object in writing the present article, is to draw attention to this remarkable spot, which, much to my surprise, has, I find, received scarcely any mention either in ancient or modern authors, and except to those living in its neighbourhood, and to some few interested in archæology, appears to be generally unknown even in Ireland. I shall first, then, give simply my own description of Altadavin, from the impressions left on my memory after a lapse of fourteen years, interspersed with a few topographical notices; and shall then say what of interest I have gleaned from ancient authors and archæological sources that sheds any light on its history and surroundings. And this I shall do especially to show, that the claim which the local tradition has ever made to the connection of Altadavin with St. Patrick rests on most probable and solid grounds.

Errigal-Truagh is a very extensive parish, of the diocese of Clogher, chiefly situated within the county of Monaghan, but having some fifteen or sixteen townlands, called the Portclare district, belonging to county Tyrone, of which Altadavin, in the barony of Clogher, is one. There are three churches in the parish: the principal one, that of St. Mary, Ballyoshin; that of the Sacred Heart, Carrickroe; and that of St. Patrick at Clara, within two miles of Altadavin.

This is a small valley or glen,¹ some four miles south-east of Clogher, extending nearly a mile from north to south. The hills that bound it on either side are from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet high, lined with steep rocks and jutting crags. The sides and the glen itself are thickly wooded with fir trees, stunted oaks, larch, ash, birch, hazel, holly, and underwood. A small clear stream runs murmuring through the glen. This stream is nameless, both in the map, and in local nomenclature. Issuing from Lough More (*i.e.*, the Great Lake), half a mile south of the head of the glen, it flows through Lough Beg (the Little Lake), which lies quite near the entrance of the valley. Both these lakes are small; the latter much the smaller one, and not bigger than a good-sized fish-pond. They are named in Irish great and little, only by way of comparison.

I may mention, *en passant*, that Lough Beg has a tiny islet on its waters. It is a floating island planted with a few shrubs of the sallow genus. To those living within view of the island, along the hill-side of Cullabeg, which is very near Lough Beg, and of Cullamore,² near to Lough More, it serves the purpose of a barometer, as they readily conjecture by its movements, when rain or storm is at hand. The little stream, after running through the glen, passes by the eastern side of Lough Fimore (*i.e.*, Great Wood), another small lake half a mile north of the glen, and sends a tiny tributary to its waters; thence it pursues its course to join the river Blackwater, whose ancient name was Avonmore (Abhain-Mor), at Favour Royal.

Apropos of this demesne, I regret to learn from Canon O'Connor, that

Mr. Moutray, its proprietor, and 'lord of the soil,' some seven or eight years ago, denuded the Glen of its fine umbrageous adornment of trees, and even the holly and hazel had to yield before the woodman's axe. He [the Canon] was pleased, however, on revisiting the Glen, last summer, to find a dense undergrowth of natural trees again growing up. But it

¹ Marked in the Ordnance Map, Long. 7° 4' 30." Lat. 5° 24'.

² In the map it is called Culla Mugg, and is 848 feet high.

must be many years before they reach the stately proportions of the former forest trees which lent such a secluded and picturesque aspect to the spot.

To return to my own description of Altadavin, as it was on my visit in 1883. The varied scenery of the lonely glen; its purling stream, its dense green shade, its rocks and craggy steeps charmed me—as though I had entered upon some new fairy-land—with its romantic beauty, which is at once soft and calm, weird and grand, sometimes even wild and savage; and the enchantment grew the more with every onward step. On passing nearly half way through the glen, a tongue of rocky ground, spread thick with trees and underwood, rises to the height of some forty or fifty feet, intersecting the valley for about three or four hundred paces, and forming on either side a deep ravine. That to the right has a path which runs down the whole valley; whilst that on the left, through which the stream flows, terminates by opening out into a meadow-like green sward, enclosed on the east by the precipitous ridge which here ends, and on the north and west by hilly slopes, on which rise tall firs and other trees; whilst the little stream to the left winds round these slopes, to continue its course through the rest of the valley.

This little green meadow, so to call it, is perhaps a hundred yards long by forty wide, smooth and soft as some velvet lawn; and being entirely secluded, in the midst of its wild and romantic surroundings, from all view of outside scenery, with the sky of the heavens above for its canopy, it forms a spot of singular loveliness and charm. On the right, close under the side of the rocky steep, is a well or fountain of pure water, of crystal clearness and most refreshing coldness, springing from the cliff. It is a spot where the imagination, unaided, may readily draw vivid pictures of scenes, which, one is told, here had place long ages ago. For the tradition in the neighbourhood of Altadavin is, that here in this little meadow St. Patrick preached to the people, instructed his neophytes, and at this very well—blessed by himself, and ever since called by his name—he baptized them in its waters.

From beside the well we ascended the cliff by a very steep, narrow path, midst a growth of underwood and tangled *froughans*.¹ About twenty feet above the meadow there opened on our right, with a view of the valley below, a small, fairly-level space of ground, paved, as it were, with large layers of detached rock. Here stood by itself, resting on layers of rock below the surface, a great block, between four and five feet high, nearly square—perhaps, as I have been told, thirty or forty tons weight. In its centre is a round natural hollow, forming a basin some fourteen inches in diameter at the top, and a few inches less in depth, which was then at least half full of clear water.

Following the directions of my cicerone, I baled out the water. At the bottom of the basin were a large number of pins which visitors, it may be of many generations, had deposited there from some traditional custom, or perhaps in lieu of votive offerings.² Placing these on the margin of the basin, I wiped it quite dry, and examined it carefully to see if there was in it any aperture or perforation by which the water might ascend, but could discover none. It appeared to me to be smooth, hard, and solid. After replacing the pins, I watched for a few minutes until I saw the water reappearing. I was told that it would take some twenty minutes for it to reach the level at which it was before, and that the basin was never known to be without water, whatever might be the heat and dryness of the season.

We then continued our ascent to the summit of the

¹ *I.e.*, bilberry stalks.

² There are other traditional ways of thus exteriorizing the interior sentiment, by making use of some outward sensible token; *v.g.*, there is the practice so common at holy wells of leaving behind small pieces of rag attached to the bushes or shrubs close by. This custom prevails not only in many parts of Ireland, but survives also to the present day amongst the Protestants of Celtic Cornwall. Or, to give another example:—On occasion of a Redemptionist mission at Fanad in Co. Donegal, the late Primate M'Gettigan, then Bishop of Raphoe, conducted the Fathers to St. Columkille's cell and holy well on the western shore of Lough Swilly, where he was careful to instruct each one of us to observe religiously the immemorial practice of every visitor casting a large stone over his shoulder; thus to add another to the huge pile of accumulated *mementos* that had been heaped up behind us by the numerous past generations of devout visitors to the Saint's rude hermitage.

ridge, some twenty or thirty feet above the rock-basin, where, on turning a corner to the left, comes close in view a massive structure of natural rock, wearing rudely the shape of a fixed altar, with rock rising behind to serve as its reredos. Both together form one huge monolith. The altar is nearly four feet in height, not less than six feet in length, and more than two feet in width. In the middle of the altar-table a portion is marked out by a deep carving, doubtless for the sacred vessels at the celebration of Mass. And here alone, it would seem, has the hand of man been exercised on the monuments of Altadavin, which, for the rest, are all of purely natural formation; and no chisel was ever laid on them.

Fronting the altar on the gospel-side is another huge structure of rock, so formed by nature out of a single massive block as to have the appearance of a gigantic high-backed chair. It measures from the basement to its head not less than eight feet; the square high back rising some six feet above the seat. In this chair, tradition reports, St. Patrick sat, and at this altar celebrated the Sacred Mysteries; and from time immemorial both altar and chair have been called by his name.

We then retraced our steps down to the rock-basin. The water was still rising, and had nearly reached the level at which we had first found it. I watched till it had done so and had ceased to flow. My first thought, to which I at once gave utterance, was a strong desire that the British Association, when they next held their meeting in Ireland, should make a pilgrimage to Altadavin, and endeavour to explain, if they could, by what natural causes this marvellous phenomenon is effected. It may, no doubt, be capable of such explanation; but to my unscientific and superficial view it appeared to be nothing short of miraculous. For the block, in which is the basin, rises entirely isolated; beneath it are layers of other large detached rocks, so that the idea of its being fed by a spring from below appears to be out of the question; whilst that of the basin being supplied from the droppings of overhanging boughs is obviously untenable; moreover, the basin, though of a porous and absorbent

sandstone,¹ always contains a certain quantity of water, even in the driest seasons.

I can here only state my own experience as to the measure of water, and the time it took to rise in the basin, which were the same on the three visits I made to the rock—and Father Callan, the present P.P., tells me that he has a like experience as to the time. But I have since been informed that these points are not, perhaps, to be relied upon as always uniform; and, of course, after heavy rains the basin may be found full and overflowing.

I do not remember being told whether, according to any local tradition, this rock-basin held any place in the religious ceremonial of St. Patrick, or what that might be. I learn from Canon O'Connor that experts who have visited Altadavin are of opinion that the rocky ridge which intersects the valley is a *moraine*, consisting of immense boulders of sandstone, and that the hollows and basins found in many of them were formed naturally, perhaps during the glacial period, by the friction of harder substances upon them in some mighty convulsion or upheaval of nature. Many of these huge blocks are, on the other hand, quite smooth; according as they were torn up from their *situs* in the bed-rock.

Amongst the more notable visitants at the Glen in recent times have been Archbishop M'Hale, in 1870, in company with Bishop M'Nally of Clogher, who then resided in that town; Bishop Loughlin, of Brooklyn; Monsignor Farley, now Assistant-Bishop of New York, on the occasion of the Dedication of St. M'Cartin's Cathedral at Monaghan; and the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Bishop of Clonfert, in company with Dr. Lennon, of Maynooth, and Canon O'Gonnor, the 18th of August, 1897. The Most Rev. John Hughes, Archbishop of New York, was brought up in the neighbourhood of the Glen. I have sought in vain for some reference in ancient authors to Altadavin; whilst in writers of more

¹ Canon O'Hanlon, in his notice of Altadavin, says that the rock there is 'pronounced by experts to be of a very silicious sandstone of the Yoredale series.'—(17 March, vol. iii., p. 670.)

modern date I have met no mention of its name except in O'Hanlon's *Lives*, and in Lewis's *Dictionary*.¹

The connection claimed for Altadavin with St. Patrick rests solely on the tradition that lives in the neighbourhood, which is supported by many reasons of the highest probability, and these it is now my object to set forth. It is, in the first place, quite certain, from the *Tripartite* and other *Lives*, that the Saint spent some time, on more than one occasion, at Clogher, which is only four miles distant from the Glen of Altadavin; and that he made several apostolic journeys in its neighbourhood. On his way to found the churches of Donagh, Tehollan, Tullycerbet, Aughnamullen, and Donaghmoyne, as described in the *Tripartite*, his course lay in the direction of the glen. Between Altadavin and Donagh he blessed a well, since called St. Patrick's Well, situated in a remote locality, in the townland of Derryveagh, where a tongue of that townland extends between Derrynerget and Dernalusset, near Carrickroe, before referred to as one of the three districts of Errigal-Truagh, where our fathers said Mass, and preached on the Sundays of their mission in that parish.

On the lands of Lislana [says Canon O'Hanlon], not far from Clogher,² in the direction of Aughentain, may be seen another St. Patrick's chair and holy well. They are situated in a most exquisitely beautiful wooded glen. The 'chair' is simply a hollow recess in the natural rock, and the well is a tiny spring close to it.³

Again, we learn from the *Lives* that St. Patrick frequently in his apostolate came into direct antagonism with the whole system of Druidism; since its prevalent influence was one of the chief hindrances to the conversion of many to Christianity. Hence he opposed the Druids wherever he found them, overturning their idols and pillar-stones, and burning their books. Thus we read in the *Book of Lecan*, that St. Patrick at one time burnt one hundred and eighty

¹ O'Hanlon, vol. iii., p. 670. *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 1837, vol. i., p. 609; "Errigal-Trough."

² That is three miles west.

³ Vol. iii., p. 672.

druidical books. And it was on account of the Saint's determined opposition to their superstitions that the Druids made many attempts on his life. Now, it is generally thought, and on very probable grounds, that Altadavin was specially set apart by the Druids for the exercise of their religious worship. The wild rocky glen is just the sort of place they would naturally select :—

For [writes Bishop Healy] the Druids worshipped not in temples made with hands, but in 'groves,' and on 'high places' under the shade of the spreading oaks. . . . Their dwellings were surrounded with oak groves whose dark foliage threw a sombre and solemn shade over the rude altars of unhewn stone on which they offered their sacrifices.¹

Here they could in secret solitude perform their weird and mystic rites at the overshadowed well, and immolate their victims at the altar on the high place. The legendary folk-lore which still lingers among the people from ancient time, and has been embodied in the tales of William Carleton, who was born and brought up in the immediate neighbourhood of the glen, point to it as a spot of awe and marvel. Moreover, its proximity to Clogher would render the connection of the Druids with Altadavin all the more probable. For Clogher was the chief city of an ancient territory, known as Ergal (*Anglice*, Oriel), the people of which were distinguished as Orghialla; and at Clogher was the principal royal residence. I will here again avail myself of a quotation from the Bishop of Clonfert :—

One of the principal functions of the Druids was to act as haruspices, that is, to foretell the future, to unveil the hidden, to pronounce incantations, and ascertain by omens lucky and unlucky days. Hence we always find some of them living with the king in his royal rath; they are not only his priests, but still more his guides and counsellors on all occasions of danger and emergency. It is probable that one or more of them abode in the raths of all the great nobles who claimed to be *righs*, or kinglets in their own territories. They were sworn enemies of Christianity, and frequently attempted to take St. Patrick's life by violence or poison. In the remote districts of the country

¹ *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, p. 3.

some of them remained for several centuries after the island generally became Christian; and to this day we can find traces of ancient Druidism in the superstitions of the people.¹

Again, at Clogher, was one of the principal colleges of the Bards² who, with the Druids and Brehons, were the three great orders and privileged classes of pagan Ireland. The Bards were allied with the Druids in many of their superstitions; from all such St. Patrick sought to purify the Order, for, so far from being hostile to it, he encouraged it much. In the college, at Clogher, the Bards studied in order to qualify themselves for taking the degree of *Ollamb*, that is, chief poet, or doctor in poetry. But as this degree could not be obtained without the performance of certain rites which involved offerings to idol gods, St. Patrick abolished these profane rites, and thus made the profession pure and lawful for those who should become Christians. This college, however, seems to have gradually declined before the monastery founded by St. MacCairthinn, the first Bishop of Clogher, by the direction of St. Patrick.³ On this, Walker, in his *Historical Memoirs*, 1786, observes:—‘All the eminent schools delectably situated, which were established by the Christian clergy in the fifth century, were erected on the ruins of these colleges.’⁴

Clogher had been from ancient times a special seat of pagan worship. There was there a celebrated oracular pillar-stone, dedicated to a god called Kermend Kelstack, covered over with plates of gold. According to legend, a hero of antiquity, Connor MacNessa, in the first century of the Christian era, consulted the oracle at Clogher, which predicted that, though a younger son, he should obtain the sovereignty of Ulster. The prophecy proved true. He became king of Ulster; and the ruins of his palace of Emania, now called Navan Fort, are still seen two miles west of the city of Armagh.⁵ Cathal Maguire, a leading

¹ *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, pp. 4, 5.

² *Irish Druids and Old Ireland's Religions*, p. 37. Bonwick, 1894. He mentions other colleges of the Ollambs at Armagh, Lismore, and Tamer.

³ *Brennan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, c. ii., p. 31.

⁴ *Bonwick*, p. 37.

⁵ See *Pagan Ireland*, by Wood-Martin, M.R.I.A., 1895, and Joyce's *Short History of Ireland*, p. 36.

ecclesiastic of Clogher, who died in 1498, records that the stone was preserved up to his times (doubtless without the gold) inside the porch of the cathedral. From this stone, *Cloch-oir*, 'stone of gold,' according to Colgan and others, Clogher derived its name. But others hold this etymology doubtful; since it is always written Clochar; *i.e.*, 'a stony place,' and not Clochoir; besides, there are other places in Ireland called Clochar.¹

I have mentioned the above details, which otherwise might appear irrelevant, with the view of showing that St. Patrick, during his residence at Clogher, and his evangelization of that city and its neighbourhood, would certainly have directed all his efforts to extirpating the prevalent pagan and druidical rites, and to diverting their profane objects to Christian uses; for, as Petrie says: 'It was not uncommon for St. Patrick to dedicate pagan monuments to the worship of the true God.'² And, in one of the Lives of St. Patrick it is related that he preached at a fountain (well) which the Druids worshipped as a god.³

The following passage from the *Tripartite* relates something analogous to the phenomenon of the rock-basin:— 'Patrick went into Grecreaide of Loch Technet. He founded a church there, to wit in Drumne; and by it he dug a well, and it hath no stream [flowing] into it or out of it; but it is full for ever; and this is its name, *Bith-lán* ('Everfull').'⁴ It thus appears in Tirechan's *Collectanea*: 'Et perexit ad tramitem Gregirgi, et fundavit æcclessiam in Drummæ, et fontem fodi [vit juxta eam: non habet flu] men in se et de se, sed plenus semper.'⁵ What is here called Grecreaide of Loch Technet, and Trames Gregirgi (or Gregaridhi)—which means the lower boundary of the district of Gregary, now Lough Gara, once known as Loch Technet—is co-extensive with the barony of Coolavin, Co. Sligo.

¹ Todd's *St. Patrick*, pp. 129, 467.

² Bonwick, p. 138.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁴ *Tripartite*, Part ii., Rolls' Series, 1887, P. i. r. 109.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Part ii., p. 319.

Altadavin, locally pronounced as if written Altadhowen, has been interpreted by some to mean 'the glen of the gods, or of the demons,' but its truer meaning, generally accepted by the learned, is the glen of the descendants of Damene, *Alt-ui-damene*, Damhin or Davin being a patronymic of the ancient king or dynast of the territory of Oriel,¹ who resided at Clogher. Hence Clogher in the time of St. Patrick, and later on, is called in the *Annals*, Clogher-mac-damene; *i.e.*, Clogher of the sons of Damene.²

But before any mention of the royal line of Damene, we have historical record of Clogher and its kings. The following is from the *Four Masters*:—

The age of Christ, 111. The first year of the reign of Feidhlimidh Reachtmar,³ son of Truathal Teachtmair, as king over Ireland. Bainè, daughter of Scal [king of Finland], was the mother of this Feidhlimidh. It was from her Cnoc-Bainè in Oighialla [Oriel] was called, for it was there she was interred. It was by her also Rath-mor of Magh-Leamhna [Moy Leney] in Ulster was erected.⁴

Queen Bainè, in her day, must have been a sovereign of more than ordinary mark, for she still lives in popular legend and story, though her memory has been invested in the course of ages with much that is fabulous and grotesque.⁵ Two great monuments that record her reign endure to the present day, *viz.*, the fort of Rathmore, which she built for her royal residence, and Cnocbaine, the place of her interment.

Canon O'Connor has conclusively identified Cnoc-Bainè with the Hill of Knockmany—a modernized form of the same name—very near to Clogher, where is what Mr. Wakeman, the distinguished artist and antiquarian, entitled 'the

¹ O'Flaherty's *Cyggia*, translated by Hely, Book iii., ch 75.

² *Mac* in Irish means son, and *Ui* (or *O*) grandson or descendant.

³ He is commonly known as King Felimy. For records of his reign, see O'Flaherty and Keating.

⁴ *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to 1616*, vol. i., p. 103. Edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D., M.R.I.A. 1856.

⁵ Thus the witch Oonagh, in Carleton's *Legend of Knockmany*, is said to be no other than the historical Queen Bainè.

megalithic sepulchral chamber of Knockmany.¹ Here Queen Bainè was interred, and a remarkable cromlech of the second century stands over her grave. The name of Queen Bainè is also still preserved in that of the hills and townland of Mullaghbeney, situated in close proximity to Knockmany, and in Knockabeney, near Carrickroe. Canon O'Connor likewise identifies Rathmore (the Great Rath), erected by Queen Bainè, with the large earthen fort situate within the palace grounds of Clogher, which was the chief stronghold and place of residence in after ages of the princes of Oriel.

Moy Leney, or Lemain, which was also anciently called Clossach, is described by Colgan as 'a level district of Tyrone in the diocese of Clogher.' It extended for some distance west of Clogher to beyond Ballygawley, which places, as also Errigal-Keeroge² and Augher to the north, were included in its area. The river Blackwater flows through the territory. Near Augher was the ford, Ath-ergal, across the river, where passed the interesting conversation between St. MacCartin and St. Patrick, to be given presently from the *Tripartite*. A stream formerly called the Laune, or Launy, which has its rise to the south among the hills beyond Ferdross, flows by Clogher to the Blackwater, through Moy Leney, whence it derives its name, which it preserved long after that district had become merged in the more extensive territory called Oriel, which, besides a part of Tyrone, embraced the counties of Louth, Monaghan, Armagh, and Fermanagh.

As Lemain was the scene of several interesting incidents narrated in the *Tripartite* of St. Patrick's missionary work whilst he was in the immediate neighbourhood of Clogher

¹ See his learned article under that heading in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 1876.

² Errigal (Aireagal, pronounced Arrigle), according to Joyce, primarily means a habitation, and is often applied to an oratory, hermitage, or small church. He connects it with the Latin *oraculum*. Thus Errigal-Truagh would mean the church in the barony of Trough (anciently called Truich Ched Chladaigh). Others say it means a bright fishing weir. Others, again, say that Errigal, Ergal, Oirghialla, are various forms of the same name, *Anglice*, Oriel; and that these two parishes of Errigal retain to the present day the etymon of the old territory.

and Altadavin, I shall here recall them, and shall do so in the original words of St. Evin, his biographer :—¹

Once as St. Patrick was coming from Clochar from the north, his champion, to wit, Bishop MacCairthinn, lifted him over a difficult place.² This is what he said after lifting Patrick : ‘Oh ! oh !’ ‘My God’s doom !’ saith Patrick, ‘it was not usual for thee to utter that word.’ ‘I am now an old man, and I am infirm,’ saith Bishop MacCairthinn, ‘and thou hast left my comrades in churches, and I am still on the road.’ ‘I will leave thee, then, in a church,’ saith Patrick, ‘that shall not be very near, lest there be familiarity [?], and shall not be very far, so that mutual visiting between us be continued.’ And Patrick then left Bishop MacCairthinn in Clogher, and with him [he placed] the [silver reliquary called] Domnach Airgit,³ which had been sent to Patrick from heaven when he was at sea coming towards Ireland.

Thereafter Patrick went into Lemain : Findabair⁴ is the name of the hill on which Patrick preached. For three days and three nights he was preaching, and it seemed to them not longer than one hour. Then Bridgit fell asleep at the preaching, and Patrick let her not be wakened. And Patrick asked her afterwards what she had seen. *Dixit illa* ; ‘I saw white assemblies,⁵ and light-coloured oxen, and white corn-fields, speckled oxen behind them, and black oxen after these. Afterwards I saw sheep and swine and dogs and wolves quarrelling with each other. Thereafter I saw two stones, one of the twain a small stone, and the other a large. A shower dropt on them both. The little stone increased at the shower, and silvery sparks would break forth from it. The large stone, however, wasted away.’ ‘Those,’ saith Patrick, ‘are the two sons of Echaid, son of Crimthann.’ Coirbre Damargait⁶ believed, and Patrick blessed

¹ According to the learned, the *Vita Septima* or *Tripartite* (i.e., Life in three parts) excels all the other six original Lives which compose the *Acta S. Patricii* in Colgan’s *Trias Thaumaturga*, in length, antiquity, and authenticity. St. Evin, who wrote it, was living in 504, and had probably seen and conversed with St. Patrick, who died in 493.

² This was Ath-ergal. See above. St. Patrick was generally accompanied in his missionary journeys by his family or household, twenty-four in number, all in holy orders. Their names and functions are given in the *Tripartite*. Of these Bishop MacCairthinn was his champion, or rather strong man, to bear him over the floods, and perhaps defend him against rude assaults in an age of lawless violence. See *Ireland’s Ancient Schools*, &c., ch. iii., p. 65.

³ This was a copy of the Gospels, some fragments of which still remain, preserved in the shrine called Domnach-Airgid, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

⁴ Or Finn Abhuir, now called Findermere, near Clogher.

⁵ *Candidatorum synodum*, *Tr. Th.*, p. 150.

⁶ The younger son, from whom a long line of Oriel princes and many Saints were descended—whilst Bressal, the elder son, died childless.

him and blessed his seed. Bressal, however, refused [to become a Christian], and Patrick cursed him. Patrick, besides, expounded the vision of Brigit in an excellent manner.¹

Patrick raised Echaid, son of Crimthann, from death. Echaid had a daughter, to wit, Cinnu. Her father desired to wed her to a man of good lineage, namely, to the son of Cormac, son of Cairbre son of Niall. As she was walking, she met holy Patrick with his companions.² Patrick preached to her to unite herself to the Spiritual Spouse, and she believed and followed Patrick, and Patrick baptized her afterwards. Now, while her father was a-seeking her, to give her to her husband, she and Patrick went to converse with him. Patrick asked her father to allow her to be united to the Eternal Spouse. So Echu allowed that; if heaven were given to him for her, and he himself were not compelled to be baptized. Patrick promised those two things, although it was difficult for him [to do so]. Then the king allowed his daughter Cinnu to be united to Christ, and Patrick caused her to be a female disciple of his, and delivered her to a certain virgin to be taught, namely [to] Cechtumbar³ of Druimm Dubain, in which place both virgins have their rest. Now, after many years, the aforesaid Echu reached the end of his life; and when his friends were standing around him, he spake: 'Bury me not,' he saith, 'until Patrick shall have come.' And when Echu had finished these words he sent forth his spirit. Patrick, however, was then at Saball Pátraic, in Ulster, and Echu's death was made manifest to him: and he decided on journeying to Clochar Macc n Doimni. There he found Echu [who had been] lifeless for twenty-four hours. When Patrick entered the house in which the body was lying, he put forth the folk who were biding around the corpse.⁴ He bent [his] knees to the Lord, and shed tears, and prayed, and afterwards said with a clear voice: 'O king Echu, in the name of Almighty God, arise!' And straightway the king arose at the voice of God's servant. So when he sat down steadily, he spake, and the weeping and wailing of the people were turned into joy. And then holy Patrick instructed the king in the method of the faith, and baptized him. And Patrick ordered him, before the people, to set forth the punishments of the ungodly, and the blessedness of the saints, and that he should preach to the

¹ Visionem, quæ erat, et præsentis et futuri status Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ imago, coram adstantibus exposuit S. Patricius.—*Tr. Th.*, p. 150. 'A prediction,' says Dr. Healy, 'that has been wonderfully verified by the event.'—*Ireland's Ancient Schools, &c.*, p. 111.

² See *supra*, p. 228, note 2.

³ *Cetamarie*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 150. She is also called Ethembria, Cethuberis, Cectamania.

⁴ Compare Matt. ix. 25; Mark v. 40; Luke viii. 54; Acts ix. 40.

commonalty that all things which are made known to them of the pains of hell and of the joys of the blessed who have obeyed, were true. As had been ordered to him, Echu preached of both things. And Patrick gave him his choice, to wit, fifteen years in the sovranty of his country, if he would live quietly and justly, or going (forthwith) to heaven, if this seemed better to him. But the king at once said: 'Though the kingship of the whole globe should be given to me, and though I should live many years, I should count it as nothing in comparison to the blessedness that hath been shown to me. Wherefore I choose more and more that I may be saved from the sorrows of the present world, and that I may return to the everlasting joys which have been shown to me.' Patrick saith to him, 'Go in peace, and depart unto God.' Echu gave thanks to God in the presence of his household, and he commended his soul to the Lord and to Patrick, and sent forth his spirit to heaven.¹

This quotation is the more interesting, as containing the only mention made of St. Brigid in the Lives of St. Patrick. The Saint had just then founded the church of Clogher for St. MacCairthinn, who, it is stated in Tirechan's *Collections* in the *Book of Armagh*, was the uncle of the holy Brigid—'Brigtæ'—the abbreviated form of the name. This fact would explain her presence at Clogher on this interesting occasion.²

The beautiful story of 'St. Patrick and King Eochaidh' has been clothed in graceful verse, adorned with poetic description, by Aubrey De Vere, in his *Legends of St. Patrick*.

Druim-Dubhain (pronounced, I have been told, Drum-davin and Drumhain) was a church, says Colgan, close beside Clogher.

To the east of Rathmore [writes Canon O'Connor] in the hollow ground fronting the Palace, are to be seen two adjoining springs of limpid water, tastefully surrounded by a brick-work enclosure. They still are called to this day 'The Sisters,' and were so called on account of a convent which stood on the sloping ridge towards the south of these springs, which ridge of hill is yet called the 'Nun's Hill.' This hill would seem to correspond with the ancient name, *Druim-dubhain*, on which stood a celebrated convent.

It had been originally founded by St. Patrick himself,

¹ *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, Part iii., Rolls' Series, 1887, pp. 175-181.

² *Ireland's Ancient Schools, &c.*, p. 111.

and over it he had placed St. Cechtumbar, the first of all the Irish virgins who received the veil from the Saint. To her care he entrusted Cinnu, the daughter of King Echu, who entered the convent, and in time became superioress. She was still living in 482. Both she and her saintly novice-mistress were interred in the church of Druim-dubhain, together with many other holy virgins, and seven bishops.

I would fain linger over many other Saints, disciples of St. Patrick, gathered from around Clogher and Altadavin; such as St. MacCarthinn, Clogher's first bishop; St. Fanchea, V. (Jan. 1), known also as St. Faine; her three sisters, Saints; and her brother, Enda, whom she drew from his life as a soldier, to the immediate service of Christ, to become the celebrated abbot of Aran, and a great Saint; St. Dympna,¹ too, V.M., surnamed *Scenè*, or the fugitive, who had to fly, in company with the old priest, St. Gerebern, who had baptized her, and a married couple as servants, from her native Clogher to Belgium, that she might avoid the face of her unnatural father. He pursued her to her retreat at Gheel, where, after causing the holy priest to be slain by his officers, and on their refusal to murder his daughter, then himself beheaded her with his own sword. From that time, throughout Belgium and Holland, she has been venerated and invoked as the titular Saint of those afflicted with insanity. Hence Gheel for some twelve centuries has been a sanatorium for persons subject to nervous and mental disorders, where they are treated with great success, and innumerable cases of cure and relief are recorded to have been obtained by visiting her shrine. In certain parts of Ulster St. Dympna is still held in high veneration, and one parish in Monaghan, ten miles from Clogher, viz., Tedavnet, takes its name from the virgin Martyr.²

I could make mention of many more, but must forbear;

¹ Called also Damnoda and Domnat, May 15th.

² See the brief notices of early Irish saints in Joyce's admirable *Short History of Ireland*, pp. 172-179. The name Te-davnet is thus derived: *Te*, i.e., *Teach*, a house; and Damnoda, or Davnet, i.e., Dympna. Hence, the house, or religious foundation of Dympna.

and will conclude with the touching words of St. Patrick himself in his *Confession*, his last work, written as he was drawing to his end, and reviewing the wondrous things for Ireland that God had wrought through him: 'The sons of the Scoti and the daughters of the chieftains appear now as monks and virgins of Christ, especially one blessed Scottish lady of noble birth, and of great beauty, who was adult, and whom I baptized.' This lady is believed to be St. Cechtumbar, who was the first to receive the veil from St. Patrick's own hands, and whom he appointed to preside over what hence was probably the earliest of his religious foundations in Ireland, namely, the Convent of Druim-dubhain at Clogher.

T. LIVIUS, C.S.S.R.

ARCHBISHOP TROY

THE POLICY OF 'RALLY' AND CONCILIATION

II.

IT was at one time surmised that Dr. Troy might be Coadjutor of Armagh. But a communication was received by Archbishop Butler, from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Salviati, dated November 17, 1781, intimating that there was no intention of deviating from an old-established rule drawn up for the General Congregation, by Cardinal Prefect Corsini, to the effect, that it would not be expedient to appoint a member of a religious order to the primacy. The see of Dublin having become vacant, October 29, 1786, by the death of Archbishop Carpenter, a strong opposition was organized against the appointment of Dr. Troy as his successor.¹

Dr. Butler, writing, December 2, of that year, to

¹ The appointment of Dr. Troy to Dublin was carried with difficulty, though strongly protected. No objection was taken to his character. He had studied at Rome, and was respected there, but the fact of his being a Dominican Friar was by many considered as a valid objection,—*Castlereagh Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 457.

Dr. Plunket of Meath, refers to the appointment of a proper person to the see of Dublin:—

The Archbishop of the capital of Ireland, being, as it were, the representative of us all in the eyes of Parliament, Government, and the whole nation; nay, to Rome itself, his appointment is interesting to our national Church, to our hierarchy, and to the general good of religion. I am told by several that Dr. Troy is most likely to be the elect. All I can say is, I should be afraid, since the late storm against the Regulars, and from the Act of Parliament, and from what was confidently told me by one high in the Administration, in the affair of a coadjutor to the Primate, that the voting at the present critical time for a Regular might hurt the cause of religion on a future day.

On the very next day after the penning of this letter, December 2, Dr. Troy's translation to Dublin was sanctioned by Pope Pius VI., having been recommended by Propaganda, on the 27th of November, same year. Dr. Troy took possession of the Metropolitan See, February 15, 1787, to the greatest satisfaction of all classes in the Archdiocese, as D'Alton assures us.¹

In 1787, there was another fierce outbreak of Rightboyism. Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-General, brought in a bill for preventing tumultuous assemblages. Amongst other insulting clauses, this proposed measure included one directing the magistrates to demolish the Roman Catholic chapels in which any combinations should have been formed or an unlawful oath administered. Archbishop Butler had shown, in his *Justification of the Tenets of the Roman Catholic Religion*, that many of the Rightboys had evinced as much enmity towards the Catholic bishops and priests, who denounced them, as they had towards Protestant ministers; and had taken forcible possession of those chapels in which their acts were most reprobated. He mentions fifty Catholic chapels which the rioters nailed up and blockaded. An accusation was also urged against the Rightboys by Mr. Fitzgibbon; that it was their custom to drag those supposed not to be friendly to them from their beds at night, and to bury them alive in a grave lined with

¹ *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 483.

thorns, or to place them naked on horseback, and tied to a saddle covered with thorns : and, in addition, to have their ears sawed off. Mr. Grattan, whilst anxious to check the lawlessness, called the attention of the House to the condition of the peasantry of the south, who were ground to the earth, having to pay £6 and £7 an acre for land, with a wage of only 5*d.* or 6*d.* a day ; and, in addition, a 10*s.* or 12*s.* tithe for potatoes. In Connaught potatoes paid no tithe ; and the hearth tax in the North, only a very moderate one. Mr. Grattan denounced the penal clause of the bill in his most vigorous style :—

He had heard of transgressors being dragged from the sanctuary, but never of the sanctuary being demolished. This would go far to hold out the laws as a sanction to sacrilege. If the Roman Catholics were of a different religion from Protestants, yet they had one common God, and one common Saviour with the hon. gentleman ; and surely the God of the Protestant temple was the God of the Catholic temple. What, then, did the clause enact ? That the magistrate should pull down the temple of his God ; and should it be rebuilt, and as often as it was rebuilt for three years, he should again prostrate it, and so proceed, in repetition of his abominations, and thus stab the criminal through the sides of his God : a new idea, indeed ! But this was not all ; the magistrate was to sell by auction the altar of the Divinity to pay for the sacrilege that had been committed in His house.

A petition against this abominable clause was presented to the Irish Parliament, signed by Dr. Troy and the Archbishops, on the part of the clergy ; and by the Earl of Kenmare, on behalf of the Catholic gentry and laity :—

Your humble petitioners have been most earnest, whether in the midst of foreign alarms, or intestine commotions, to prove the sincerity of those sacred and unreserved assurances which they gave of allegiance to their Sovereign King George the Third, and zeal and goodwill to their country and fellow-subjects.

Popular commotions are not peculiar to any period of time, any nation or religious denomination of the people, but happen in every age and every country, and so far from being the offspring of the Roman Catholic tenets, are in open violation of them.

In the suppression of the disturbances which happened of late, in the south of Ireland, the Catholic nobility and gentry, their

prelates, and inferior clergy, have been *most active*, and will continue the same strenuous exertions on every future occasion.

During the late paroxysms of popular phrenzy, everything most sacred in your petitioners' eyes has been abused and profaned, *chapels have been nailed up and blockaded*, their pastors, threatened and insulted in the most opprobrious manner, and in many places driven from their parishes.

In a Bill brought into the honourable House, they have read with equal concern and astonishment, a clause empowering the civil magistrate to pull down, level, and prostrate any Roman Catholic chapel in which, or in the vicinity of which, any unlawful oath is tendered, upon the testimony of *one witness*.

They consider such a clause disgraceful to their religion as Christians; injurious to their honour, character, and loyalty as subjects (as naturally impressing the mind of their Sovereign with the notion that his Catholic subjects are combining, in the most awful and sacred of all places, against his crown and dignity), and eventually destructive of the indulgence which of late a mild and humane legislature has granted them, after a long trial of their fidelity, while it laboured under the severest oppressions; as such a clause, besides holding forth a suspicion of their allegiance, has a natural tendency to afford a pretext for repealing the favours already granted to the whole body of their communion, in case any deluded individual, either actuated by licentiousness, or stimulated by their enemies, should oppose the magistrate in the prostration of chapels which were left standing in times of persecution.

Your petitioners have also seen with great apprehension and concern, in another clause of the said Bill, to prevent outrageous obstructions of divine service, that any protection of the Roman Catholic chapels is carefully avoided, while the Dissenting meeting-houses are specifically provided for, in an equal degree with the churches of the Established religion—a distinction which your petitioners can consider in no other light than as meaning to lay their houses of worship open to all the violations of any lawless rabble, and thereby bring additional disrespect upon the only influence in their power, which they have so anxiously exercised to preserve peace and order.

Amidst the profligacy of morals, of late so prevalent amongst the lower orders, who have shaken off that restraint under which they had been heretofore kept by their pastors, and from other collateral causes, it is to be feared, that the utmost advantage would be taken of such an apparent liberty; and it is too evident that not only one witness, but several will be easily found, who would swear before a magistrate that such oaths as are prohibited had been tendered in the specified places, although no such oaths had been so administered.

As was usually the case in the Irish Parliament, more candour and liberality were to be found with the English statesmen than with Irish Government officials; and so Mr. Orde, the Secretary, remarked that:—

He never could have concurred in the clause for pulling down the chapels, and he was happy that it was abandoned by his friend. He lamented that anything should have appeared in print purporting that those insurrections had arisen from a popish conspiracy. He declared that he not only did not believe it true, but in several places *he knew* it not to be true. He affirmed that the insurgents had in some places deprived the Roman Catholic clergy of one-half their income.

April, 1789, on the occasion of the recovery of George III. from his fit of insanity, a solemn High Mass was celebrated in the old chapel of Francis-street, by Dr. Troy. A new *Te Deum*, specially composed by the celebrated Giordani, was then sung for the first time. Plowden informs us that

So illustrious an assemblage had never met in a Catholic place of worship, in Ireland, since the Reformation. Besides the principal part of their own nobility and gentry, there were present the Duke of Leinster, the Earls and Countesses of Belvedere, Arran, and Portarlington, Countesses of Carhampton and Ely, Lords Tyrone, Valentia, and Delain, M. De La Touche Mr. Grattan, Major Doyle, and several other persons of the first distinction.¹

When the country was disturbed by the Protestant Peep-of-Day Boys, and the Catholic Defenders, Dr. Troy zealously co-operated with the other Catholic prelates to suppress their disturbances, and was instrumental in establishing comparative harmony in the archdiocese of Dublin. As an acknowledgment of these important services, the Marquis of Buckingham transmitted the following letter to Dr. Troy:—

SIR,—The infirm state of my health having laid me under the necessity of requesting his Majesty's permission to resign the government of Ireland, I feel that I cannot close the public duties of my administration without expressing to you the strong sense I entertain of the zeal and loyalty which you have mani-

¹ *Hist. Review*, vol ii., pp. 273, 274.

fested upon every occasion towards his Majesty's person and government.

My sense of the very praiseworthy conduct of the Catholics of Ireland (as a body), will be best collected from the testimonials which I have borne to their good conduct in my official and public communications with them. But I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of repeating that testimony to you individually as placed at the head of the Catholic Church, in Dublin, and of assuring you of the satisfaction I shall feel in representing to his Majesty your meritorious conduct in endeavouring to impress upon the mind of your people every principle that can tend to endear to them the blessings of our Constitution, and the person of our excellent Sovereign.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your very humble servant,

NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

STOWE, October 25, 1789,

Right Rev. Dr. TROY,

Titular Archbishop of the

Roman Catholic Church of Dublin.

In Cogan's *Meath*,¹ a letter appears, dated July 24, 1789, addressed by Dr. Butler of Cashel, to Dr. Plunket of Meath, which cast a curious side-light on the ecclesiastical history of the time:—

You have heard before this that the Rev. Dr. Lanigan has been appointed, on the 25th of last June, Bishop of Ossory, notwithstanding the strong postulation sent to Rome in favour of the Rev. Father O'Connor (a Dominican), and subscribed to by three metropolitans, Armagh, Dublin, and Tuam, and I may say, by the four, as my name, I find by what my agent writes to me, was also affixed to it, not only without my consent, but with my express and strongest opposition to it. Several other bishops, I am told, had joined in the demand; nay, the Queen of Portugal and Mr. Fitzherbert, the late Secretary, were gained over to second the cause. Such a push in favour of a friar, had it succeeded, would have severely wounded not only our hierarchy, the authority and influence of our secular clergy, but would have also furnished our enemies when anything would be proposed in our favour in Parliament, with powerful arguments to oppose it. Thanks to God! His Providence has most seasonably prevented the evil, and I am the more happy at it as I am confident it was on account of what I wrote last May to Cardinal Antonelli, and to my agent, of the fatal consequences that might

¹ Vol. iii., p. 131.

ensue to religion from Rome's naming those in preference to the vacant sees of this kingdom, who are the most obnoxious to Government. Your lordship remembers how near we were to seeing the nomination of the R. C. bishops of Ireland *pass into the hands of the King*, and can't but feel with me the imprudence of taking a step which could recall an event we had at the time I allude to, such difficulty to ward off. Dr. Troy's and the friar's interest, Mr. Bodkin, my agent writes to me, begins to decline very fast.

In 1791, divisions made their appearance amongst the Irish Catholics. Two parties were formed in their General Committee, the aristocratic and the democratic. The former regarded with suspicion and dislike the relations between some of the agents of the democratic party and the French revolutionists ; and, moreover, they did not approve of their sturdy and outspoken method of seeking redress from the Irish Parliament. Sixty-four members of the aristocratic party seceded from the Committee. As a result of a temporary compromise, Richard Burke, only son of the celebrated Edmund Burke, was invited over from England, and appointed Parliamentary Agent to the Irish Catholics. The object of this appointment was that Mr. Burke would be guided by the advice of his illustrious father ; and that whatever was supported by the great opponent of the French Revolution could not be supposed to rest on French principles.

The result was a very moderate measure of relief, introduced by Sir H. Langrishe, and seconded by Mr. Secretary Hobart. The bill, when passed (1) admitted Catholics to the practice and profession of law ; (2) it took away the necessity for a licence from the Protestant bishops to open a Catholic school, as enjoined by the Act of 1782 ; (3) it repealed the Statute which prohibited and made illegal marriages between Catholics and Protestants ; (4) it removed those obstructions to arts and manufactures that limited the number of apprentices.

The Catholics were not at all satisfied with the miserable measure of relief granted by this Act. By direction of their committee, Mr. Simon Butler, brother of Lord Mountgarret, published a pamphlet, entitled a *Digest of the Popery Laws*,

bringing into one view the whole body of penalties and disabilities to which Catholics still remained subject :—

Excluded from every trust, power, or emolument of the State, civil or military ; excluded from all the benefits of the Constitution in all its parts ; excluded from all corporate rights and immunities ; expelled from grand juries, restrained in petty juries ; excluded from every direction, from every trust, from every incorporated society, from every establishment, occasional or fixed, instituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience ; from the Bench, from the bank, from the exchange, from the university, from the College of Physicians ; from what are they not excluded ?

A vindication of the conduct and principles of the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the charges made against them by certain grand juries and other interested bodies was also published by order of the committee :—

As to tumult and sedition, they challenge those who make the assertion to show the instance. Where have been the riots, or tumults, or seditions which can in the most remote degree be traced to the proceedings or publications of this committee ? They know too well how fatal to their hopes of emancipation anything like disturbance must be. Independent of the danger to those hopes, it is more peculiarly their interest to preserve peace and good order than that of any body of men in the community. They have a large stake in the country, much of it vested in that kind of property which is most peculiarly exposed to danger from popular tumult. The General Committee would suffer more by one week's disturbance than all the members of the two Houses of Parliament.

Plowden, the official historian of the Irish hierarchy of that period, states¹ that :—

The Roman Catholics being sensible of the calumnies attempted to be affixed to them by their enemies, and wishing to screen themselves against the mischievous imprudence of some individuals, whose close connections with the political societies of the North, most of them condemned, agreed upon the expedient of giving the most solemn publicity to their real sentiments, by circulating through the nation the following admonition, composed and signed by Doctors Troy, O'Reilly, Bray, Bellew, and Cruise, five bishops then in Dublin :—

‘ DUBLIN, *January 25, 1793.*

‘ DEAR CHRISTIANS,—It has been our constant practice, as it is our indispensable duty, to exhort you to manifest, on all

¹ *Hist. Review*, vol. ii., p. 398.

occasions, that unshaken loyalty to his Majesty, and obedience to the laws, which the principles of our holy religion inspire and command. This loyalty and obedience have ever peculiarly distinguished the Roman Catholics of Ireland. We do not conceive a doubt of their being actuated at present by the same sentiments; but think it necessary to observe that a most lively gratitude to our beloved Sovereign should render their loyalty and love of order, if possible, more conspicuous. Our gracious King, the common father of all his people, has, with peculiar energy, recommended his faithful Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom to the wisdom and liberality of our enlightened Parliament. How can we, dear Christians, express our heartfelt acknowledgments for this signal and unprecedented instance of royal benevolence and condescension? Words are insufficient; but your continued and peaceable conduct will more effectually proclaim them, and in a manner, if not more satisfactory to his Majesty and his Parliament. Avoid then, we conjure you, dearest brethren, every appearance of riot; attend to your industrious pursuits for the support and comfort of your families; fly from idle assemblies; abstain from the intemperate use of spiritous and intoxicating liquors; practise the duties of our holy religion. This conduct, so pleasing to heaven, will also prove the most powerful recommendation of your present claims to our amiable Sovereign, to both Houses of Parliament, to the magistrates, and to all well-meaning fellow-subjects of every description. None but the evil-minded can rejoice in your being concerned in any disturbance.

‘We cannot but declare our utmost and conscientious detestation and abhorrence of the enormities lately committed by seditious and misguided wretches of every denomination, in some counties of this kingdom; they are enemies to God and man, the outcasts of society, and a disgrace to Christianity. We consider the Roman Catholics amongst them unworthy the appellation, whether acting from themselves, or seduced to outrage by arts of designing enemies to us, and to national prosperity intimately connected with our emancipation.

‘Offer your prayers, dearest brethren, to the Father of Mercy, that He may inspire these deluded people with sentiments becoming Christians and good subjects; supplicate the Almighty Ruler and Disposer of empires, to direct his Majesty’s councils, and forward his benevolent intentions to unite all his Irish subjects in bonds of common interest, and common endeavours for the preservation of peace and good order, and for every purpose tending to increase and secure national prosperity.’

A Declaration had been already published, signed by Dr. Troy and his clergy, and afterwards by the Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland, disavowing, as Catholic teaching,

any such maxims, as that princes excommunicated by any authority could be lawfully deposed or murdered; that the Pope could absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance; that any heretic could be lawfully injured or murdered; or that faith ought not to be kept with heretics.

The Catholic Convention (Back-lane Parliament), having assembled in Tailor's Hall, Back-lane, Dublin, a petition to the King, containing a representation of the Catholic grievances, was signed by Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan on behalf of themselves and the other Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, and by several delegates for the different districts, which they respectively represented. On the 2nd January, 1773, the delegates attended the levee at St. James's, were introduced to his Majesty by Mr. Dundas, Secretary for the Home Department, and had the honour of presenting their petition to the King, who was pleased most graciously to receive it.

The result was a message from the King at the opening of Parliament, recommending that 'the situation of his Catholic subjects should engage their serious attention.'

February 4, 1793, Mr. Secretary Hobart presented to the House a petition signed by John Thomas Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; Archbishops O'Reilly, Bray; Dr. Bellew of Killala; and some representatives of the Catholic laity, setting forth

That the petitioners are subject to a variety of severe and oppressive laws, the further continuance of which they humbly conceived their dutiful demeanour and unremitting loyalty for more than one hundred years, must evince to be equally impolitic and unnecessary.

The petition was read, and ordered to lie on the table. Mr. Hobart then introduced his new Emancipation Bill.

1. It restored to Catholics the right of voting at elections for Protestant Members of Parliament, and to vote for magistrates in cities and towns.

2. They were allowed to serve on grand juries and to become justices of the peace.

3. The 29th of George II. was repealed so far as allowing

a challenge against any Catholic on a petty jury, in causes where a Protestant and a Catholic were parties.

4. Catholics could enter Trinity College, Dublin, and obtain degrees.

5. They might open colleges to be affiliated to Trinity College, provided they were not exclusively for the education of Catholics, and the masters, fellows, &c., not exclusively Catholic.

6. Catholics were rendered capable of being elected professors of medicine upon the foundation of Sir Patrick Dun.

7. Catholics seized of a freehold of one hundred pounds a-year, or possessed of a personal estate of one thousand pounds; and Catholics, on taking the Oath of Allegiance, seized of a freehold of ten pounds a-year, or possessed of a personal estate of three hundred, were allowed to keep and use arms and ammunition.

8. Many civil and military offices were open to Catholics on taking the oath—a very insulting one.

9. Finally, it proposed that no Catholic shall be liable or subject to any penalty for not attending Divine Service on the Sabbath Day in his or her parish church.

The motion for the introduction of the Bill was seconded by Sir Hercules Langrishe.

On the 9th April the Bill was passed into law, principally on account of the recommendation of the King and the support of the Government.

It has been well observed that during these negotiations the Catholics were led by men of capacity. They availed themselves of every circumstance, and every ally—the Opposition, the Court, the French success—without binding themselves so far to any as to exclude the assistance of the other. The French success, by terrifying their enemies, served the Catholic cause very much, but the Catholics had too much sense to express their approbation of French principles. Their prudent conduct made the king their patron, and his lieutenant's secretary moved their Bill. The Opposition struggled to get for them everything; but if not everything, as much as they could, and not to break with

Government because they could not get all at once. The Catholics very prudently, therefore, did not in terms ask for everything, whilst they left everything open for themselves to ask, and Parliament to give.¹

N. MURPHY.

REASON'S SYNTHETIC JUDGMENTS²

I INTEND to treat this subject mainly in the way of reply to the Rev. Fr. Fuzier, who, in a paper presented to the last Congress, professed to refute my teaching in regard to certain judgments which I held should be called at once *synthetic* and *a priori*. The paper to which I allude is found in the third section of the general report of that last Congress, and its pretended refutation of my teaching commences there at page 25 under the italicized heading: '*Refutation des jugements synthétiques a priori du Rev. O'Mahony.*'

At the beginning of his remarks Fr. Fuzier took care to remind his hearers that a detailed explanation of the doctrine he proposed to refute was published in the first volume of the general report of the Congress of 1888. Let me add that the explanation there given occupies ten pages of forty-five lines to the page, that is to say, extends to four hundred and fifty lines of the volume. Now, of these four hundred and fifty lines, the Rev. Father presents, as it were, a *précis* extending to sixteen lines, in the form of three non-consecutive extracts. The first of these gives examples of the kind of judgments I considered ought to be called at once *a priori* and synthetic, naturally understanding these terms according to the sense in which I distinctly stated I wished to understand them, and in which alone, I explained at some length, I considered that in this question they should be understood.

¹ Plowden, *Hist. Review*, vol. ii., p. 432.

² A Paper read in French by the Author at the late Scientific Congress of Catholics held at Fribourg.

The examples Fr. Fuzier quoted are not all those I presented in the course of my paper as illustrating the general truth of my teaching. But they are sufficient to give a true account of it, and more than sufficient to effect its refutation, if that teaching can be refuted. Fr. Fuzier rightly notices that they form a 'series.' He even remarks that I had given certain rather curious series of such judgments—'*des series assez curieuses.*' I hold there is only one *series* of the kind, and that quite other than *curious*, as it offers only judgments which are the first natural dictates of common sense; given through each thinking mind's immediate experience, and, for that reason *synthetic*; given by the pure act of thought, reason's own act, and for that alone to be called *a priori*.

Taking them as they are found in the first extract my critic has chosen, in the descending order of the perfections they express, these judgments are:—(1) 'There exists an intelligent being,' or, 'a being actually living is intelligent;' then, what that supposes; (2) 'There is a being that lives,' in other words, 'something actually acting is living;' then (3) 'Something existing acts,' or, 'there is an agent;' and finally, what all that presupposes (4) 'Something exists.'

Here, in reality, we have but four judgments with certain changes of terms, and still further changes of the kind may be introduced without adding to the truths these judgments express. For instance, the proposition, 'there is an agent,' is really no other than the statement that there is a *cause*; taking the word 'cause' in its primary sense as signifying a subject apt to cause or which may cause, whether as a matter of fact it has caused or is actually causing or not. In this way several other propositions of which there is frequent question in philosophy, may be referred to one or other of these four.

Taking them as I did immediately after Fr. Fuzier's first extract, in the ascending order of their perfections, they are:—(1) a being (something) exists, (2) something existing acts, (3) something acting lives, (4) something living thinks.

There [I said] you have judgments just as true, and, as true judgments, just as synthetic in form as the contingent ones I drew

from the fact of our existence; nevertheless just as necessary in their order, and as evidently so in their way, as any analytics you like. I say, *in their order*, which is the real, as that of analytics is the ideal; and *in their way*, that is, seen to be essential through reason's synthesis of subject and attribute, just as the analytics are seen to be through thought's analysis of the subject.

So much for the judgments to be considered, and my teaching in regard to them. Now for my critic's promised refutation.

I.

I first note that he does not deny those judgments to be *a priori*. His contention is that they are not synthetic. Of all the reasons I brought forward in favour of my position in regard to them he takes notice only of those given in a passage where, accentuating the synthesis they present, I remarked, 'first, they are evidently synthetic, since the idea of *agent*, for instance, does not give that of *life* nor any reason for attributing life to it; which should also be said of the notion of *life* in regard to that of *thought*. And this is precisely why we have no right to say *every* thing that is acting is living or *every* living being thinks'—though, I would here add, we have a right to say 'every thinking being lives,' and 'every living being acts'; the latter two judgments being as clearly analytic as the two previous ones are synthetic.¹ On this point I shall have something more explicit to say. For the present let it suffice to note that admitting, at least not denying, my judgments to be *a priori*, Fr. Fuzier only undertakes to refute the assertion that they are synthetic.

Apparently in view of his intended refutation, and as if making quite a new observation, at any rate, as it were laying down his refuting principle, he remarks: 'These

¹ Thus even it may be said, because the ideal judgment 'a thinking being lives' is analytic or explicative, having a predicate that represents but part of the subject, the converse, viz., 'a living being *thinks*' being a real judgment is synthetic or ampliative, having a predicate that superadds to the subject: for, in reason's order, thought adds perfection to life, as life does to act, and act to actuality, and actuality itself to reality or existence to real essence in contingent being.

judgments belong to the real and existing order.' Exactly, that is what I observed, as has been noticed, immediately after his first extract. More, it is a remark I frequently reverted to in the course of my paper. I even insisted on it at the beginning when determining the exact sense of the problem I desired to propose to the Congress :—

Are there [I said] judgments so formed that in the simple consideration of the subject we see no reason for attributing to it the predicate (and which should consequently be called *synthetic*), yet which have the character of judgments such that their truth presented to the spirit as *actual* is by it immediately recognised as *essential* (thus to be termed *a priori*) as uncaused truths, independent of any hypothesis, evidently *primordial* in the *real* order and, as such, *in that order* absolutely necessary?

Why did I insist so much on this point? Because it touched the very root of the question I proposed to discuss. I had asserted, and it was known that in several articles on this and cognate subjects, published in France and elsewhere, I had maintained, that in the ideal order all *a priori* judgments are analytical, and are so for the simple reason that, in this order, *all* judgments are analytical. If, consequently, I considered any *a priori* ones not analytical, clearly in my opinion they should be of the other order, all of the real. There, then, I held and hold—among judgments of the real order of knowledge—there, and there only lies the root of the question as to whether or not there are those which should be called at once 'Synthetical' and *a priori*.

It could not accordingly be here a question of abstract judgments such as 'a straight line is the shortest way from one point to another,' or any such Kantian formulas. No more could it be a question of general principles or axioms such as 'all that commences or changes does so by the act of another,' or 'every phenomenon is effected,' or 'every effect requires an effector or cause,' or any such axiomatic utterances so often discussed in our Congress under the general title of 'Principle of Causality.' With their universal subjects and admittedly abstract character, these judgments being all of the ideal order, ought, I have held, all be called analytic. In definitive then, my question was

this—granted that there are not any of the universal, abstract, or ideal kind, are there synthetic *a priori* judgments among those of the real order?

I maintained there are, that there is a series of them, a series which elsewhere I called that of 'the vertebræ of real science, the backbone of philosophy, the objective basis of all our knowledge.' 'Hence,' I said in concluding the second section of my paper, 'these judgments are in the *real order* the dialectic principles on which rests thought's self-evidence for its supreme truth, for the existence of the Essential, of the Real-Ideal, whereunto as to its term every spirit aspires.' It is therefore evident that in giving examples of judgments of that sort, my fundamental supposition, the very foundation of my position, ought to have been that they are—as Father Fuzier observed those I gave are—*all of the real order*.

II.

Up to this, it will be seen, my critic and I are in perfect agreement. There is not on his side a shadow of 'refutation.' Here it ought begin to show. Here a beginning at least of the promised refutation ought to appear, and that by the application of his supposed principle of refutation to the four judgments in question. Well, before going further, I remark that, without word of comment, he passes by the first two, which in my eyes are rather more noteworthy than the others as being more manifestly *a priori*. Perhaps he left them aside for being the first, and as such, the least strikingly synthetic. Be that as it may, aside he has left them. He makes no mention of them in the course of his supposed 'refutation.' He apparently only thinks of trying to refute the two last. But, how does he do so? I here quote his own words, for here, if anywhere, ought to show the point of his argument:—

These judgments [he premises] are of the real and existing order, and, therefore, the concept of the subject is not the generic concept of *agent* or *living*, but the specific concept of such and such a *category* of agents and living beings (*d'agents et de vivants*), that is to say, of the agents and living beings (*des agents et des vivants*) of which it was question in the attribute.

Having thus laid down and explained his refuting principle, he proceeds :—

Consequently, in these judgments ‘some agents live,’ ‘some living beings think’ (*des agents vivent, des vivants pensent*) the subject and the attribute are identical, their comprehension is the same, enveloped in one, developed in the other ; and if, by analysis, you develop the comprehension of the two subjects, you have the following tautologies :—

Certain agents, these that live, are living ;

Certain living beings, those that think, are thinking.

These judgments are therefore analytic : you find in the subject such as it is taken in the proposition, the reason to attribute to it the predicate.

These judgments ! What judgments ? Not mine : my judgments are—‘an agent lives, a living being thinks’ (un agent vit, un vivant pense). Thus they appear in each of the three passages my critic has chosen. Neither there nor anywhere else in my paper is it question of ‘certain agents,’ or ‘some agents,’ ‘certain living beings,’ or ‘some living beings’ (ou des agents ou des vivants).

Let me not be told that there is here indeed a difference from the point of view of grammar, or at most of logic, but not of philosophy, at least not in regard to the present question. There is here the greatest possible difference of the kind, and especially from the latter point of view. It is just as if I had said :—‘Undeniably a *being* actually living is infinitely powerful,’ and then someone should say to me :—‘It is not undeniable that *some beings* actually living are infinitely powerful. I deny your statement. I undertake to refute it by a very simple argument.’ What could I reply but—‘Please don’t trouble yourself with drawing up an argument on the subject, simple or complex. Simply note that the proposition you mean to refute, any way you take it, is not mine.’

III.

Of course, there is here no question of good or bad faith, of any kind of intended injustice on the part of Father Fuzier. The good Father had already given my judgments quite correctly, and that twice in my own words ; a fact which

renders this transformation on his part so passing strange ; all the more that, immediately after, in view of a fresh remark, he cites a third passage from my paper, in which they are again given as—‘*an agent lives, a living being thinks.*’ The passage is :—

It is enough for us to become aware of the fact that an agent lives, or a living being thinks, to know that not only has there been always an agent living, and always a living being thinking, but what says much more, that the fact of *life* in general as well as that of *thought* is uncaused. It is enough, I say, for reason to cognize the truth thus presented to it as actual in order to recognise it as essential and as such a *a priori*.

‘There,’ my critic kindly remarks, ‘is a very high conception, but it too is furnished by analysis and not by synthesis.’ He apparently there confounds the question as to the existence of *a priori* ‘conceptions,’ which I reject, with that as to the existence of *a priori* ‘judgments,’ which, in the sense explained, I maintain, and of which alone it is here question. Throughout, indeed, he appears to me somewhat to confound conception and judgment, the direct act of forming concepts with the reflex act of comparing them, and thereupon deciding how, in reason’s way, one is to be affirmed of the other, or denied. Even when speaking of ‘judgments relating to the real and existing *order*,’ he seems to me not to think of real as distinct from ideal or verbal *attribution*. What in English is called the ‘existential import of propositions’ does not, apparently, occur to him at all. This possibly is how these subjects of real judgments got transformed, in his mind, into logical ‘categories’ calling for some rational analysis. Be the explanation what it may, the transformation of terms I have noticed once effected, his subsequent criticism proceeds on the assumption that he is dealing with judgments having equivalently plural nouns for subjects—*des agents et des vivants, telle ou telle catégorie d’agents et de vivants*.

Now, these and all such judgments are radically different from mine, particularly so in regard to the present question, for the simple reason that they are obviously not a *a priori*—

'as objective judgments or by reason of the truth expressed.'¹ Each of Fr. Fuzier's propositions may be taken as representing an undeniable truth—one, moreover, that for us now may be called a 'first truth' (*une vérité première*), like motion or sensation, but not a primordial truth (*pas une vérité primordiale*), not an essential, not a *necessary* first truth; hence not *a priori* in the sense at present commonly received, and which I distinctly explained I meant to adopt in the present discussion.² True, for my propositions, as for those which were put in their place, 'the *comprehension* of the subject is the same,' but the *extension* of the subject is different; and that here makes all the difference in the world. It makes the difference between judgments showing truths given to each rational agent by the natural act of reason, so naturally recognised as primordial, as *a priori* truths, and judgments of which this can in no sense be said.

For instance, take the last one of mine Father Fuzier quoted—'A living being thinks;' that is manifestly given to each thinking soul by the very act of thought; while the one substituted for it—'some living beings think'—is as manifestly not so given. Again, supposing thought's necessity, which must be supposed if the proposition be *a priori*, it is necessary that there should be *one* thinking, absolutely speaking, there need be no more; 'some beings think' is a contingent, therefore an *a posteriori* truth, since clearly one suffices for thought, as one does for life, for act or for actuality. Precisely on that account, real reason's essential first truths, such as mine, all radically differ from the contingent first truths of sense, such as motion, suffering or simple feeling, and all such data whereof modern scientists

¹ 'En tant que jugements objectifs ou à raison de la vérité exprimée, doivent être dits *a priori*.' words taken from my first paper, explaining the precise point of the question to be discussed.

² See my original paper. Compare Dr. Ward, 'Philosophical Axioms,' *Dublin Review*, 1869. By Axioms, he says, 'We mean, *necessary first truths*.' That he then takes as a sufficiently practical definition for '*a priori* judgments.' So I have taken it. I would, however, observe that by 'Axioms' are commonly understood *necessary and universal* first truths. Now my question was in effect:—Are there not truths as thoroughly *first*, and as truly *necessary* as any yet which are *not* universal, not being of the ideal or abstract order, and precisely for that reason, not analytic?

would make the only real principles of science. These are, indeed, for us here now abiding truths, like those of my critic's propositions, but, as also like them, importing plurality of beings, are not essential, not primordial, not *a priori*. Thus, ontologically as well as logically, philosophically, in the full sense of the word, his formulas are different from mine, and are so in regard to the present question, to the extent of having nothing whatever to do with it.

CONCLUSION

Here, then, briefly, is my answer to Fr. Fuzier's *Refutation des jugements synthétiques a priori du Rev. O'Mahony*. Speaking only of the four he quoted, I say that, in the way of criticism, he did not touch the two first, and touched the two last only to put two others essentially different in their place. Not alone, therefore, has he not effected his promised 'Refutation,' he has not yet tried to effect it. Now, let him try. To any one of the series let him make an objection serving to show it is not synthetic, or, being so, is not *a priori*. I shall reply to his objection with pleasure, all the more for feeling sure that any objection of the kind, however answered, cannot fail, if not in my sense to solve, at least to make clearer and clearer what I hold to be the problem that really lies at the root of this question.

Touching his criticism of the judgments which he put in place of mine, namely, that, as appertaining to the real and existing order, they are tautologies, and, therefore, analytic, let him look to it. But, I ask, can the same be said of mine? Can it be said that in each of them the predicate only repeats the subject 'as it is taken in the proposition,' and that this subject means but the person thus actually judging? So that these admittedly first facts of philosophy: 'Something exists' (*aliquid existit*), 'something existing acts,' and the like, rightly worded out, come to mere tautological platitudes, such as: 'Something existing (myself here now) exists; 'Something acting (myself at present) acts,' and so on! Is that a true criticism of the natural judgments of man's reason as to the significance, the

necessity and the import, of *existence, action, life, and thought?* Certainly not. Being self-affirmatives of reflection, real principles of reason, the subject in each of them is indefinite as the attribute is essential and the attribution unconditioned. The affirmation accordingly thereby understood to be made is that of the necessity of existence, or actuality, action, life, and thought *in general*.

Assuredly what consciousness primarily testifies to each one is that he is here now thinking, with all that for him the fact imports. No man thereupon dreams of judging that thought's truth, any more than that of life, or act, or actuality, depends on its being true of him as subject. Each one thinking knows that in a few hours he shall have ceased to think. Meanwhile, sitting on reason's throne, in the universal court of reflection, in the light of the law and in virtue of the powers of reason's act, now his, he self-affirms that there is always someone thinking, that, unlike motion or sensation, of absolute necessity there must be thought, as there must be truth, and in act there must be being.

True, in the formulas which express these principles, the copula is non-modal, simply '*is ;*' for exists, acts, lives, thinks, logically mean is existing, acting, living, thinking. But it should always be remembered that as copula of reason's self-judgments in reflection's order, synthetic or analytic, real or ideal, the verb-substantive is taken, not in the active only, but in pure act's voice, therefore in perfection's unconditional mood and eternity's absolutely present tense. In the course of my first paper I explained how such self-affirmation is logically made. I showed how the truths these judgments represent, naturally cognised by experience as actual, are, at the same time, as naturally recognised by reason as essential, so seen to be '*absolutely primordial verities :*' hence are self-affirmed, not in virtue of any Kantian or Kaiserine '*imperative dictate*' *ab extra*, perforce blindly binding, but in harmony with the law of reason's own inmost light and life.

For the fundamental position of my thesis it would be quite enough to maintain that any judgment of the series,

were it only the first, has both the characteristics thus claimed for it. Still I maintain they all have them. They are all synthetic, as given by the immediate act of experience; they are *a priori*, for the act that gives them is reason's own.¹

T. J. O'MAHONY.

¹ Part of the foregoing had to be omitted in the reading, so as to keep within the prescribed twenty minutes. When the main point of the conclusion had been read, the President asked if Father Fuzier was present. As he was not, discussion commenced on the subject in the usual way. Upon this, I note, no one took up Father Fuzier's contention, that the judgments in question are not synthetic; the discussion was wholly confined to the sort of *a priori* character I claimed for them. Referring to it in a thoroughly appreciative though rather brief, report of the proceedings of the Philosophical Section of the Congress (*Revue Neo-Scholastique*, Nov. 1897), Father de Munnynck (of Louvain) writes: 'Mgr. Kiss drew attention to the properties which Kant assigns to his synthetic *a priori* propositions. He begged Dr. O'Mahony to observe that not one of his examples is a universal proposition, and that, consequently, they should not be called synthetic *a priori* in the sense of Kant.' I beg to add I replied, in effect, that I did not say they should, and in my original paper had specially emphasized the fact that they should not, as not being universal. The remark of the eminent Professor of the University of Buda-Pesth was thus in reality tantamount to observing that my thesis was what it professed to be, and, being that, was quite other than Kant's, its assertions and the examples given in proof thereof being wholly other than his. What my thesis in this way formally asserted was, that there are *a priori* judgments, in the sense 'commonly received since Kant's time, propositions giving 'absolutely primordial verities' or 'necessary first truths' (Dr. Ward), yet which, unlike those of Kant, are *not* universal, not being, like his, of the ideal or abstract order of attribution, but *real* judgments, statements of immediate experience, and, therefore, truly synthetic; while all Kant's examples, and all similar abstract, universal principles, I held to be analytic in one or other of the three ways in which I had previously shown a judgment might be said to be so. Father de Munnynck concludes his notice with the remark that the point at issue is 'by no means a question of words, but one which involves very grave psychological and ontological problems.' All the more reason ought there be for laying bare the root of it, and trying, at least, to show where its last fibres enter the ground of self-evident truth.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

PROTESTANT WITNESSES AT THE MARRIAGE OF CATHOLICS CAN CATHOLICS VALIDLY MARRIED AT A REGISTRY OFFICE, OR IN A PROTESTANT CHURCH, AFTERWARDS RECEIVE THE NUPTIAL BLESSING?

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. Can a priest on the English mission permit Protestant witnesses to a marriage in his church on his own responsibility? They are valid witnesses I know—are they licit?

2. Can he (a priest on the English mission) give the nuptial blessing—privately of course—to a Catholic couple who were married in the Registrar's office, or in a Protestant Church?

Yours, &c.,

SACERDOS.

1. A priest should not, on his own responsibility, admit non-Catholics to assist as witnesses at a marriage. An answer to this effect was given by the Holy Office, 19th August, 1891:—

Se sia lecito assumere gli eterodossi a testimoni nel matrimonio dei Catholic.

And the reply was:—

Non esse adhibendos; posse tamen ab Ordinario tolerari ex gravi causa, dummodo non adsit scandalum.

According to this reply, therefore, non-Catholics should not *per se* be admitted as formal witnesses of a marriage. They may, however, for a grave cause be admitted where no scandal will be given. The bishop—not the officiating priest—is the judge of the sufficiency of the reason for their admission. If there be anywhere a recognised custom of admitting non-Catholic witnesses, we may assume that the bishop regards their admission in that place justified by the circumstances, and we require no express authorisation to follow the usual practice.

2. In England—for it is to that country only our correspondent refers—even Catholics may, of course, marry validly before a registrar or a Protestant clergyman. We assume that they are not *peregrini* contracting in *fraudem legis*. But such a marriage is gravely sinful; and if the parties contract before a heretical minister (as such), and with a heretical rite, they incur excommunication, specially reserved to the Holy See in the Bull *Apostolicae Sedis*.¹

Manifestly a priest's first duty, in regard to such persons, is to bring them to repent of their sin, make reparation for the scandal given, and seek absolution from censure, if a censure has been incurred. In some dioceses special legislation defines the manner in which public reparation of the scandal given is to be made. Having succeeded in getting the parties to repent of and repair the evil done, our correspondent asks whether he should give them the nuptial blessing.

By the nuptial blessing, we may understand either the simple blessing of the Ritual or the solemn blessing of the Missal. Many theologians hold (and rightly, we think) that *per se* there is, in ordinary cases, an obligation *sub veniali*, to seek the solemn blessing.² All must admit that there is *per se* a obligation to give the solemn blessing to those who ask it. Others think it is not strictly obligatory to receive the solemn nuptial blessing, though the Church strongly exhorts the faithful to receive it.³ But, outside a case of necessity, Catholics contracting marriage are bound, under pain of mortal sin, to receive the blessing of the Ritual, and that even where the law of Trent has not been promulgated.⁴ Nor does this obligation cease when a marriage has been, lawfully (in case of necessity) or unlawfully, though validly, contracted without the presence and blessing of a priest.

Clarum est [says Gasparri] inito valide matrimonio praeceptum grave manere sponso petendi hanc Ritualis benedictionem

¹ Conf. *Collect. Prop. Fid.*, n. 2,202; Bucceroni, *Comment. De Constit. Apos. Sedis*, p. 7, n. 9.

² Sanchez, St. Alphonsus, Becker, *De Spons. et Mat.*, p. 358; Gasparri, *De Mat.*, n. 1,021; Rosset, *De Sac. Mat.*, v., n. 2,868.

³ Lehmkühl, ii., n. 693; Feije, n. 554.

⁴ Conf. Lehmkühl, ii., n. 693.

. . . Haec vera sunt non modo de matrimonio defectu parochi coram testibus contracto, *sed in genere de matrimoniis validis clandestinis.*²

Catholics, then, who have contracted validly, in the office of a registrar or in a Protestant church, are still bound to present themselves to receive, and the priest should impart—if the parties have satisfied the requirements above mentioned—the simple blessing of the Ritual. The matrimonial consent is not to be renewed, for the marriage is already, we assume, certainly valid. The priest does not recite the words of the Ritual: *Ego vos conjungo*, &c.; but everything else is done as the Ritual prescribes in the ordinary marriage rite. So much for the blessing of the Ritual.

May the solemn blessing of the Missal be also given to such persons at a nuptial Mass? Even some of those who maintain that there is an obligation to receive the solemn blessing, in the first instance, concede that there is not an obligation to supply it afterwards, when it has been omitted at a marriage validly contracted. It is, however, in ordinary cases, certainly lawful to supply this blessing; nor is there anything to prevent the parties in the question proposed from getting it. Local legislation should, of course, be kept in view; and, moreover, it may easily, in certain circumstances, give offence and scandal if such persons were to get the solemn blessing, in a place where the blessing is not usually given to more faithful and deserving members of the Church.

We do not quite understand why these blessings, if given at all, should be given ‘privately.’ The public reception of the blessing of the Ritual would be one of the best, not to say the most necessary, means of repairing the scandal. The solemn blessing cannot, unless by special dispensation, be separated from the nuptial Mass, and, therefore, the question of imparting it privately does not seem to arise.

D. MANNIX.

¹ Gasparri, *De Mat.*, ii., n. 1,009.

LITURGY

QUESTIONS ON THE SCAPULARS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly answer the following :—

1. Is there any decree ordering that, when several scapulars are worn on one pair of strings, each scapular should be *joined* to the strings ?

2. Does the decree demand that there should be *immediate contact* between each of the scapulars and the strings ; or is it enough, if the strings actually *touch only one of the scapulars*, provided that the other scapulars are joined *mediately* to the strings, by being sown to them, through the scapular to which they are immediately attached ?

3. Supposing that the decrees mentioned in 1 and 2, exists, is a scapular invalid if it be not made in accordance with them ?

SACERDOS.

No decree, such as that to which our correspondent refers in his first question, exists, as far as we have been able to discover. On the contrary, there exists a decree which, implicitly at least, declares that all the scapulars need not be attached to the same cord or strings.¹ All that is essential is that the scapulars should consist of a square or oblong piece of woollen material of the requisite colour ; that they should be joined together at the edge to which the strings are attached ; and that one set of the scapulars thus united should hang on the breast, the other on the back of the wearer. The colour of the strings is immaterial, unless in the case of the red scapular. For the red scapular has received the approbation of the Holy See, and has been indulgenced only on condition that it be made according to the pattern shown to Sister Apolline Audriveau by our Lord Himself. And in this pattern the red scapulars were united by strings of red woollen material resembling that of which the scapulars themselves were composed. Hence, when a number of

¹ *Decr. Auth.*, 408, 1^o.

scapulars, including the red scapular, are attached to the same strings, these strings should be red in colour and of woollen material. It is not certain that, in the case just mentioned, the red strings should be immediately attached to the red scapular. Probably if the several scapulars were suspended as a whole to the red strings, the condition regarding the red scapulars would be sufficiently fulfilled even though the red strings were not in direct and immediate contact with the cloth of the scapulars. But, for precaution's sake, we would advise that the red strings should be attached directly to the red scapulars, and that the other scapulars be attached by a few stitches along the edge to the red scapular.

Our correspondent's second and third questions are based on the hypothesis that the decrees referred to in his first question in reality exists. As no such decree does exist it is unnecessary to reply to these questions.

QUESTIONS REGARDING PROCESSION AND BENEDICTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following queries in next issue of I. E. RECORD and oblige.

INQUIRER.

1. May banners of the B.V.M. or of the saints be carried in procession of the Blessed Sacrament?

2. May prayers in the 'vernacular,' other than those prescribed for October devotions, be recited by the minister while the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for Benediction?

3. May the choir sing hymns in the 'vernacular' while the Blessed Sacrament is exposed.

1. Nothing could be more appropriate, nothing more in accordance with the spirit of the Liturgy, or the custom of the Church, than to carry in processions of the Blessed Sacrament, banners bearing pictures of our Blessed Lady, or representations of the mysteries of her life, or of the power of her intercession, or of the depth of her love for the souls redeemed by the Blood of her Divine Son. The same is proportionately true of banners bearing pictures real or

allegorical of the saints. Such banners, like the vestments of the clergy, the canopy, the candles and lanterns, add to the solemnity, as well as to the impressiveness of the procession, and contribute to the external majesty and pomp, which should, as far as possible, surround our Sacramental Lord when borne in public procession.

It should hardly be necessary to prove the admissibility of these banners in processions of the Blessed Sacrament. The custom of bearing them in procession is, we think, almost, if not altogether, universal. To convince sceptics, however, we may just mention that the various bodies who take part in processions of the Blessed Sacrament, whether they be school children or members of confraternities, are to have their own peculiar banner borne at their head. Speaking of the order of the procession of the Blessed Sacrament on Corpus Christi, Wapelhorst says:—

(b) *Pueri et puellae scholam catechismumve frequentantes praelato eorum vexillo.*

(c) *Confraternitates laicorum cum suis insignibus.*

2. This question, too, is to be answered in the affirmative. Prayers approved of for public worship may be publicly recited in the vernacular while the Blessed Sacrament is exposed. The only condition, in order that prayers in the vernacular may be recited in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, is, that they should have the approval of the Ordinary of the diocese. Surely our correspondent would not impugn the lawfulness of reciting, in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, the prayers in honour of the Sacred Heart, which are usually recited during the time the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for Benediction on the first Fridays, or first Sundays of the month? Neither, we hope, would he impugn the custom of reciting during the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament the *Divine Praises*, to the recitation of which, in these circumstances, the Congregation of Indulgences has recently attached an additional indulgence.

3. The answer to the third question is the same as that given to the second. Vernacular hymns, approved of by

the Ordinary of the diocese, may be sung during the time the Blessed Sacrament is exposed previous to or after Benediction. This point has been explicitly defined by the Congregation of Rites in several decrees, two of which we here quote from *The Ceremonies of Ecclesiastical Functions*:—¹

Quaes. An liceat adhibere publicam quarundam precum recitationem vulgari sermone conscriptarum coram SSmo. Sacramento exposito?

Resp. Affirmative dummodo agatur de precibus approbatis.

Quaes. Utrum liceat generaliter ut chorus musicorum (id est cantores) coram SSmo Sacramento solemniter exposito, decantet hymnos in lingua vernacula?

Resp. Posse, dummodo non agitur de hymnis *Te Deum* et aliis quibuscunque liturgicis precibus, quae nonnisi latina lingua decantari debent.

MAY A MOVABLE THRONE BE USED FOR EXPOSITION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT?

WHY DID THE GOTHIC CHASUBLE FALL INTO DISUSE?

WHY WAS THE PRESENT EPISCOPAL MITRE SUBSTITUTED FOR THE SMALLER ONE OF EARLIER TIMES?

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I trouble you for an early reply to the following questions?

LAICUS.

1. When the Blessed Sacrament is solemnly exposed in the monstrance, may the monstrance be elevated on a movable throne placed on the altar?

2. When and why did the old chasuble, known as the Gothic chasuble, fall into disuse?

3. Why is the present large and unshapely mitre used instead of the small and beautiful one of pre-Reformation days?

1. When the Blessed Sacrament is solemnly exposed in the monstrance, the monstrance should, generally speaking, be placed on a throne of some kind, more or less elevated above the table of the altar. This is prescribed for the

solemn exposition of the forty hours, in the *Instructio Clementina*, and by nearly all writers for any solemn exposition whatsoever. But nowhere, so far as we are aware, is it decided that the throne should be a permanent structure, such as those that we frequently find erected over the tabernacle on the high altar in modern churches. Indeed historically speaking, the movable throne was introduced long prior to the permanent one; and, moreover, it is of the movable throne that most writers, including Clement XI. in his famous Instruction, speak. The fixed throne forming part of the structure of the altar is comparatively modern, and was, doubtless, introduced as much for its ornamental effect as for its convenience. Our correspondent need not, therefore, have any doubt about the lawfulness of a custom which dates back to the time when solemn exposition of the Blessed Sacrament was first introduced, and which is still widely prevalent.

2. Writers are not agreed as to the time at which the ancient Gothic chasuble dwindled from its ample portions into its present handier if less picturesque form. Some say the change was made as early as the tenth century, while others maintain that the change took place in the sixteenth century. Probably we may reconcile these extreme opinions by saying, that the change began at the earlier date, but was not completed until the later. This much seems to be certain, the change had taken place by the sixteenth century, and so great was the change it seems also to be certain, that it must have been brought about very slowly and gradually.

The reason for the change is manifest. The Gothic chasuble covered the whole body, including the arms, in its ample folds. Hence, when the celebrant had to use his hands, as at the incensation, consecration, &c., the chasuble had to be rolled up to his shoulder, and held there by the sacred ministers. A relic of this custom is still to be seen in our modern Solemn Mass, when, during the incensation, the sacred ministers hold up, or make a pretence of holding up, the celebrant's chasuble at the shoulder, and in both Solemn and Low Mass when, at the consecration, the

ministers raise the celebrant's chasuble. The inconvenience felt in saying private Masses with the Gothic chasuble soon brought about a modification, and gradually reduced the chasuble to its present form. The following, translated from Cardinal Bona, bears out the views we have just expressed :—

The Latins, to avoid the inconvenience arising from the width and fulness [of the Gothic chasuble], covering, as it did, the whole body and arms, began by degrees to cut away the sides, until it was reduced to the form which we use at the present day.

3. *De gustibus non est disputandum* is a venerable adage, and out of respect for it we will refrain from discussing the relative æsthetic qualities of the older and newer forms of the episcopal mitre, and will content ourselves with answering our correspondent's question. The question implies that the small mitre endured until the time of the so-called Reformation, or thereabouts. This is not so. The middle of the thirteenth century might be put down as the date at which the change from the old to the new form began. At the beginning of that century the old form still prevailed, as we learn from contemporary paintings of bishops of the period; while from a similar source we know that at the beginning of the fourteenth century the mitre had assumed proportions as great, if not greater, than the mitres now in use; and from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth the mitres increased in height, until they had become really 'unshapely.' But in the present century a change in the opposite direction has taken place, and the mitres worn by bishops, in these countries, at least, resemble in height and appearance, the mitres of the late thirteenth century.

THE QUALITY OF THE CANDLES TO BE USED DURING MASS, &c.

A correspondent wishes to know whether it is lawful to use other than wax candles at Mass, at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, when giving Communion outside of Mass, and, generally, when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed. He is aware that some priests contend that only wax candles should be used

on these occasions, while others maintain that it is not obligatory to use wax candles at all; and others again assert that when several candles must be used some should be of wax, but, also, that some may be of another material.

The candles used at Mass should all be wax. This is a strict obligation, unless, on the score of poverty, a dispensation has been procured. Of course we speak only of the candles prescribed by the rubrics; that is, the two candles which should be lighted during the Mass celebrated by a simple priest, and the four with which the altar should be adorned during a prelate's Mass. In addition to these candles, which are purely ceremonial, there may be others of an inferior material for the purpose of giving light.

During any exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, whether it be the exposition which immediately precedes Benediction, the exposition for the Forty Hours' Adoration, or any other exposition whatsoever, at least ten wax candles should be lighted. One author would allow Benediction with as few as six wax candles; but we are inclined to believe that he had in mind private, rather than solemn exposition and Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament. The *Instructio Clementina* commands that twenty wax candles should be kept continuously burning during the *Quarant' Ore*; and although this instruction does not impose any obligation outside of Rome, and is concerned solely about the exposition of the Forty Hours, its provisions present a model which should be followed as far as circumstances permit in every solemn exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament. Of course, in addition to the prescribed number of wax candles, any number of candles of a cheap material may be lighted round about the altar on which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed.

When giving Communion outside of Mass two wax candles should be lighted on the altar. The obligation of using wax candles in this case is the same as the obligation of using them at Mass.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—It is not without disappointment, a feeling which I share with very many others, that I contemplate Dr. MacCarthy's latest and (as we are to infer) last communication. It is a production that calls for even a 'compiler's' pity. For in what relation do we, the great Dr. MacCarthy and the humble author of *The Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*, now stand? Mark but the present position of our controversy. In the January I. E. RECORD I placed before my polite antagonist a series of solid facts and arguments. With these—unless he preferred to beat a succession of retreats, more than any Xenophon could fittingly record, from quite a number of his chosen entrenchments—it was absolutely indispensable for him to seriously and systematically grapple. That this was his only alternative, I take sober and independent judgments to witness. We are now in possession of his reply. And what are its contents? In any one way does he traverse, or even try to traverse, the case which I presented? No. Does he deal with one solitary division of it? No. With one particle of a part of it? No. But, to cover his graceful retirement, he devotes a letter of five printed pages to the introduction and discussion of new matter, and is as silent as a Harpocrates on all that ought to have first engaged his earnest consideration; with now not a word to say about the Bobbio Missal, or about the facts which annihilate his contention that that venerable document is inadmissible as evidence of early Irish doctrine; not a word to say for his misspelling of 'Bobbio,' in face of Italian literature which condemns him; not a word about the pretended (but never proved) irrelevance of St. Cummián's Penitential to the special subjects of my book, by whichever of the St. Cummiáns, all Irishmen, that Penitential was written; not a word to show that heresy had made no inroad into Ireland in the age in which that Penitential was drawn up; not a word about the appearance here, for instance, of Pelagianism towards the year 640, as noticed in the pontifical letter to which, for the second time, I invited his attention; not a word about the St. Gall *Ordo* of Penance,

treated by him as another piece of irrelevance on my part, his original assertion that this *Ordo* is 'purely Anglo-Saxon' being subsequently modified (and nullified) by the admission that the writing in the MS. is Irish; not a word about the incestuous unions (in regard to which I was charged with libel)¹ formerly somewhat prevalent in Ireland, as facts uncontroverted make apparent; not a word about Bishop O'Coffey or his alleged parentage of Archbishop O'Murray; not a word about the laughable meaning erstwhile appended by my critic to *sine vestitu* in the ancient *Arrea* or *Commutations*; not a word about *nomina*, or the rubric in the Memento of the Dead in the Bobbio Missal, once Mabillon, the erudite editor of that Missal, is brought into court against him; not a word about the tremendous question of *by* versus *to*, both expressions yielding the *very self-same sense* in the passage in the Canon referred to,² although, against the use of *to*, I was heretofore solemnly threatened with Ménard, who has not been produced yet, for the sufficiently satisfactory reason that he left nothing whatever behind him upon English translations of the Mass, and so wrote nothing that could clothe the one English preposition with any degree of preference over the other.³ There even exists no proof that this famous French Benedictine had the least knowledge of the English language.⁴ Nor, let me here say, are all the English Prayer Books that have ever been published unanimous for *by*, as Dr. MacCarthy will find out for himself if he will only extend his researches over a large enough number. In fine, my critic no longer combats my statement, my inoffensive statement, that the computation of Easter is an astronomical question, now that Lingard and Lanigan, to whose authority that of many others might easily be added, are arrayed against him. Thus, former strongholds are abandoned all along

¹ Dr. MacCarthy, who brands me as a libeller, maligned the monastic scribes in his December letter, by ridiculing the idea that they were at all regardful of what tenets might characterise the theological scripts which they undertook to copy; and this month we have him talking of the 'perhaps malicious ingenuity inveterate in the Brehon legists.' What next, I wonder!

² Adrien Baillet says of a critic:—'C'est un Chicaneur . . . lorsqu'il fait un procès sur une particule inutile, ou sur un article qui ne change rien au sens' [*italics mine*]. See his *Jugemens des Savans*, i., p. 54: Paris, 1722.

³ Ménard's note is simply the following:—'43. *Quorum meritis*. Ita in versione Codini: in liturgia quæ sancto Petro tribuitur: *ὡντίων τῇ πρεσβείᾳ*, id est, quorum intercessione.' See his *Notæ et Observationes in S. Gregorii Magni Librum Sacramentorum*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, lxxviii., col. 276: Paris, 1862.

⁴ In Ménard's time (1585-1644) but few of the continental *litterati* thought English worthy of notice.

the line of operations by Dr. MacCarthy; and so, to enlist an old expression, he evacuates Flanders. He allows that I have 'adopted an effectual method of bringing the present discussion to a close;' and, doubtless, not a few will be disposed to agree with him, if having put forward so much, so very much, that he is unable to answer, can count for anything towards such an issue. Saith an Arabian adage, 'He who defends his nose sometimes cuts it off;' ¹ and with the wisdom of the aphorism my courteous opponent seems disinclined to quarrel. Of course it is not for me to urge any man to his destruction.

Here, before entering upon Dr. MacCarthy's new matter, I desire to add something to my last letter on two points: (1) on *nomina* in the Memento of the Dead in the Bobbio Missal; (2) on the O'Coffey and O'Murray question.

First, with regard to the Memento. It has already been pointed out that Mabillon evidently did not consider *nomina* a rubric in the Memento of the Dead in the Bobbio Missal. I have now to say that the use and custom of that Missal are totally against its being so treated. Ancient Missals, it is hardly necessary to premise, are not, without due inquiry, to be read through modern Missals, with which they do not quite correspond, but by their own individual light. Now, in the Bobbio Missal, wherever names were to be introduced, the uniform rubric is the abbreviated pronoun 'ill.' (the MS. has it 'll'²) or 'ill. & ill.,' as circumstances require. Of this rubrical direction I have counted in its pages no fewer than sixty-six examples, unrelieved by a single occurrence of *nomina*, or *N.*, or *NN.*, or *N. et N.*; ³ and this, on the point raised against me, should, I conceive, be decisive in my favour. The following is a specimen instance from the *Missa Romensis Cottidiana*:—'In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica . . . una cum devotissimo famulo tuo ill. Papa nostro, sedis apostolicæ & Antestite nostro,' &c.⁴

From this we revert to the case of Bishop O'Coffey and Archbishop O'Murray. In the *Annals of Ulster* the former is briefly mentioned as the latter's *athair* or 'father.' Dr. MacCarthy

¹ Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, i., p. 526: Bonn, 1838.

² Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 346, note: Paris, 1724.

³ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., pp. 279, 322, 324, 344, 346, 347, 348, 350, 351, 352, 356, 359, 360, 361, 362, 364, 378, 384, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390, 391: Paris, 1724. Some of these pages contain two, three, four, or five instances of 'ill.' as a rubric.

⁴ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 279: Paris, 1724.

contends that Bishop O'Coffey, had he been only Archbishop O'Murray's 'fosterer or tutor,' would have been referred to as his *aite*, not *athair*. It was not at all unusual, however, for an *aite*—a 'fosterer or tutor'—to receive the title of *athair*, or 'father.' For example, in the Irish Life of St. Senán in the *Book of Lismore*, that holy man is represented as addressing his *aite* as 'O father Notal,' *A athair, a Notail*: again, 'O chosen father,' *A athuir thogaidhi*: and Notal replies to him as 'My dear son,' *A meic inmair*.¹ Hence the mere presence of *athair* in the *Annals of Ulster*, in connection with Bishop O'Coffey, is insufficient to prove that Bishop O'Coffey was Archbishop O'Murray's parent: while the difference in their surnames presents a difficulty which Dr. MacCarthy will in vain struggle to get over.

We pass on now to the new criticisms. In his third paragraph Dr. MacCarthy says:—"To show the intelligent use made of the "works quoted," the following is accepted as correct: "the Brehon Laws assume the existence of a married as well as an unmarried clergy. They make reference to two classes of bishops: "the virgin bishop" and the "bishop of one wife." The "virgin bishop," if he lapsed into sin, did not, they say, recover his grade or pristine perfection, according to some; but the "bishop of one wife" did, provided he performed his penance within three days.' Misled by the foregoing, many readers of the I. E. RECORD must have concluded that I 'accept as correct' the existence of 'a married as well as an unmarried clergy' in early Christian Ireland, and that in doing so I claim to be supported by the authority of the Brehon Laws. They will be somewhat astonished when I inform them that what is set forth as my view is not mine at all, but is a Protestant argument which I devote some space to refuting! How then have I been so misrepresented? By the omission of the five words which I now place in italics. '*Another common objection is this*: the Brehon Laws assume the existence of a married as well as an unmarried clergy.' And so forth. In a manner which will, no doubt, gain him many additional admirers, Dr. MacCarthy chooses to commence his quotation of me at the colon; and this, with his own introductory remark, puts a false construction on my language. The word 'objection,' it is true, occurs twenty lines further on in his letter; but, so far is it from helping any

¹ *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 61 (lines 2038-2042): Oxford, 1890.

one to a right understanding of the matter, that I appeal to candour to determine whether he has not conveyed, to those who have not my little book to refer to, the impression that I profess an opinion which assuredly I do not. One who can fearlessly mutilate an author in the fashion indicated should be particularly chary of any talk about 'breaches of good faith.'¹

As to the wording of the aforesaid objection, now that it is clearly established as such, I may say that I had the Vicar of Ballyclough, the Rev. Thomas Olden, M.A., in my mind when I stated it. An extract from his *Church of Ireland* is appended for comparison.²

Dr. MacCarthy makes much ado about nothing when he writes that the references to the 'virgin bishop' and the 'bishop of one wife' (an expression which is cleared up in my book) are to be found in the ancient commentary on the Brehon Laws, not in the Laws themselves. The Brehon Laws and the Brehon commentaries, however, are preserved in the same MSS., and these MSS. may be called the Brehon Laws for all practical purposes. The very editors of the official edition are not superior to such a general designation of their contents.³ Nor is the phenomenally accurate Dr. MacCarthy, who, like Hudibras of yore, can

'distinguish and divide
A hair 'twixt south and south-west side,'

above describing a MS. which contains—(1) excerpts from St. John's Gospel; (2) a Missal; (3) an *Ordo* of Baptism; (4) an *Ordo* of Visitation of the Sick, including Extreme Unction and Communion; (5) an Irish tract on the Mass; (6) three Irish spells—by the name of the *Stowe Missal*.⁴ Truth to say,

¹ Only one charge of this sort was made against me. After I showed its injustice Dr. MacCarthy did not revive it.

² 'Still more important is it that the Brehon Laws assume the existence of both married and unmarried clergy. Amongst the provisions relating to ecclesiastics we find that if a bishop should fall into sin, a different penalty is prescribed in the case of the married and the celibate. If the offender is a bishop of one wife, he may recover his grade or position by performing penance within three days, but if he is a celibate he cannot recover it at all.' See Olden, *The Church of Ireland*, pp. 121-122: London, 1892.

³ They say:—'According to these Laws he could not return to his dignity of bishop, but he might attain to a "higher grade," that is, that of aibhillteoir, i.e. thaumaturg or miracle-worker, either as a hermit or a pilgrim. Now this provision is in the commentary. See *Senchus Mor*, i., pp. 57, 58, 59: Dublin, 1865.

⁴ The opening sentence of his paper *On the Stowe Missal*, is:—'The MS. known as the Stowe Missal was enclosed in a costly shrine,' &c. See *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxvii., p. 135: Dublin, 1877-86.

it is the chief contents that give the style to the whole in these composite MSS. But, in this respect, Dr. MacCarthy should allow others as much liberty as himself.

Dr. MacCarthy is at some pains to suggest that my knowledge of the Brehon Law collection is 'second or third hand.' For this supposition there is no foundation in reality.¹ The particular volume of the *Senchus Mor* to which I gave a reference—the Rev. Mr. Olden's reference is a wrong one—has been in my possession for twenty years.

We are not done yet, it seems, with errors of the press. Dr. MacCarthy points to some more. I admit them. The clause not rendered in a translation from the *Leabhar Breac*—'and which was crucified by the unbelieving Jews, out of spite and envy'—appears in my manuscript as supplied to the compositor. Evidently, in setting the type, his eye skipped from the 'which' at the end of one line to the 'which' at the end of the next one; hence the omission. Hardly anyone, however, except Dr. MacCarthy, would say that this omission leaves 'the English reader to infer that the native writer did not believe in the crucifixion.'

Dr. MacCarthy should not be too severe upon printers' errors. There is a very fair crop of such in his own various publications. There are some in all the letters that he has written against me. In his last we have 'a *Synodis Hibernensis*,' and 'rescension.' As 'rescension,' however, occurs twice, perhaps it is the critic, not the compositor, that is to blame for this specimen of bad spelling. 'P. 161,' too, a reference to my book, should be 'p. 164.'

But to continue. In quoting a letter of St. Columbanus, it seems that I exhibit 'a recension' (I correct Dr. MacCarthy's orthography of the word) 'and a translation, each equally notable.' Well, the Latin, whatever may be said against it, was taken by me from Migne's edition of the writings of St. Columbanus; and it is precisely the same in that of Gallandus. As to the translation of *adversariis potius manus dantis quam resistentis*, if Dr. MacCarthy has any fault to find with 'yielding help to, instead of withstanding the enemy,' I would refer him to the learned Catholic archæologist, the Rev. Daniel Rock, D.D.,

¹ Charging those whom he attacks with trusting to second-hand information seems a favourite proceeding with Dr. MacCarthy. He supposes even the veteran Dr. Whitley Stokes not to have 'acquaintance at first-hand with national history.' See the I. E. RECORD, 3rd Series, xii., p. 158; Dublin, 1891.

author of the immortal works *The Church of our Fathers* and *Hierurgia*, who renders the passage in this identical fashion.¹

Next, I am remarked for having *sitam* for *sita*, and *abierat* for *obierat*, in a quotation from the *Book of Armagh*. The correct Latin is, of course, *sita* and *obierat*. But, after all, in the actual *Book of Armagh*, both words are exactly as I give them. Of the two printed editions referred to by me, one (that from which I made the extract) follows the readings of the MS. for the text, and gives the necessary emendations in footnotes: the other does the reverse. I suppose if I had written *sitam* [*sita*], *abierat* [*obierat*], Aristarchus himself could have said nothing against me.

'Celebrate, O festive Juda, the joys of Christ'—a translation of the opening line of St. Cummin's hymn—should certainly be: 'Celebrate, O Juda, the festive (or 'festal') joys of Christ;' and it stands so, I find on inspection, in my manuscript. The transposition of the word 'festive' is the work of the compositor. Hence, all that is said about 'the new *Gradus ad Parnassum*' is uncalled for, as far as I am concerned. I am prepared to admit that Dr. MacCarthy is very great in Latin prosody. It is a pity that he is not equally great in English syntax. I gave a single specimen of his free and easy defiance of the rules of grammar in my last letter. A hundred such atrocities—I have been going through his writings lately—in present stock. Terms moderate: country orders carefully executed: parcels of the broken head of Lindley Murray forwarded with despatch.

With regard now to the petitions in the *Stowe Missal*, eleven, as with me, are reduced to eight by Dr. MacCarthy's scheme of punctuation. But where does he get that punctuation? He will not, I opine, tender us the assurance that he can trace it all to the original MS., the punctuation of which is rather peculiar. And is the sense materially, or at all, affected by his doughty alterations?

Dr. MacCarthy is visibly not among the admirers of Dr. Warren, a liturgiologist of the first order. It was very honourable, however, of that gentleman, who, perhaps, like Porson, thinks errors 'the common lot of authorship,'² to apologise for the mistakes of his

¹ Rock, *Did the Early Church in Ireland acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy?* answered in a Letter to Lord John Manners, p. 50: London, 1844.

² Porson, *Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis*, Preface, p. xxxiv.: London, 1790.

transcript. Whatever I have seen, I have not seen any of Dr. MacCarthy's apologies. The 'Textus Receptus,' as, in an access of modesty, he calls his own edition of the *Stowe Missal*, is not immaculate, any more than Dr. Warren's. No doubt, in his scorn of the Oxford editor, Dr. MacCarthy, as it were, falls down in adoration before himself, as to an unerring transcriber. It is an amusing fact, nevertheless, that (to say nothing of ancient MSS.) he cannot transcribe from himself or others with entire correctness: he must either add or leave out, or otherwise change. In the little that he now professes to take from his own edition of the *Stowe Missal* he varies from himself in punctuation in four instances: in his December letter, he alters the punctuation in the two lines which he copies from Mabillon, and substitutes a small letter for a capital: in the same letter he leaves out three words (*i.e.* 'Far from it') in the course of an extract, on the first page, from his own essay *On the Stowe Missal*, and again substitutes a small letter for a capital: in his August effusion, he interpolates two words, not mine (I place them in italics), in a quotation from *The Ancient Irish Church*, stating that the Quartodecimans 'kept Easter on the 14th day of March,' no matter what day of the week it fell upon; and so I might go on, launching forth among his publications, till there was more space run away with than you would care to waste on such a subject.

In conclusion, if I am to part from Dr. MacCarthy at this point, I am sorry for it. He attacked my book—which, like every other book, has its demerits—intending to do it harm. He has done it nothing but service; a service for which I again thank him. His assaults have had a stimulating effect upon the sales; and, otherwise, I have made more by the controversy than he has. As the Spanish proverb says:—'The ox that horned me tossed me into a good place'—*El buey que me acorneó en buen lugar me echó*.—Yours, &c.,

JOHN SALMON.

[This controversy must now cease.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

¹ As previously noted, 'March' is here a typographical error for 'moon.'

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE CANADIAN BISHOPS ON THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD ARCHIEPISCOPOS EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE
LOCORUM ORDINARIOS FOEDERATARUM CIVITATUM CANADENSIIUM
PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIIS EPISCOPIIS ALIISQUE
LOCORUM ORDINARIIS FOEDERATARUM CIVITATUM CANADENSIIUM
PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Affari vos, quod perlibenter atque amantissime facimus, vix Nobis licet, quin sua sponte occurrat animo vetus et constans Apostolicae Sedis cum Canadensibus vicissitudo benevolentiae consuetudoque officiorum. Ipsis rerum vestrarum primordiis comitata Ecclesiae catholicae caritas est: maternoque semel acceptos sinu, amplexari vos, fovere, beneficiis afficere numquam postea desiit. Certe, immortalis vir Franciscus de Laval Montmorency, primus Quebecensium episcopus, quas res pro avorum memoria pro salute publica felicissime sanctissimeque gessit, auctoritate gratiaque subnixus romanorum Pontificum gessit. Neque alio ex fonte auspicia atque orsus agendarum rerum cepere consequentes episcopi, quorum tanta extitit magnitudo meritorum. Similique ratione, si spatium respicitur vetustiorum temporum, non istuc commeare nisi nutu missuque Sedis Apostolicae consuevere virorum apostolicorum generosi manipuli, utique christianae sapientiae lumine elegantiores cultum atque artium honestissimarum semina allaturi. Quibus seminibus multo eorum ipsorum labore sensim maturescentibus, Canadensium natio in contentionem urbanitatis et gloriae cum excultis gentibus sera, non impar venit. Ista sunt res Nobis omnes admodum ad recordationem iucundae: eo vel magis, quod earum permanere fructus cernimus non mediocres. Ille profecto per-

magnus, amor in catholica multitudine studiumque vehemens divinae religionis, quam scilicet maiores vestri primum et maxime ex Gallia, tum ex Hibernia, mox quoque aliunde, auspicato advecti, et ipsi sancte coluerunt et posteris inviolate servandam tradiderunt. Quamquam, si optimam hanc hereditatam tuetur posteritas memor, facile intelligimus quantam huius laudis partem sibi iure vindicet vigilantia atque opera vestra, venerabiles Fratres, quantam etiam vestri sedulitas Cleri omnes quippe concordibus animis, pro incolumitate atque incremento catholici nominis assidue contenditis, idque, ut vera fateamur non invitis neque repugnantibus Britannici imperii legibus. Itaque communium recte factorum vestrorum cogitatione adducti, cum Nos romanae honorem purpurae Archiepiscopo Quebecensium aliquot ante annis contulimus, non solum ornare viri virtutes, sed omnium istic catholicorum pietatem honorifico afficere testimonio volumus. Ceterum de institutione laborare ineuntus aetatis, in qua et christianae et civilis reipublicae spes maximae nituntur, Apostolica Sedes numquam intermisit, coniuncto vobiscum et cum decessoribus vestris studio. Hinc constituta passim adolescentibus vestris ad virtutem, ad litteras erudiendis complura eademque in primis florentia, auspice et custode Ecclesia, domicilia. Quo in genere eminet profecto magnum Lyceum Quebecense, quod ornatum atque auctum omni iure legitimo ad legum pontificiarum consuetudinem, satis testatur, nihil esse quod expetat, studeatque Apostoliqua Sedes vehementius, quam educere civium sobolem expolitam litteris, virtute commendabilem. Quamobrem summa cura, ut facile per vos ipsi iudicabitis, animum ad eos casus adiecimus, quos catholicae Manitobensium adolescentulorum institutioni novissima tempora attulere. Volumus enim et velle debemus omni, qua possumus, ope et contentione eniti atque efficere ut fides ac religio ne quid detrimenti capiant apud tot hominum millia, quorum Nobis maxime est commissa salus, in ea praesertim civitate quae christianae rudimenta doctrinae non minus quam politioris initia humanitatis ab Ecclesia catholica accepit. Cumque ea de re plurimi sententiam expectarent a Nobis, ac nosse cuperent qua sibi via, qua agendi ratione utendum, placuit nihil ante statuere, quam Delegatus Noster Apostolicus in rem praesentem venisset: qui, quo res statu essent exquirere diligenter et ad Nos subinde referre iussus, naviter ac fideliter effectum dedit quod mandaveramus.

Causa profecto vertitur permagni momenti ac ponderis. De

eo intelligi volumus, quod septem ante annis legumlatores Provinciae Manitobensis consessu suo de disciplina puerili decrevere : qui scilicet, quod leges Canadensis foederis sanxerant, pueros professione catholica in ludis discendi publicis institui educarique ad conscientiam animi sui ius esse, id ius contraria lege sustulere. Qua lege non exiguum importatum detrimentum. Ubi enim catholica religio aut ignoratione negligitur, aut dedita opera impugnatur : ubi doctrina eius contemnitur, principiaque unde gignitur, repudiantur ; illuc accedere, eruditionis caussa, adolescentulos nostros fas esse non potest. Id sicubi factitari sinit Ecclesia, non nisi aegre ac necessitate sinit, multisque adhibitis cautionibus, quas tamen constat ad pericula declinanda nimium saepe non valere. Similiter ea deterrima omninoque fugienda disciplina, quae, quod quisque malit fide credere, id sine ullo discrimine omne probet et aequo iure habeat, velut si de Deo rebusque divinis rectene sentias an secus, vera an falsa secteris, nihil intersit. Probe nostis, venerabiles Fratres, omnem disciplinam, puerilem, quae sit eiusmodi, Ecclesiae esse iudicio damnatam, quia ad labefactandam integritatem fidei tenerosque puerorum animos a veritate flectendos nihil fieri perniciosius potest.

Aliud est praeterea, de quo facile vel ii assentiantur, qui cetera nobiscum dissident : nimirum non mera institutione litteraria, non solivaga ieiunaque cognitione virtutis posse fieri, ut alumni catholici tales e schola aliquando prodeant, quales patria desiderat atque expectat. Tradenda eis graviora quaedam et maiora sunt, quo possint et christiani boni et cives frugi probique evadere : videlicet informentur ad ipsa illa principia necesse est, quae in eorum conscientia mentis alte insederint, et quibus parere et quae sequi debeant, quia ex fide ac religione sponte efflorescunt. Nulla est enim disciplina morum digna quidem hoc nomine atque efficax, religione posthabita. Nam omnium officiorum forma et vis ab iis officiis maxime ducitur, quae hominem iungunt iubenti, vetanti, bona malaque sancienti Deo. Itaque velle animos bonis imbuere moribus simulque esse sinere religionis expertes tam est absonum, quam vocare ad percipiendam virtutem, virtutis fundamento sublato. Atque catholico homini una atque unica vera est religio catholica : proptereaque nec morum is potest, nec religionis doctrinam ullam accipere vel agnoscere, nisi ex intima sapientia catholica petitam ac depromptam. Ergo iustitia ratioque postulat, ut non mode cognitionem litterarum

alumnis schola suppeditet, verum etiam eam, quam diximus, scientiam morum cum praeceptionibus de religione nostra apte coniunctam, sine qua nedum non fructuosa, sed perniciosa plane omnis futura est institutio. Ex quo illa necessario consequuntur: magistris opus esse catholicis libros ad perlegendum, ad ediscendum non alios, quam quos episcopi probarint, assumendos: liberam esse potestatem oportere constituendi regendique omnem disciplinam, ut cum professione catholici nominis, cumque officiis quae inde profiscuntur, tota ratio docendi discendique apprime congruat atque consentiat. Videre autem de suis quemque liberis, apud quos instituantur, quos habeant vivendi praeceptores, mag-nopere pertinet ad patriam potestatem. Quocirca cum catholici volunt, quod et velle et contendere officium est, ut ad liberorum suorum religionem institutio doctoris accommodetur, iure faciunt. Nec sane iniquius agi cum iis queat, quam si alteratrum malle compellantur, aut rudes et indoctos quos procrearint, adolescere, aut in aperto rerum maximarum discrimine versari.

Ista quidem et iudicandi principia et agendi, quae in veritate iustitiaeque nituntur, nec privatorum tantummodo, sed rerum quoque publicarum continent salutem, nefas est in dubium revocare, aut quoquo modo deserere. Igitur cum puerorum catholicorum institutionem debitam insueta lex in Manitobensi Provincia perculisset, vestri muneris fuit, venerabiles Fratres, illatam iniuriam ac perniciem libera voce refutare: quo quidem officio sic perfuncti singuli estis, ut communis omnium vigilantia ac digna episcopis voluntas eluxerit. Et quamvis hac de re satis unusquisque vestrum sit conscientiae testimonio commendatus, assensum tamen atque approbationem Nostram scitote accedere: sanctissima enim ea sunt quae conservare ac tueri studuistis, studetis.

Ceterum incommoda legis Manitobensis, de qua loquimur, per se ipsa monebant, opportunam sublevationem mali opus esse concordia quaerere. Catholicorum digna caussa erat, pro qua omnes omnium partium aequi bonique cives consiliorum societate summaque conspiratione voluntatum contenderent. Quod, non sine magna iactura, contra factum. Dolendum illud etiam magis, catholicos ipsos Canadenses sententias concorditer, ut oportebat, minime in re tuenda iunxisse, quae omnium interest plurimum: cuius prae magnitudine et pondere silere studia politicarum rationum, quae tanto minoris sunt, necesse erat.

Non sumus necii, emendari aliquid ex ea lege coeptum. Qui

foederatis, civitatibus quique Provinciae cum potestate praesunt, nonnulla iam decrevere minuendorum gratia incommodorum, de quibus expostulare et conqueri catholici ex Manitoba merito insistent. Non est cur dubitemus, susteptum id aequitatis amore fuisse consilioque laudabili. Dissimulari tamen id quod res est, non potest: quam legem ad sarcienda damna condidere, ea manca est, non idonea, non apta. Multo maiora sunt, quae catholici petunt, quaeque eos iure petere, nemo neget. Praeterea in ipsis illis temperamentis, quae excogitata sunt, hoc etiam inest vitii quod, mutatis locorum adiunctis, carere effectu facile possunt. Tota ut res in breve cogatur, iuribus catholicorum educationique puerili nondum est in Manitoba consultum satis: res autem postulat, quod est iustitiae consentaneum, ut omni ex parte consulatur, nimirum in tuto positus debitoque praesidio septis iis omnibus, quae supra attigimus, incommutabilibus augustissimisque principiis. Huc spectandum, hoc studiose et considerate quaerendum. Cui quidem rei nihil obesse potest discordia peius: coniunctio animorum est et quidam quasi concentus actionum pernecessarius. Sed tamen cum perveniendi eo, quo propositum est et esse debet, non certa quaedam ac definita via sit, sed multiplex, ut fere fit in hoc genere rerum, consequitur varias esse posse de agendi ratione honestas easdemque conducibiles sententias. Quamobrem universi et singuli meminerint modestiae, lenitatis, caritatis mutuae: videant ne quid in verecundia peccetur, quam alter alteri debet: quid tempus exigat, quid optimum factu videatur, fraterna unanimitate, non sine consilio vestro, constituent, efficiant.

Ad ipsos ex Manitoba catholicos nominatim quod attinet, futuros aliquando totius voti compotes, Deo adiuvante, confidimus. Quae spes primum sane in ipsa bonitate caussae conquiescit: deinde in virorum, qui res publicas administrant, aequitate ac prudentia, tum denique in Canadensium, quotquot recta sequuntur, honesta voluntate nititur. Interea tamen, quam diu rationes suas vindicare nequeant universas, salvas aliqua ex parte habere ne recusent. Si quid igitur lege, vel usu, vel hominum facilitate quadam tribuatur, quo tolerabiliora damna, ac remotiora pericula fiant, omnino expedit atque utile est concessis uti, fructumque ex iis atque utilitatem quam fieri potest maximam capere. Ubi vero alia nulla mederi ratione incommodis liceat, hortamur atque obsecramus, ut aucta liberalitate munificentiaque pergant occurrere. Non de salute ipsorum sua, nec de prosperi-

tate civitatum mereri melius queant, quam si in scholarum puerilium tuitionem contulerint, quantum sua cuique sinat facultas.

Est et aliud valde dignum, in quo communie, vestra elaboret industria. Scilicet vobis auctoribus, iisque adiuvantibus, qui scholis praesunt, instituere accurate ac sapienter studiorum rationem oportet, potissimumque eniti ut, qui ad docendum accedunt, affatim et naturae et artis praesidiis instructe accedant. Scholas enim catholicorum rectum est cum florentissimis quibusque de cultura ingeniorum, de litterarum laude, posse contendere. Si eruditio, si decus humanitatis quaeritur, honestum sane ac nobile iudicandum Provinciarum Canadensium propositum, augere ac provehere pro viribus expetentium disciplinam institutionis publicam, quo politius quotidie ac perfectius quiddam contingat. Atqui nullum est genus scientiae, nulla elegantia doctrinae, quae non optime possit cum doctrina atque institutione catholica consistere.

Hisce omnibus illustrandis ac tuendis rebus quae haecenus dictae sunt, possunt non parum ii ex catholicis prodesse, quorum opera in scriptione praesertim quotidiana versatur. Sint igitur memores officii sui. Quae vera sunt, quae recta, quae christiano nomini reiue publicae utilia, pro iis religiose animoque magno propugnent: ita tamen ut decorum servent, personis parcant, modum nulla in re transilient. Vereantur ac sancte observent episcoporum auctoritatem, omnemque potestatem legitimam: quanto autem est temporum difficultas maior, quantoque dissensionum praesentius periculum, tanto insistant studiosius suadere sentiendi agendique concordiam, sine qua vix aut ne vix quidem spes est futurum ut id, quod est in optatis omnium nostrum, impetretur.

Auspiciem coelestium munerum benevolentiaeque Nostrae paternae testem accipite Apostolicam benedictionem, quam vobis, venerabiles Fratres, Clero populoque vestro peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die viii Decembris, An. mdcccxcii Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

**SOLUTION OF DOUBTS REGARDING EXTRAORDINARY
CONFESSORS OF NUNS**

DUBIA QUOAD CONFESSARIOS EXTRAORDINARIOS RELIGIOSARUM

Die 1 Februarii 1892.

1. Il favore accordato alle monache di ricorrere ad uno straordinario 'quoties ut propriae conscientiae consulant ad id adigantur' è così illimitato e incondizionato che esse se ne possano servire costantemente senza ricorrere mai al confessore ordinario e senza poter essere sindacate neppure dal Vescovo su questo punto, e da esso in qualche modo impedito se fossero guidate da ragioni biasimevoli e insulse?

2. I confessori aggiunti hanno alcuni doveri di coscienza di rifiutarsi ad ascoltare le confessioni delle suore, quando riconoscono che non esiste un plausibile motivo che le astringa di ricorrere ad essi?

3. Se parecchie suore (e peggio ancora se la maggior parte di esse) ricorressero costantemente a qualcuno dei confessori aggiunti, il Vescovo deve tacere, o intervenire con qualche provvedimento per tutelare la massima sancita nella bolla 'Pastoralis': 'Generaliter statutum esse dignoscitur, ut pro singulis monialium monasteriis unus dumtaxat confessarius deputetur'?

4. E posto che debba intervenire, qual provvedimento potrà legalmente adottare?

Ad I. Negative.

Ad II. Affirmative.

Ad III. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.

Ad IV. Moneat Ordinarius moniales et sorores, de quibus agitur, dispositionem Articuli IV Decreti 'Quemadmodum'¹ exceptionem tantum legi communi constituere, pro casibus dumtaxat verae et absolutae necessitatis, quoties ad id adigantur, firmo remanente quod a S. Concilio Tridentino et a Constitutione s. m. Benedicti XIV incipien. 'Pastoralis Curae' praescriptum habetur.

¹ Decretum hoc relatatum fuit vol. xxiii., 505.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MY LIFE IN TWO HEMISPHERES. By Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. Two vols. 32s. London; T. Fisher Unwin.

THESE two splendid volumes relate the principal events in the life of one of the most remarkable Irishmen of the nineteenth century. They are full of interest from many points of view. Here, however, we are naturally concerned most with those parts of them which deal with the relations of Church to society in our own country and in our own times; for Sir Charles, from his earliest days, was closely connected with ecclesiastics, and took all through his life the deepest interest in the action and government of the Church, and in its influence on the course of public affairs. It is, therefore, not alone to the Church historian of the future, but also to those members of the clergy who desire, at the present day, to influence the world around them, and to be guided in their action by the experience of the past, that these volumes will be found most useful.

We do not say that the author is to be regarded either as a prophet or as a guide; but his views on things ecclesiastical are always worthy of attention. They are the views of a very friendly critic, and of one who, though a Liberal and champion of Liberalism, evidently values the Catholic faith as the most precious gift that any man can possess, and who would be as ready, if the occasion called for it, to sacrifice every earthly interest, as his Northern forefathers were, in order to preserve it intact for himself and others. In his second volume he tells us that he looked up to Montalembert 'as the ideal of what a Catholic gentleman should be, genuinely pious and a strict disciplinarian, but entirely free from religious bigotry or intolerance, the rooted enemy of despotism, and the friend of personal and political liberty everywhere.'

This is clearly not the place to review the history of Liberalism and Conservatism in Church government, or to discuss the merits of the fierce contests that raged in France and elsewhere between the champions of the two great schools. It is sufficient

to note that Duffy is always on the left, but never on the extreme left.

We must refer our readers to the volumes themselves for confirmation of this appreciation of ours; but, in the limited space at our disposal, we wish to emphasize the importance of the autobiography from the point of view of ecclesiastical history. No one can accurately gauge the strength of the forces that were at work in Ireland from 1848 to 1879, who does not read this work. The two ecclesiastics who were most closely associated with Sir Charles, though in very diverse ways, were Dr. Murray of Maynooth, and Canon Doyle of Wexford. There is frequent mention of them in the two volumes.

There are very many other interesting references to matters and persons ecclesiastical—to Cardinal Cullen, Dr. Newman, Father Burke, O.P.; Dr. Moriarty, Dr. O'Hanlon, Canon Doyle, Father O'Shea, &c. We may not always accept the principles of the writer; we may not agree with him in all his appreciations of persons and of things; but we must always recognise in him a Liberal of the very best and highest type, a genuinely religious Catholic, and a man of extraordinary versatility. Perhaps the element that attracts us most in these volumes is the sympathy of the author with art, literature, and science, and the evidence of his intercourse with many of the greatest men of his time in all these departments. This is a feature which he possessed in common with his model, Montalembert, and, indeed, with nearly all the men of the mid-century period who were noted for their high political ideals.

J. F. H.

THE EUCHARISTIC CHRIST. By Rev. A. Tesnière. Translated by Mrs. A. R. Bennett-Gladstone. New York: Benziger Brothers.

IN 1856 a religious society of priests, called the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament,¹ was founded in Paris by Père Eymard. Six years later it obtained the canonical approval of Pius IX., and in 1895, besides the mother house in Paris, there were foundations established in Marseilles, Rome, Brussels, and Montreal. This Congregation, as its name implies, is devoted exclusively to the worship and apostolate of the Blessed Sacra-

¹ See I. E. RECORD, June, 1895.

ment. In their churches there is perpetual exposition; and by sermons, writings, and the organization of Eucharistic associations and congresses, the fathers of the Congregation seek to awaken and propagate devotion to Jesus, hidden under the sacramental veil.

To one of those associations, viz., the Confraternity of Priest-adorers, attention has already been directed in the pages of the I. E. RECORD.¹ We may state here that this aggregation, as it is called, was canonically erected at Rome, on the 16th January, 1887, with the approval of the Pope and the commendation of a large number of archbishops and bishops from different parts of the world. It consists of priests who undertake 'to make every week one continuous hour of adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament, either exposed or shut up in the tabernacle.'² It is scarcely necessary to specify the objects of the Association. Briefly they are—1. To draw the priest nearer to the Eucharist. 2. To form ardent apostles of the love of Jesus for man. 3. To secure the triumph of the Church by united prayer before the tabernacle. 4. To make reparation for the coldness and ingratitude of indifferent Catholics. It is not surprising that an idea at once so beautiful in itself, and so practical from the point of view of personal sanctification and missionary success, should have 'struck a responsive chord.' At present there are over fifty thousand priests enrolled in the Association. Of these, three thousand are in the United States, and nearly three hundred in Ireland, where, it should be added, the devotion has only been a few years established.

'In the interest of this Confraternity [writes Dr. M'Mahon, in his learned preface to the book before us] many works have been published in French. The present, *The Eucharistic Christ*, is the first that has been put into English dress, in the hope that its reflections and pious thoughts may find favour among the American members of the Confraternity.'

We trust they may also find favour among ourselves, and that the circulation of this book will help to propagate a devotion which is peculiarly suited to the needs of our age. Advertise.

¹ See I. E. RECORD, July, 1894.

² This is the principal condition of membership. The Rev. A. Simon, Wilton College, Cork, the Director-General for the United Kingdom, will send full conditions of membership on application, with stamped envelope enclosed.

ment, show, making a noise, are now more than ever in fashion. To see one's name in leaden type as having done, or spoken, or written something suitable, is the ambition of not a few, possibly of not a few whose serene wisdom should have taught them—

‘The ocean deep is mute, while shallows roar.’

In contrast with the brawling ways of man, how fearfully quiet and unobtrusive is the presence of God in His own world. So also remarks the writer of the preface:—

‘May we not also say [he writes] that the Spirit of the Blessed Sacrament, which Father Faber so beautifully shows to be the Spirit of the Holy Infancy, namely, simplicity and hidden life, is directly opposed to the spirit of the age, ever desirous of proclaiming and extolling its various beneficent deeds.’

In one hour of continuous adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament a thoughtful man cannot fail to learn this much, and, if it be not his own fault, he will derive from this exercise such refreshment as the world, with all its food-stuffs, and drink-stuffs, and mind-stuffs, cannot give. We have great pleasure, then, in introducing *The Eucharistic Christ* to the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

The first chapter is introductory, and explains at length the ‘Object and End of the Adoration’:—

‘The adoration has a threefold object, and ought to be considered in a threefold relation. It is, first, our Lord Jesus Christ that it ought to honour beneath the Eucharistic veils; next it is the love of the adorer, which it ought to sanctify; and, lastly, it is our neighbour, which it ought to assist and to help, and especially the Church.’

The second chapter is occupied with the ‘Method of Adoration.’ Taking as a basis the following sentence from St. Thomas, which is a condensed treatise on religion: ‘Homo maxime obligatur Deo propter Majestatem egus, propter beneficia jam accepta, propter offensam, et propter beneficia sperata.’ F. Eymard designed the ‘Method of the Four Ends of Sacrifice.’ The third chapter contains a programme of ‘Acts of the Faculties and of the Virtues in each of the Four Ends;’ so that the adorer is furnished with a scientific and practical method of adoration, which makes it not only possible but easy to occupy the whole hour with appropriate thoughts and affections. But the author has done very much

more. In the succeeding chapters this method is applied to the following subjects, viz. :—‘The Institution of the Eucharist,’ ‘The Fact,’ ‘The Masterpiece of God,’ ‘The Priest,’ ‘The Sacrifice,’ ‘The Eucharist a Memorial of the Passion,’ ‘The Most Holy Body of Jesus,’ ‘The Precious Blood,’ ‘The Heart of Jesus in the Eucharist,’ ‘The Five Wounds,’ ‘The Eucharistic State,’ ‘The Diffusion of the Eucharist,’ ‘The Perpetuity of the Eucharist,’ ‘The Universality of the Eucharist.’

From this brief outline of its contents it will be seen that the book is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it was written. The first chapter will go far to induce the reader to become a member of the association ; the second tells the novice how he is to carry out the principal condition of membership ; while the bulk of the volume may be called, Hours before the Most Holy Sacrament.

So much for the merits of this work. Has it any faults? The style is tolerable ; it might be better ; but it is good enough for any reader, and particularly for anyone who intends to use the book as an aid to devotion. In such a work we look more to substance than to form. From this point of view the only positive fault we noticed is a certain amount of theological vagueness in the discussion of that most profound mystery, viz., the *modus existendi* of Christ in the Eucharist. We read, for instance, in page 50 :—

‘And in this point of consecrated bread, imperceptible, indivisible, . . . Christ continues to be living . . . with His face and its sweet expression, with His Heart whose palpitations our love or our coldness hastens or abates.’

And again on page 95 :—

‘The eyes of Jesus behold us through the holy species ; His ears hearken to our prayers.’

But on page 149 we are told the Eucharistic annihilation is ‘inaction . . . there is neither sensibility nor movement, nor a glance of the eyes.’

We do not deny that those apparently contradictory statements may be true in different senses. We think, however, that an author should avoid the semblance of contradiction, and take care that his expressions leave no confused or false impressions on the minds of his readers. A footnote of reference to Franzelin, which evidently he had at hand, would at least have indicated

to the inquisitive reader a means of discriminating between the author's rhetoric and his theology. We shall discuss the two expressions that seem most contradictory, viz., 'The eyes of Jesus behold us through the holy species,' and, there is neither sensibility . . . nor a glance of the eyes.'

That Jesus sees us in some real way there can, of course, be no doubt. But has Jesus, as He is the Eucharist *formaliter*, the use of His eyes so that He looks at us through the Sacramental Species? It would seem that according to the common teaching of theologians, the mode of Christ's existence in the Eucharist excludes a connatural use of His eternal senses. 'Ex modo existendi inextenso in thesi declarato sequitur. . . . Christum Dominum, formaliter ut in hoc modo existendi sacramentali se constituit non posse *naturali* virtute suae humanitates evercere actus transeuntes in alia corpora, nec posse, spectata solum *naturali* virtute animam Christi agere in proprium corpus sive ad motum sive ad exercitium sensuum externorum.' (Franzelin de SS. Eucheristia Thesis XI.) The italics are Franzelin's, and are meant to convey that vision and hearing are not connatural to the sacramental mode of Christ's existence in the Eucharist. This learned theologian then proceeds to discuss the question whether or not by a *special miracle* the Word communicates such exercise of the senses to His sacred humanity (even as it is *formaliter* in the Eucharist) as befits the end of the sacrament, for instance, seeing and hearing. Here is his answer:—

'Hanc supernaturalem communicationem actuum visionis et auditionis per sensus ipsos Sacratissimi Corporis in statu Sacramentali quamvis communior sententia theologorum non admittat, ut fatetur Card. Cienfuegos amplissimus ejus assertor ac defensor, affirmant tamen S. Bonaventura, Tsambertus et alii non pauci saltem ut probabilem; simpliciter ut veram Lessius, Cornelius a Lapide, Gamacheus, Martinonus, Tannerus; prae caeteris vero . . . Card. Cienfuegos . . . Mihi certe haec sententia non propter diserta testimonia Scripturae et Patrum, quae proferuntur parum efficacia, sed propter ejus connectionem cum dignitate Sacratissimae humanitatis et cum scopo et fine Sacramenti . . . videtur probabilissima et pia; dummodo tamen non ita defendatur, ac si ea non admissa Christus in sacramento non vivens sed instar mortui conceipi deberet.' (Thesis XI.)

What then is to be thought of the expression: 'The eyes

of Jesus behold us through the holy species.'? 1. It is certainly true in this sense that Jesus has the same perceptions in the Eucharist that He has in heaven, and therefore, that nothing is hidden from Him who is present under the Sacramental veil. 2. According to a probable opinion the eyes of Jesus, as they are in the Eucharist, are, by a special miracle, endowed with power of actual vision. The expression, 'there is no glance of the eye,' is true in this sense, that the eyes of Jesus as they are in the Eucharist, are by the nature of the Eucharistic state destitute of actual vision, although, according to the probable opinion just mentioned, there is 'a glance of the eye' by a special miracle. It is beside my purpose to discuss the probability of this special miracle, as I have had in view only to reconcile our author's apparent contradictions. Sound theology, however, should be the basis of all devotion, and it is hard to say which is the greater misfortune; that theologians don't do more writing of spiritual books, or that spiritual writers too often try to improve on theology.

T. P. G.

SOME OF THE FRUITS OF FIFTY YEARS: ANNALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN VICTORIA. By the Most Rev. Thos. J. Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne. Melbourne: Massina & Co.

Some of the Fruits of Fifty Years is a happy alternative title of this quarto volume of ninety pages, which is more officially styled the *Annals of the Catholic Church in Victoria*. Those fruits are not merely recorded, but are rendered visible to the eye through the medium of finely executed illustrations of all the varied ecclesiastical buildings of Victoria. The Most Rev. Author's design in compiling this work was, it appears, twofold: (1) to commemorate the consecration of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, which took place on the 31st October, 1897; and (2) 'to preserve to distant generations a knowledge of the early history of missions, churches, schools, and religious houses, which if not now carefully compiled would, in great part, be lost for ever.' Judged by the illustrations alone which adorn the book, it must at once be confessed, that the material progress of the Catholic Church in Victoria is simply marvellous. Fifty years ago, Dr. Goold was appointed first Bishop of Melbourne, with

jurisdiction over the whole of Victoria. At that date there were only some six thousand Catholics in the whole Colony which was alike destitute of churches and schools. To-day this Colony forms an ecclesiastical province containing four bishoprics, namely, the archiepiscopal see of Melbourne, and the dioceses of Ballarat, Sandhurst, and Sale, each of which is equipped with churches, presbyteries, monasteries, and schools. Standing apart by reason of its style, position, and dimensions, is St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne. It was commenced in 1858, and its consecration last October, in the presence of the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, the Governor of the Colony, the Australasian bishops, and an immense concourse of all creeds and classes, synchronized with the Golden Jubilee of the diocese of Melbourne. It occupies an enviable position on the Eastern Hill. Some idea of its splendour may be obtained from the following details :—

‘Length along nave and sanctuary, 340 feet ; length along transepts, 185 feet. Width across nave and aisles, 82 feet ; width across transepts and aisles, 82 feet. The height of nave and transepts is 95 feet ; of the central tower, 260 feet, and of each of the front flanking towers, 203 feet. The dignity of the building externally is enhanced by the flying buttresses and the carved pinnacles. The whole building is lit with electric light. The carrying of the aisles along the sides of the transepts is another important feature, providing as it does, along with the chapels and arcaded sanctuary, imposing vistas and an air of dignity and mystery. The style is a late form of early English Gothic or decorated. The total area of the Cathedral is 35,000 square feet. The expenditure so far has amounted to £200,000.’

We have transcribed those items from the detailed description contained in the work which want of space compels us to omit. It is a pity the publishers did not contrive to give us some views of the interior of this noble minster, but we feel it is ungracious to make even so slight an adverse comment on a volume, the artistic workmanship of which is, on the whole, sumptuous and splendid.

Need we add, that the matter, which is both well ordered and detailed, is most interesting as affording an insight into the growth of the Church in the fairest province of Australia.

T. P. G.

COMMENTARIUS DE JUDICIO SACRAMENTALI. Joannis Baptistae Pighi, S. Theol. Doct. Ad Frutuinam vocatus a G. M. Van Rossum C.S.S.R., S. Off. Cons. Editio altera.

THE first edition of this work appeared in August. In less than a month a new edition was called for. This is not surprising when we consider the importance of the matter. The occasion of the work was the *Commentarius* of Professor Pighi, which treated especially of *Occasionarii* and *Recidivi*. He dedicated his work to St. Alphonsus, and professed to follow his teaching. Father Van Rossum, therefore, as he tells us, expected to find 'Salutarem S. Doctoris in re tanti momenti doctrinam fideliter expositam et expugnatam' (p. 7). But he says: 'Quo magis in legendo progrediebar, eo magis auctorem deflectere animadvertēbam a prudentissima S. Alphonsi doctrina' (p. 7). While, therefore, declaring that the author was free to propose his own opinions, he thinks it unfair to give them to his readers as those of St. Alphonsus. 'Hanc,' says Father Van Rossum, 'monstrabo doctrinam cl. Professoris Pighi a saluberrimis S. Alphonsi praeceptis omnino alienam; simulque propriis S. Doctoris verbis quid ipse de occasionariis et recidivis doceat exponam' (p. 9). This work, as a clear exposition in a few pages of the teaching of St. Alphonsus, is of permanent utility, apart from the occasion which called it forth. It gives, moreover, the teaching of our best guides in those important matters.

We learn from words addressed to Benevole Lector (p. 5), that Professor Pighi published an Appendix in Italian, in which he answers the *Ad Frutuinam* as to the more important points. This new edition deals with these, each in its proper place.

As to the form and order, the author gives the first chapter to 'Quo loco cl. Pighi S. Doctoris Alphonsi auctoritatem, atque doctrinam habeat.' Here, and indeed everywhere, he seems to us to cite Professor Pighi fully and fairly. 'Probe animadvertatur,' says St. Alphonsus, 'poenitentium salutem maxima ex parte dependere a bona agendi ratione confessoriorum in danda aut differenda absolute occasione occasionariis et recidivis.' Here we have indicated the matter of the second and third chapters: *De Occasionariis* et *De Recidivis*. The matter is too important to attempt an analysis; but we cannot help thinking that the languor in faith, and feebleness in dispositions with which

Professor Pighi seems to credit his countrymen, must be confined to the great centres of population ; and even in these, can we believe that they are general? At home we have rarely to deplore such a state of things, and we are thankful that our people are well able to bear the remedies that are either necessary or useful for the cure of evil habits. We quite agree with Father Van Rossum that it would be fatal to make a rule of that which should be an exception. We willingly subscribe to the concluding words of No. 80, p. 150 :—

‘ Deinde ex eo quod plures hodieum inveniuntur, quibus absolutio differenda non sit, non ideo cum omnibus poenitentibus eadem ratione est agendum. Quod fides languet apud multos non ideo languet apud omnes ; quod languet in magnis civitatibus, non ideo languet in omnibus urbibus ; quod languet in urbe non ideo ruri languet ; quod languet in quibusdam regionibus, non ideo languet ubique terrarum. Propterea magna prudentia, discretionem et circumspectionem opus est, ne exceptiones in regulam mutentur, ne ea, quae in extremis sunt tentanda, in ordinario verum statu adhibeantur, ne cum omnibus ubique indiscriminatim agatur, acsi ubique et apud omnes fides languet. Nihil enim efficacius fidem everteret et morum corruptelam praecipitaret innumerarumque produceret animarum ruinam.’

We have been informed by the author of this work that owing to the difficulty of procuring it outside Italy, it will be sent to any priest in England, Ireland, or Australia, and may be paid for by means of a shilling postal order addressed V. R.—S. Alfonso, via Merulana, Roma.

J. M.



THE CONVENTION OF DROM-CEAT

A.D. 590

I. THE SITE OF THE CONVENTION

WITH truth has it often been said that the history and the scenery of our country share a similar neglect, and that both are permitted to remain unnoticed and uncared for, unless when the sneer of a Thackeray, or the calumny of a Froude, draws attention to the one or the other. It cannot be denied that there are in our land beauties of mountain, lake, and valley, which, were they found in Switzerland or in Italy, instead of in Ireland, would be famed throughout the world. 'The cold chain of silence' which thus hangs over our scenery, exerts an equally baneful influence over the most interesting episodes of our history, such as to the writer of ancient Greece or Rome would have furnished fit subjects for the display of eloquent narrative, or glowing declamation. It is true that at times our annals are defective, and that the critical writer hesitates to accept as facts what at best may only prove to be probable conjectures; still, had Livy, and Sallust, and Plutarch carried out that rule, where now would be the thrilling eloquence and touching biographies of pagan times? But, without wandering into the region of conjecture, we have more than enough of interesting material to engage the pen of the

essayist in the authentic and well-substantiated facts of our national history. Of these not the least inviting theme, and, as it seems to us, not the least important, is the Convention of Drom-Ceat, held, according to the best authorities, in the year 590.¹

On the eastern shore of the Foyle, by the scanty stream of the deep-channelled Roe, near the modern town of Limavady, in the present county of Londonderry, is the site of this famous convention. It is a spot which the pen of Macaulay would have gloried to depict. Scenes of sylvan beauty spread everywhere around. Wood and water, mountain and glade, smiling villas and lordly demesnes fill up a picture of no ordinary magnificence. And, as might be expected, it is as interesting in its historical, as it is in its natural aspect. The entire locality is teeming with reminiscences of the past, which even the Ulster Plantation was not able to destroy. Saints have hallowed this soil by their labours; some, like Canice, have shed a lustre upon it by their birth; others, like Neachtain of Dungiven, Muireadach O'Heney of Banagher, and Cadan of Magilligan (nephew of St. Patrick), have either founded churches in the vicinity, or sought a final resting-place by the slopes of the adjacent mountains. Princes and warriors have fought for the suzerainty of the rich champagne country around. In his castle by the Roe did O'Cahan dispense hospitality in a truly Irish fashion, till that honoured name was stained by the treason of Donald Ballagh, who became the foul instrument of treachery in the unscrupulous hands of Chichester and Montgomery—the latter of whom, with a zeal not altogether apostolic, grasped the mitre and the revenues of the united sees of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe. But neither natural beauty, nor historical recollections, no matter how interesting, have contributed to render the spot so memorable as did the remarkable assembly convoked by Ædh MacAinmire, the powerful king of Ireland,

¹ Different dates have been assigned for this Convention, but we have adopted the year 590 because it seems supported by the best authorities. Dr. Reeves, in Colton's *Visitatio*, gives this date, but in his *Adamnan* he seems to incline to the year 574 as the proper date.

and which was honoured by the presence of Columba, the great father of western monasticism, and apostle of the northern isles of Scotland. It may seem strange that the site of so remarkable an event should now be a matter of conjecture; but such is the case not only regarding this spot, but also regarding other equally memorable places in the north of Ireland.

Dr. Reeves, and after him Dr. O'Donovan, fixed upon the Mullagh, or Daisy Hill, in Roe Park, beside Limavady, as the site of the Convention; but we trust to give reasons sufficiently satisfactory for differing from authorities usually so reliable. It is worthy of remark that the Four Masters make no mention whatever of this Convention, though it is referred to by Adamnan, and all the ancient annalists, with whose writings they must have been familiar; but O'Donovan in a footnote to the Annals, under the year 575, speaks of the assembly, and names the Mullagh as the place where it was held. In Colton's *Visitation*, under the word 'Drumachose,' n., p. 132, Dr. Reeves thus writes:—

Independently of its connection with St. Caineach, this parish is distinguished as having been the scene of the celebrated convention called Mordail-Droma-Ceat, which was held in the year 590, for the purpose of deciding the Dalriadic controversy, at which St. Columbcille was present. Adamnan styles it 'Regum in Dorso-cette Condictum.'

O'Donnell has preserved for us this clue to its position [we quote from Colgan's Latin version of O'Donnell as given by Dr. Reeves]. 'Columba, after sailing across the aforementioned river [that is Lough Foyle], at the part where it is broadest, turned the prow of his vessel to the river Roe, which flows into the aforesaid river, and the vessel of the holy man glided, with the divine assistance, up this stream, though from the scantiness of its waters it is otherwise unnavigable. But the place in which the boat was then anchored, thenceforth from that circumstance called Cabhan-an-Churaidh, i.e. "the hill of the boat," is very near Drumceat. After making a moderate delay at that place, the holy man, with his venerable retinue, set out to that charming, gently-sloping hill, commonly called Drumceat.

'Columba memoratum euripum [i.e. Loch Feabhail] qua longe patet, emensus, navigii cursus dirigi fecit per Roam amnem, in predictum euripum decurrentem; quem fluvium, quamquam aquarum inopia alias innavigabilem, navis sancti viri divina virtute percurrit. Locus autem in quo navicula subinde stetit,

deinceps ab eventu Cabhan an Churaidh, id est, collis cymbæ appellatus, Druimchettæ pervicinus est. Cæterum modica eo loci mora contracta, Vir Sanctus cum sua veneranda comitiva contendit ad per amænenum illum collem, leniter acclivem, vulgo Druimchett vocatum.¹

Though at present [continues Dr. Reeves] there are no local traditions to help in the identification of the spot, it was well known in Colgan's time, who writes: 'To-day and for ever venerable, especially on account of the many pilgrimages, and the public procession of the Blessed Sacrament, which on the festival of All Saints is there annually made with an immense concourse from all the neighbouring districts in memory of the aforesaid synod there celebrated.' 'Hodie et semper venerabilis, maxime ob multas peregrinationes et publicam Theophoriam, quæ in festo omnium sanctorum in prædictæ synodi memoriam ibidem celebratæ in eo quottannis fit, cum summo omnium vicinarum partium accursu' (Act. SS. p. 204, n. 13). The hill called 'the Keady,' which commences about two miles out of Newtown-limavady, might be supposed, from the apparent similarity of the name, to be the spot, but there can be little doubt that the artificial mound in Roe Park, called 'The Mullagh,' and sometimes 'the Daisy Hill,' is the real Drumceatt. It is situate in a meadow, at a little distance from the house, on the N.W.; it rises to the height of about twenty feet, and measures about one hundred and ninety by one hundred and seventy feet. The prospect from it is exceedingly extensive and varied, commanding a view of Magilligan, with its Benyevenagh, Aghanloo, Drumachose, Tamlaght-Finlagan, and part of Innishowen. There is no local tradition about the spot, except that it is reckoned 'gentle,' and that it is unlucky to cut the sod. The truth is, the effects of the Plantation have utterly effaced all the old associations of the place.²

We have thought it but just to Dr. Reeves to give his note *in extenso*, inserting at the same time the translation of the two Latin quotations for the benefit of non-classical readers of the I. E. RECORD, that our reasons for differing from him may be the more immediately and clearly understood. We believe the site of the Convention to have been a small hill on the opposite side of the Roe from the Mullagh; and we believe, moreover, that the Keady derives its name from, and is only a modernized form

¹ iii. 4, *Tr. Th.* p., 431.

² Colton's *Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves. Note under the parish of Drumachose.

of the latter part of the word Drum-Ceatta. The initial C in Irish words being pronounced hard like the letter K would give us the word as if written Keatta, precisely similar in sound, and not very different in spelling from the modern Keady. The river Roe at this particular part may be said to run east and west, and the bank on either side may be correctly enough termed northern and southern. This will assist the reader to some extent in understanding the relative position of the hills for which claim is made for being the Drumceat of history. On the southern bank of the river is the Mullagh; about a quarter of a mile farther up the stream than where it passes the Mullagh, the river is engaged among rocks; so it may be assumed, for certain, that the hill of the Convention, on whatever side of the river it lies, cannot be farther up than the Mullagh; *i.e.*, we are to look for it somewhere near the Roe, and between the Mullagh and the mouth of the Roe. There are numerous hills on both sides of the river, and to select out one of them appears to be, to some extent, a question of probabilities. The hill required, probably is a remarkable one; so is the Mullagh. This seems to be the sole reason and sum total of its claims. Dr. Reeves, in a letter to the present writer, in 1876, stated that: 'when he first saw the Mullagh, he fixed on it as the site of the Convention,' without apparently any reason beyond conjecture, and Dr. O'Donovan adopted his view without further inquiry. This is the sole reason for the Mullagh being selected in preference to any of the other adjoining hills. The name Mullagh, however, is much against it:—1. Because a Mullagh cannot be a Drium. 2. As Drumceat was a well-known place, the Irish-speaking people would never have changed its name into the commonplace appellation Mullagh. No doubt the Irish traditions and language have now died out in the district, but they had not died out when this name was given to it.

A little farther down the river, on the same southern bank, is a ridge called Drumbally-Donaghey. Donaghey, if it be not a family name, might retain traces of Donagh (*i.e.* Dominica), and, therefore of the religious functions that used to be celebrated there. Near to Drumbally-Donaghey is

a pool in the river called 'the boat-hole,' which might be supposed to correspond with Cabhan-an-Churaidh, but it is a place where a boat usually was, and even now is occasionally kept; so no argument can be drawn from this in favour of Drumbally-Donaghey. Nor does there seem to be any reason for selecting any other of the ridges on the same side of the river.

On the north side of the stream, and just opposite the Mullagh, is a hill whose form attracts attention whether you view it when descending the river, that is, coming from Dungiven to Limavady, or ascending by the same road which runs along the southern bank of the river. The name of the hill is Enagh. Enagh is the Irish name still for a fair. In earlier times it meant a gathering for political purposes, and in later times an assembly for religious purposes.¹ The name, therefore, suggests that this was the hill so well known in Colgan's time, which, he says, is

To-day and for ever venerable, especially on account of the many pilgrimages, and the public religious ceremonies [Theophoriam], which, on the festival of All Saints, in memory of the aforesaid synod there celebrated, is there annually made, with an immense concourse from all the neighbouring districts.

Drumceat (*i.e.*, the drum or ridge of the pleasant swelling ground), being a commonplace appellation, would easily give way in the lapse of time to the name Enagh. If you stand on Enagh, you have the most beautiful view in the valley of the Roe. Looking northwards you have Lough Foyle sweeping from Innishowen Head round the lovely shores of Greencastle, Moville, and Iskaheen, and bounded from this point of view by the range of hills which culminate in the ruined-crowned summit of Greman, once known as 'Aileach of the Kings.'

Still looking north, but on this side of the Foyle, you see to your right the lowlands of Myroe, and Magilligan rising by swelling ridges like mimic Sierras, till they mount into the grand romantic ranges of Beneyevenagh, and the Keady. In fact, you find you are standing on a somewhat insulated

¹ See Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*.

ridge, which rears itself up one hundred and sixty feet high, in a valley stretching north and south, its narrowest part being that in which you stand, whilst before you it spreads out into the lowlands of Lough Foyle shores, and on the south it widens out in the direction of Dungiven, only turning more to the west. If you examine the rising swells just near you, you will see the ruins of Drumachose, St. Canice's Church, crowning one of them; whilst turning and looking up the south opening of the valley, you could, were it not for the intervening groves, see the ruins of Tamlaght Finlagan, St. Finloch's Church. The Roe, however, runs between the two, but there is a very shallow ford just in the line between them. It is probable that a hill would be selected, convenient for the clergy of both churches, and also on the side nearest to the more important church—the 'Magna Ecclesia de Ro;' and, we might also add, on the side nearest the county Antrim, for the convenience of those coming thence to the Convention. On what we have designated the north bank of the river—the side opposite to the Mullagh—there is an insulated rock like a huge mile-stone or finger-post marking out Enagh, and called the 'Boat Rock.' It is the first you meet on either side when passing up the river from the Foyle. There is no other, indeed, for nearly half a mile further up, where the gorges of the river commence abruptly.

This particular spot is such as would just invite a boat's crew to land. The juxtaposition of this rock to Enagh (and from this point the hill looks most picturesque), and its being on the same side of the river with it, weigh much with us in deciding in favour of Enagh, not only as against the Mullagh, but against any other of the hills that rise along the river. The proximity of Enagh to the Keady (not the hill, but the townland of that name) seems to us also an argument in favour of our theory. It is probable that what we know did occur in many other cases occurred also in this, viz., that the name Keady, which is now confined to one townland, once extended over the whole district, and that the district got that name, perhaps, from this very hill. When a large townland was divided into two or three smaller

ones, the smaller got what we may term surnames. By degrees the later, or distinctive name, alone was preserved, while the original name clung to one of the divisions, and to that one because the original possessor may have retained it for himself. Colgan's description suggests to the mind that the hill was not *juxta*, but some little distance from the Roe. It was 'pervicinus,' *i.e.* quite near. The venerable man, he tells us, made a slight delay at the place where he landed, and then 'went to the assembly.' All the other hills are either too near or too remote to answer this description. The Mullagh is almost on the brink of the river. The appearance of Enagh is such as, from most points of view, would suggest to a Latin writer the derivation for Drumceat of *Dorsum Cete*, *i.e.* the back of a whale. No other hill around would suggest the same. Enagh agrees in every respect with the description of Drumceat. It is a 'collis,' for it is insulated; and it is at the same time a 'drum' or ridge. A 'drum' is a backbone; a spur that a mountain sends out, but more prolonged, and more easy of slope on its flanks than what we ordinarily mean when we speak of the spur of a mountain, and projecting also from a lower elevation of the mountain. It is not easy to find a place which one person could with propriety call a *drum*, and another with equal propriety term a *collis*; but it seems to us that both designations are applicable to Enagh, and to no other of the hills around. It is 'peramænus' whether considered in its own aspect, or in the delightful prospect it affords. It is 'leniter acclivis,' which none of the other hills are, and certainly not the Mullagh. These are the principal arguments that lead us to adopt Enagh in preference to the Mullagh, and though there may be but a balance of probabilities in favour of our theory, still the Mullagh seems to us entirely out of competition for claiming the ancient title of Drumceat. The most that can be said of it is, that it is a remarkable hill near the Roe, and when we have said this, we have repeated all that can be said about it.

An interesting tradition in favour of Enagh signifying a fair, and of a fair having been held there till the

time of Donald Ballagh O'Cahan at least, may be worth preserving in this place. The tradition was received from Mr. John O'Connor, a native of the locality, who died fifteen years ago at a very advanced age, and who was regarded as a depository of all the authentic traditions of the district.

On one occasion O'Cahan, then lord of the territory, mounted on a superb horse, and accompanied by his daughters all on horse-back, visited the fair which was being held at Enagh. As he entered the place a beggarman solicited him for an alms. O'Cahan answered him only with a lash of his riding-whip. The beggarman drew himself up to his full height, and, gazing fixedly at the cruel and haughty chieftain, pronounced, in tones that struck terror into the listening crowd :—

'Gar cnoc gan aonac,
Gar Ciannac gan eac.'

Which literally translated means :—

Soon the hill without fair,
Soon Cahan without horse.

Whether the words were uttered as a prophecy or a curse, their quick and unexpected fulfilment impressed them indelibly on the minds of the hearers, and made them be handed down from generation to generation. Enagh then means a fair, in this instance, just as it meant a place of religious assembly in Colgan's time.

To sum up the arguments in favour of Enagh, we say, that after the Müllagh—(1) Enagh is at least the most remarkable hill; (2) from its situation the hill likely to be chosen for the assembly; (3) answering perfectly to the description of Drumceat; (4) retaining (by its neighbourhood) traces of the name; (5) by its name indicating a place of religious concourse; (6) on the same side of the river, with and near to a remarkable rock standing up out of the bank, and called the 'Boat Rock,' with no reason that we can now see for prefixing the term 'boat' to it; (7) and lastly, affording space on its summit for the royal pavilions and tents, which O'Donnell tells us were scattered over the hill in the manner of military camps. On the top of the Mullagh there is no space for the like; Enagh, at least, is required for this. So much then for the site of this

famous Convention, a convention which left its mark not only on that, but also on subsequent ages, and which did so much for the consolidation and improvement of our ancient code of laws. We shall now see what were the principal objects of this great national assembly.

II. OBJECT AND RESULTS OF THE CONVENTION

In his *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*,¹ Eugene O'Curry sets forth in brief terms the principal objects for which this great parliament was held at Drumceat:—

The meeting at Drom Ceata [says he] was the last great occasion on which the laws and general system of education were revised. It took place in the year 590, in the reign of that Aedh the son of Ainmire, whose resistance to the impudent demands of the profession of poets, I had occasion to refer to in the last Lecture. Very soon after the refusal of the king to submit to the threats of satire on the part of the poets, and the consequences then supposed to follow from poetical incantations, he happened to be involved in two important political disputes. One of these was touching the case of Scanlan Mor, king of Ossory, who had unjustly been made a prisoner by the monarch some time before, and kept in long and cruel confinement; the other concerning the right to the tributes and military service of the Dalriadian Gædhelic colony of Scotland, to which king Aedh laid a claim that was resisted by Aedan Mac Gabhrain, the king of that country. For the more ample discussion of these weighty matters Aedh convened a meeting of the states of the nation at Drom-Ceata [a spot now called Daisy Hill, near Newtownlimivady, in the modern county of Derry]; which meeting took place, according to O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, in the year 574.

This great meeting was attended by all the provincial kings, and by all the chiefs and nobles of the island; and Aedh invited over from Iona the great patron of his race, St. Colum Cillé, to have the benefit of his wise counsels in the discussion, not only concerning the special objects for which the meeting was first intended, but many others of social and political importance. And so it happened that at this meeting the affairs of the poets and the profession of teaching were also discussed.

It was solemnly resolved at this meeting that the general

¹ Vol. ii., Lect. iv.

system of education should be revised, and placed upon a more solid and orderly foundation; and to this end the following scheme [according to Keating] was proposed and adopted.

Then follows the scheme referred to.

That St. Columb was not invited by King Aedh to this meeting is quite certain, and O'Curry corrects his mistake on this point in a subsequent lecture. 'St. Columcille having heard of this meeting and its objects,' says he, 'and being a great patron of literature, came over from his island home at I, or Iona, whither he had retired from the world to appease the king and the people, and quite unexpectedly appeared at the meeting. The poets at this time, with Dallan Forgaill as their chief, were collected in all their numbers in the vicinity of the hill of meeting, anxiously awaiting their fate; but their anxiety was soon relieved, as their able advocate had so much influence with the monarch and his people to procure a satisfactory termination to the misunderstanding between them and the priests.'¹ It was on this occasion that Dallan Forgaill, chief of the Bards, composed the famous poem in praise of the saint, entitled 'Ambra Chollium Chille,' or 'The Praises of Columb of the Church.' This poem is still in existence, and is constantly referred to by O'Curry in his lectures as one of the most beautiful specimens of ancient Irish poetry.

St. Columba's arrival at the meeting seems to have been an unpleasant surprise to King Aedh and his household. The king well knew the powerful influence of the saint, and naturally feared his opposition; but as he was his own near relative, and had come in the interests of peace, he could not do otherwise than treat the holy Abbot with at least outward reverence. Not so, however, his spouse. Filled with jealousy at the veneration manifested toward St. Columb and his followers, she secretly ordered her son Connall to insult and maltreat them, an order which he only too faithfully executed. In the old Irish Life of St. Columba, translated by Mr. W. M. Hennessey, and printed as an

¹ Vol. iii., Lect. xxxi.

appendix to the second volume of Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, the story is thus narrated :—

They afterwards saw Colum Cillé going towards the convention, and the assembly that was nearest to him was the assembly of Conall, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire; and he was a worthy son of Aedh. As Conall saw them, therefore, he incited the rabble of the assembly against them, so that threescore men of them were captured and wounded. Colum Cillé inquired, 'Who is he by whom this band has been launched against us?' And it was told to him that it was by Conall. And Colum Cillé cursed Conall, until thrice nine bells were rung against him, when some man said, 'Conall gets bells [cloga],' and it is from this that he is called 'Conall Clogach.' And the cleric deprived him of kingship, and of his reason and intellect in the space of time that he would be prostrating his body.

Colum Cillé went afterwards to the assembly of Domhnall, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, and Domhnall immediately rose up before him and bade him welcome, and kissed his cheek, and put him in his own place. And the cleric left him many blessings, viz., that he should be fifty years in the sovereignty of Eria, and be battle-victorious during that time, and that every word he would say would be fulfilled by him; that he would be one year and a half in the illness of which he would die, and would receive the body of Christ every Sunday during that time.

Of course the story would not be complete without a little more cursing on the part of the saint, for his ancient biographers are always crediting him with most extraordinary maledictory powers. The queen, it seems, was indignant at seeing her son Conall driven mad and deprived of the right to the throne, and Domhnall, who was only her stepson, appointed in his place. In her wrath she nicknamed the saint, calling him 'a crane' on account of his tall stature and emaciated form. Colum Cillé retorted:—

'Thou hast leave to be a crane,'
Said the cleric furiously.
'As just punishment to thy handmaid,
She'll be a crane along with thee.'
Aedh's wife and her waiting-maid,
Were turned into herons.
They live still, and make complaints,
The two old herons of Drúim-Ceata.

Notwithstanding the immortality promised these lady-herons, their place, alas! knows them no more. The waters

of the Roe no longer re-echo their sad lamentations; the loneliness of Dromceat is no longer disturbed by their pensive wailings. We think they must have died.

It is not easy to explain this practice of the old Irish biographers of the saint, representing him as uttering maledictions so frequently, except we understand them as using the figure oxymoron to a very large extent. The very name he bears was given him by his young companions from the dove-like gentleness of his disposition, and indicated the very opposite of what his mistaken biographers attributed to him.

One of the objects for which this assembly was convened [says Dr. Reeves] was to determine the jurisdiction of the Albanian Dalriada. The question at issue is variously stated. O'Donnellus would have it that Aiden laid claim to the sovereignty of the Irish Dalriada, and required that it should be exempt from the rule of the Irish monarch. Keating and O'Flaherty, on the other hand, state that the dispute arose from the demand of Aidus, the Irish king, to receive tribute from the Albanian prince as from the governor of a colony. They agree, however, as to the decision, which was that the Irish Dalriada should continue under the dominion of the king of Ireland, and that the sister kingdom should be independent, subject to the understanding that either power should be prepared, when called upon, to assist the other in virtue of their national affinity.¹

It appears pretty clear that the Irish colony which had gone to Scotland from that part of Antrim called Dalriada (which corresponds, we believe, with the modern district of the Route), were still subject for many years to the Irish monarchy, just as the American colonies were subject afterwards to the British crown; but, when grown strong enough to throw off the yoke, they determined to assert their independence. They refused to be any longer tributary; and Aedh, the Irish king, feeling the loss to his treasury, as well as to his prestige, arising from this policy of independence, resolved to fix upon them irrevocably the law of subjection. This was the first object he had in view in summoning the national parliament of Drumceat. We may here remark in passing that Aedh selected this place for the meeting because

¹ *Antiquities of Down and Connor*, Appendix, pp. 321-322.

it was within his patrimonial territory, where he was surrounded by friends and faithful clansmen, and where he was more secure than he would be at the palace of Tara. Some give him credit for wishing to accommodate his Scotch friends by selecting a locality convenient for them ; but there seems to be no foundation for this surmise.

The Dalriadian question first, and the total suppression of the bards next, were the points to be laid before the assembly at its opening.

The bards had become at this time simply intolerable. Their exactions were impoverishing the people, and their insolence had gone so far as to demand from the king the Royal Brooch, which was the most highly-prized and sacred heirloom of the royal family. We may form some idea of their numbers when we learn that in Meath and Ulster alone they exceeded at this time one thousand two hundred. Twice during his reign before this had Aedh banished them from the precincts of the palace, and they were obliged to take refuge in Ulidia, a little principality corresponding to the present county Down. Now, however, he was determined to utterly exterminate them. To give some idea of the mode in which the bards lived upon the people and oppressed them, and the reason why Aedh was maddened into adopting means to suppress the order, we will transcribe from O'Curry a brief sketch of the circumstances:—

At this time [says he] the Fileadh, or poets, it would appear, became more troublesome and importunate than ever. A singular custom is recorded to have prevailed among their profession from a very early period. They were in the habit of travelling through the country, as I have already mentioned, in groups or companies, composed of teachers and pupils, under a single teacher or master. In these progresses, when they came to a house, the first man of them that entered began to chant the first verse of a poem, the last man of the party responded to him, and so the whole poem was sung, each taking a part in that order. Now each company of poets had a silver pot, which was called Coiré Sainnté, literally the Pot of Avarice, every pot having nine chains of bronze attached to it by golden hooks, and it was suspended from the points of the spears of nine of the company, which were thrust through the links at the other ends of the chains. The reason—according

to the account of this custom preserved in the *Leabhar Mór Duna Doighré*, called the *Leabhar Bréac* [R.I.A.]—that the pot was called the ‘Pot of Avarice,’ was, because that it was into it that whatever of gold or silver they received was put; and whilst the poem was being chanted, the best nine musicians in the company played music around the pot. This custom was, no doubt, very picturesque, but the actors in it were capable of showing themselves in two different characters, according to the result of their application. If their Pot of Avarice received the approbation of the man of the house in gold or silver, a laudatory poem was written for him; but if he did not, he was satirized in the most virulent terms that a copious and highly-expressive language could supply.

Now, so confident always were the poets in the influence which their satirical powers had over the actions of the people of all classes, that, in the year of our Lord 590, a company of them waited on the monarch Aedh [or Hugh] son of Ainmiré, and threatened to satirize him if he did not give them the *Roth Croi* itself—the Royal Brooch—which from the remotest times descended from monarch to monarch of Erin, and which is recorded to have been worn as the chief distinctive emblem of the legitimate sovereign. Aedh [Hugh], however, had not only the moral courage to refuse so audacious a demand, but in his indignation he even ordered the banishment of the whole profession out of the country; and, in compliance with this order, they collected in great numbers into Ulidia once more where they again received a temporary asylum.¹

The question, then, of the bards formed the second great subject which the Convention had to discuss; and the third important motion to be brought before the assembly was the unjust imprisonment of Scanlan Mor, son of the king of Ossory. These were not, of course, the only points to be settled. The whole laws of the kingdom were to be revised and reduced to form, and regulations were to be made to provide for the education of the people, and to secure for the professors in the different learned branches a suitable maintenance. Considering the century in which these measures were adopted, and their influence on after generations, it will not seem wonderful that our country acquired at an early date the proud title of ‘*Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*.’ Hence King Alfred, about a century after this

¹ *Manners and Customs*, &c., vol. ii., lect. iii.

parliament, in a poem composed during his banishment in Ireland, thus wrote :—

I found in each great church,
Whether internal on shore or island,
Learning, wisdom, devotion to God,
Holy welcome and protection.

To St. Columb's defence of the bards at Drumceat may be justly give the credit of that learning which in after years made Ireland the lamp of Europe, and her sons the great evangelists of science and literature in the various lands of the Continent. On Columb's arrival at the council, king Aedh proposed to leave to his decision the vexed question of the Dalriadic tribute, but the saint modestly declined the honour, thereby reserving to himself the greater liberty of speech afterwards in opposing what he considered an unjust imposition. Colman, the saintly bishop of Dromore, was then called on to expatiate on the question at issue, and to defend the policy of the Irish monarch. He had been specially chosen by the clergy as their spokesman, and an abler at the time did not exist in the Irish Church. But the lustre of his eloquence paled before the more brilliant powers of Iona's abbot. The fate of a rising colony, and the very existence of the bardic order hung in the balance, and the side to which the scale would now incline depended on the great apostle of Scotland. He was no ordinary man in any sense of the word. 'Angelic in appearance, elegant in address, holy in work, with talents of the highest order, and consummate wisdom,'¹ he was well calculated to sway the councils of princes and prelates, many of whom were of his own kith and kin.

Both nature and education [says T. D. Magee] had well fitted Columbkil to the great task of adding another realm to the empire of Christendom. His princely birth gave him power over his own proud kindred ; his golden eloquence and glowing verse—the fragments of which still move and delight the Gaelic scholar—gave him fame and weight in the Christian schools which had suddenly sprung up in every glen and island. As prince, he stood on equal terms with princes ; as poet, he was

¹ Adamnan, 2nd Preface.

affiliated to that all-powerful bardic order, before whose awful anger kings trembled, and warriors succumbed in superstitious dread. A spotless soul, a disciplined body, an industry that never wearied, a courage that never blanched, a sweetness and courtesy that won all hearts, a tenderness for others that contrasted strongly with his rigour towards himself—these were the secrets of success of this eminent missionary—these were the miracles by which he accomplished the conversion of so many barbarous tribes and pagan princes.¹

Such was the man on whom now devolved the noble duty of defending the cause of liberty and learning. Every eye in that vast assembly was turned upon him as he rose, and every breath was hushed, till the gentle murmur of the Roe, as it hastened to the Foyle, was the only sound that broke the death-like silence. The monarch and his courtiers alike were awed; princes and prelates became willing listeners; nobles and clansmen were swayed by his eloquence; and the unarmed Abbot from the lonely and desolate isle in the northern seas became the bloodless conqueror of the Irish monarch and his mailed followers. Skilfully blending together the two great questions under discussion, he dwelt with all the passionate eloquence of his fiery nature on liberty—God's priceless gift to man—and learning, which teaches us to use that gift aright. Admitting that the bards had at times forgotten the rules of moderation, and forgotten too the fealty and homage due to the sovereign, these were faults, he argued, which salutary laws could easily correct, and which had only arisen from the deficiency of former legislation. In words to the following effect he continued :—

Is an entire order to be suppressed for the faults of a few of its members? and must our annals remain henceforth unwritten, our valiant men sink to earth unsung, because no tuneful bard exists to pen the one, or raise the mournful dirge at the grave of the other? Vice may then reign triumphant, for no wandering minstrel will dare to lash it; virtue may wither and die, for no learned Ollamh will survive to defend it. All that is sacred in the past, all that is cherished in the present, all of good that we hope for in the future, must perish in the common ruin of genealogists, historians, poets, astronomers, and physicians which

¹ *History of Ireland*, by T. D. Magee.

is sought to be accomplished to-day. If you would throw back your country to the darkness, not only of pre-Christian, but of pre-Druidic times, then suppress the energies of the rising colony in Argyle, and drive for ever from your shores the learned bards who have given you the inheritance of literature, and raised your name for erudition in foreign lands. But, if you would cherish liberty and learning, if you would secure for yourselves trustworthy allies and faithful historians, then break to-day the shackles that have too long bound your kinsmen in Scotland, and give to your bards a code of laws that will at once preserve and restrain them.

The eloquence and reasoning of Columba prevailed. The colonists were freed from the odious taxation, and a code of laws was enacted for the proper maintenance of learned teachers, and of approved schools, and at the same time for the due restriction of the number and privileges of the bards:—

It was solemnly resolved at this meeting [says O'Curry] that the general system of education should be revised, and placed upon a more solemn and orderly foundation; and to this end the following scheme [according to Keating] was proposed and adopted. A special ollamh, or doctor in literature was assigned to the monarch, as well as to each of the provincial kings, chiefs, and lords of territories; and to each ollamh were assigned free lands, from his chief, and a grant of inviolability to his person, and sanctuary to his lands, from the monarch and the men of Erin at large. They ordered also free common-lands for the purpose of free education in the manner of a university (such as Masraighé in Breifné, or Breifney-Rath-Ceamaidh in Meath, &c.) in which education was gratuitously given to such of the men of Erin as desired to become learned in history, or in such of the sciences as were then cultivated in the land. The chief Ollamh of Erin at this time was Eochaidh, the Poet Royal, who wrote the celebrated elegy on the death of St. Columcille, and who is better known under the name of Dallan Forgaill; and to him the inauguration and direction of the new colleges were assigned. Eochaidh appointed presidents to the different provinces. To Meath he appointed Aedh [or Hugh], the poet; to Munster he appointed Urmael, the arch-poet and scholar; to Connacht he appointed Seanchan Mac Cuairfertaigh; to Ulster he appointed Férirb Mac Muiredhaigh; and so on.

It will have been observed that the endowed educational establishments placed under these masters were, in fact, National Literary Colleges, quite distinct from the great literary and ecclesiastical schools and colleges which, about this time, forming themselves round individual celebrity, began to cover the land,

and whose hospitable halls were often [as we know] crowded with the sons of princes and nobles, and with tutors and pupils from all parts of Europe, coming over to seek knowledge in a country then believed to be the most advanced in the civilization of the age. . . . It appears, also, from the Brehon Laws, that the pupils were often the foster-children of the tutor. The sons of gentlemen were taught not only literature, but horsemanship, chess, swimming, and the use of arms, chiefly casting the spear. Their daughters were taught sewing, cutting or fashioning, and ornamentation, or embroidery. The sons of the tenant-class were not taught horsemanship, nor did they wear the same clothes as the classes above them.

All this has, in the law, distinct reference to public schools, where the sons of the lower classes waited on the sons of the upper classes, and received certain benefits [in food, clothes, and instruction] from them in return. In fact the 'sizarships' in our modern colleges appear to be a modified continuation of the ancient system.¹

It would be tedious, and, to most readers, uninteresting now to enter into all the details of the laws enacted on the score of education at this assembly. Suffice it to say that they were such as gave an impetus to learning for ages in our island, and made the names of Bangor, Moville (Co. Down), Clonard, and Clonmacnoise more familiar in Europe than are Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris to-day. But a few of the traditions and legends connected with St. Columba's coming to the Convention, and his stay at it, may prove more entertaining than a history of the laws enacted on the occasion.

We trust we wont be accounted sceptical if we decline making an act of faith in all the venerable traditions of that time, or if we venture to explain some of the reputed miracles on natural principles. The very fact of so many traditions existing about St. Columba—absurd and incredible though a number of them be—goes to prove that he was no ordinary man, but one whose influence was felt, and whose life far transcended that of his contemporaries; for with truth has Longfellow said:—

The heights by great men reached and kept,
Were not attained by sudden flight;
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night.

¹ *Manners and Customs, &c.* vol. ii., Lect. iv.

III. LEGENDS ABOUT COLUMBA—HIS CHARACTER

In A.D. 1532 Manus O'Donnell, chief of Tyrconnell, compiled a Life of St. Columb in the castle of Port-na-trinamad, *i.e.*, the 'Port of the Three Enemies,' now called Lifford, and into this Life he compressed every tale and legend accessible at the period. Colgan, who translated a great part of this work of O'Donnell's from Irish into Latin, gravely reproduced it with the accuracy of a faithful translator in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, leaving, of course, to the Tyrconnell chieftain whatever honour accrued from the collection and compilation of the Columbian legends. Among these marvellous tales is a description of the saint's voyage from Scotland to Drumceat, the substance of which we beg to give in English. After stating that Columba set out with a retinue of many bishops, forty priests, thirty deacons, fifty clerics of lower grades, and Aedan, king of the Albanian Scots, with many chieftains, to attend the Parliament at Drumceat, he proceeds to tell us of a great tempest, excited by a ferocious sea-monster, which threatened to submerge the vessels and their crews. Those on board, in terror and alarm, begged of the holy man to deliver them from this monster, but the saint gave them to understand that God had reserved that honour, not for him, but for St. Senachus, who dwelt by the distant shores of Lough Erne. Just at the same moment Senachus, who was engaged in his forge (for he was a smith) in heating and hammering out iron, beholding by Divine permission the pressing danger of the servants of God, rushing forth from his workshop, flung the fiery missile aloft into the air. With a precision and velocity truly wonderful was it borne through the air from the woody shores of Doire Broscaidh to the ocean, where it fell direct into the gaping jaws of the furious monster, and, as might be expected, immediately killed it. In order that all might know that to St. Senachus was it due that he (St. Columb) and all in the vessel owed their escape, he prayed that to whatever shore of Ireland they might reach, there also might the carcass of the monster whale be driven. His prayer was granted, for when their barque touched the

shores of Lough Foyle, there they found the wild beast, rolled by the waters of the sea, before them. Opening its jaws, they took out the mass of iron, which St. Columba sent back to its lawful owner, St. Senachus, and out of it the clever blacksmith manufactured three bells, which he bestowed upon three several churches. Whether or not they were employed to peal the requiem of the slaughtered whale, and to perpetuate the memory of this successful mode of harpooning, the legend fails to state; but, to say the least, it is a wonderful story.

As miraculous events marked the early part of the saint's voyage, so, according to O'Donnell, did they continue to bless his entrance into the classic waters of the Foyle. Judging from pagan as well as from Christian traditions, this river seems to have been at all times endowed with wonderful understanding and feelings of commiseration for the distressed; for, as of old it rolled in pity a monumental stone over Feval, the son of Lodan, and even assumed the name of the hapless youth, so now it rose in reverence to the holy Abbot, and, gently swelling the scanty stream of the tortuous Roe, bore the sacred band in safety to the very spot where the assembly was convened. We think, however, that it is most probable the aid of a miracle was not required in this instance to enable St. Columb to sail up the Roe. To the most superficial observer it is evident that Myroe and the lowlands of Magilligan were at no very remote period part of Lough Foyle, and that the waters of the Lough came within an exceedingly short distance of Limavady. In a field about a quarter of a mile from that town portions of an anchor and some other remains of a boat were dug up not many years ago, and the field in which they were found is not much above the high-water level. The sub-soil is sand, such as is usually found along shores, and everything about the locality indicates that the whole district has by degrees been rescued from the waters. The very name—Myroe—points in the same direction. This word does not—as a modern derivation of it states—signify the territory or district of the Roe, for the word was not originally Magh-Ro, but Murrough or Murragh, as may be seen in the appendix to *Sampson's Survey*, where

mention is made of Bally-Murragh. According to Dr. Joyce, Murragh means a low-lying district, covered at times by the sea-water—a sea marsh, and this would aptly enough describe this locality at a period probably much later than that of the Convention of Drumceat. Now if the Foyle flowed up to Limavady, or near it, the waters of the Roe would at high tide be considerably swollen, and consequently would not be so unnavigable as at present. From its distant source in Glenshane mountain the Roe is fed by many tributaries in its course, notably by the ‘Burn of the round Bush,’ which rises in Sheskin-na-Mhadaigh, or ‘The Dog’s Quagmire,’ and by the stream from Lig-na-Peasta, or the ‘Pool of the Serpent;’ sweeping majestically past the old church of Dungiven, and the historic tomb of Cooey-na-Gall, it forms no inconsiderable volume of water before reaching the locality of Drumceat. If we suppose this volume checked in its course, and driven back by the incoming tide at Leim-a-Mhadaigh (Limavady), ‘The Dog’s Leap,’ it will at once be quite intelligible how the light currachs of St. Columb and his followers could with ease sail up the Roe, till they anchored at the memorable rock, henceforth known as Cabhan-na-Churaidh.

Another circumstance related in an ancient poem ascribed to St. Molaise, is that St. Columb came blindfolded to the assembly, and remained so till its close. The reason assigned for this is that on his banishment, or his voluntary exile, whichever it was, he had been commanded by his confessor never again to look upon the land of his birth, and that now, when duty compelled him to come, he carried out to the letter the injunction laid upon him, and came to the great assembly at Drumceat with a sear-cloth covering his eyes. This story, though often repeated, seems highly improbable. If we believe the account of St. Columb’s leaving Ireland to have been the result of an injunction of St. Molaise, and not the voluntary act of a man burning with zeal to spread the Gospel, we must regard his return to his native land as a violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of his extraordinary penance. Such an ascetic as Columba was not likely to be guilty of such a violation. Besides, if he

remained in Ireland the entire time of the convention, as we are told he did, and that it lasted for thirteen months, it would be preposterous to suppose that he remained blindfolded for all that time. Moreover, we know that during his sojourn in Iona he visited, three times at least, his Irish monasteries, and there is no mention of this blindfolding then. This seems to be one of those idle tales which a mistaken zeal for his glory has foolishly interwoven with his history. It has, however, furnished a subject for the poet's pen, which has been turned to good account. In an ancient Gaelic poem attributed (but incorrectly) to St. Columb himself, and paraphrased most beautifully by Mr. T. D. Sullivan, the saint, whose longing eyes ever turned westward, fearing the violation of his penance if he settled in any island from which Erin could be seen, thus urges his companions to seek a distant settlement :—

To oars again, we may not stay,
For, ah ! on ocean's rim I see,
When sunbeams pierce the cloudy day,
From these rude cliffs of Oronsay,
The isle so dear to me.

I may not look upon that shore
However low and dim it lies ;
Dear brothers, ply the sail and oar,
My word is passed—I see no more
That glory of my eyes.

Away o'er calm and angry tides,
Where'er our fragile craft is blown.
Whatever wind or current guides,
Away, away, till ocean hides
The hills of fair Tyrone.

Through Derry's oak-groves angels white
In countless thousands come and go ;
And gleams, as if of God's delight,
Fall calm and clear to mortal sight
Upon beloved Raphoe.

But far from Derry, far from Kells,
And fair Raphoe my steps must be ;
The psalm from Durrow's quiet dells,
The tones of Arran's holy bells
Will sound no more for me.

When the questions of the Dalriadic tribute, and of the existence of the bardic order had been satisfactorily settled, St. Columb then undertook to plead the cause of Scanlan Mor, the captive son of the king of Ossory. But here his eloquence was fruitless, for Aedh obstinately refused to liberate him. As usual, O'Donnell simplifies the whole matter by the introduction of a convenient miracle, which soon unbolts the doors of Scanlan's prison, which, by the way, was adjacent to St. Columb's monastery, the Dubh Regles of Derry. He tells us that when Aedh refused the request of the saint, Columba replied, that the Lord would liberate the prisoner for him. After this he set out for his monastery at Derry, which was some miles distant from Drumceat; and the following night he betook himself to prayer for the liberation of the captive. Whilst thus engaged, a fearful tempest, accompanied by peals of thunder, and flashes of lightning, raged among the camps of the assembly at Drumceat, and a luminous cloud sent forth brilliant beams of light, which penetrated the gloom of the prison in which Scanlan was confined; and then was heard a voice commanding the prisoner to go forth from his cell. Scanlan followed an angel who acted as his guide, and having in a moment of time, and without any apparent movement, transferred him from the prison to the monastery at Derry, left him there and immediately disappeared from sight. Probably the good Prince of Tyrconnell, at the time he wrote this, had been reading over the history of St. Peter's liberation from prison by angelic ministry, and by mistake transferred the substance of the story into the life of his patron. Adamnan's account of the matter is simpler, and we will transcribe it:—¹

At the same time, and in the same place [*i.e.* Drumceat], the saint wishing to visit Scanlan, son of Colman, went to him where he was kept in prison by king Aedh, and when he had blessed him, he comforted him, saying: 'Son, be not sorrowful, but rather rejoice and be comforted, for king Aedh, who has you a prisoner, will go out of this world before you, and after some time of exile you shall reign in your own nation thirty years.

¹ Adamnan, Book i., ch. ii.

And again you shall be driven from your kingdom, and shall be in exile for some days; after which, called home again by your people, you shall reign for three short terms,' all of which was fully accomplished according to the prophecy of the saint: for after reigning for thirty years, he was expelled, and was in exile for some space of time, but being invited home again by the people, he reigned not three years, as he expected, but three months, after which he immediately died.

He remained captive at Derry until the death of Aedh, who was killed by Bran Dubh in the battle of Dunbolg near Baltinglass in the county Wicklow, in 594, or according to others, in 598.

One other circumstance in connection with St. Columb's coming to Drumceat we may be permitted to notice before closing, and that is the fact of so many bishops following in his retinue and yielding him obedience. As belonging to the superior or highest grade of the priesthood, the bishops would naturally be expected to have the precedence; but here that order is reversed, and no less than twenty bishops follow in the wake of the illustrious abbot with a docility and submission worthy of novices. This circumstance was noted and satisfactorily explained by the Venerable Bede, and still later by Geoffrey Keating, in his *History of Ireland*, and by Dr. Coyle, Bishop of Raphoe, in his *Collectanea Sacra*, or Pious Miscellany. In the appendix to his *Antiquities of Down and Connor*, Dr. Reeves gives the substance of these remarks, and though the question is not of much importance in our present essay, a portion of Dr. Reeves' explanation may not be unacceptable to the readers of the I. E. RECORD:—

In the year 590 was convened a council at Drumceat, on the river Roe, one great object of which was to arbitrate between the respective claims of Aidus, king of Ireland, and Aidan, king of the British Scots, to the kingdom of Dalriada, in Ireland. And hither Columbkille also came from his monastery at Hy, attended by a company which is thus described by his contemporary, Dallan Forgaill:—

'Twoscore priests was their number,
Twenty bishops of excellence and worth,
For singing psalms, a practice without blame,
Fifty deacons and thirty students.'

These lines, though written with great poetical licence, are of undoubted antiquity, and not only illustrate the ancient frequency of bishops, but confirm what Bede said of the

subjection of the neighbouring provinces to the Abbot of Hy. This subjection is satisfactorily accounted for, to use the words of Bishop Lloyd, by the consideration that : 'Whereas in almost all other places there were bishops before there were monasteries, and then it was not lawful to build any monastery without the leave of the bishop, here at Hy, on the contrary, there was no Christian before Columba came thither. And when he was come, and had converted both king and people, they gave him the island in possession for the building of a monastery ; and withal, for the maintenance of it, they gave him the royalty of the neighbouring isles ; six of which are mentioned by Buchanan as belonging to the monastery. And, therefore, though Columba found it necessary to have a bishop, and was pleased to give him a seat in his island, and, perhaps, to put the other isles under his jurisdiction, yet it is not strange that he thought fit to keep the royalty still to himself and his successors. It is no more strange that it should be so there than that it is so now in many places ; and at Oxford particularly, where a bishop now lives, and is as well known to be a prelate of the English Church as any other ; the government in the University exclusively of him ; and not only the Chancellor and his deputy have precedence of the bishop, but every private scholar is exempt from his cognizance and jurisdiction.' The power of order and jurisdiction, it is to be borne in mind, are quite distinct. 'A person may be consecrated bishop, to all intents and purposes as to the power of order without possessing any jurisdiction. *Vice versa*, a person of the clerical order may, although not actually a bishop, be invested with episcopal jurisdiction. Thus, if he be elected to a see, and regularly confirmed, he becomes, prior to his consecration, possessed of the jurisdiction appertaining to said see, and if it be metropolitan, the suffragan bishops subject to him as if he had been actually consecrated.'

The latter part of this extract Dr. Reeves gives on the authority of the learned Dr. Lanigan.

We have dwelt thus in detail on the circumstances, traditions, and legends connected with the ancient parliament held on the banks of the Roe, not so much for their own sake, as for that of the great assembly with which they are linked. Our English neighbours, it is true, are wont to scoff at our boasting of the ancient civilization of our country, and to turn into ridicule those great men of our land, who are still fresh in the minds of the people, and

Whose distant footsteps echo
Through the corridors of time ;

but, their sneers notwithstanding, we love to dwell on the

days of old, and like eagles to gaze upon the sun of glory which then illumined our island. We feel it an honour to belong to the race which led the van in evangelizing and educating the proudest nations of modern Europe; who founded schools and universities where the sacred fire of knowledge was guarded with more than vestal care during the stormiest periods of Vandal and Gothic barbarism; who, when the lamp of learning was extinguished from the Seine to the Tiber, opened the monastic halls of holy Ireland to the thousands of students that flocked to her shores. Surely the land and the age that produced such men as Columbanus, Virgilius, Fridolin, and a host of others equally celebrated, are not to be regarded as barbarous. And where in the history of any country is there a name more dearly or more deservedly cherished than that of the 'Dove of the Church,' our own saint Columbkille? No name brings before the Irish mind more glorious reminiscences than his; and whether as a stripling in the paternal halls of Kilmacrenan, as a youth by the banks of Strangford Lough, in the school of St. Finnian, or as the great apostle in the lonely and penitential cell of Iona, he is ever to us a model of spotless purity, of burning fervour, of distinguished wisdom and prudence, and of a patriotism that, next to his love of God, consumes his very soul. Thirteen centuries have passed away since he breathed his last amid his sorrowing monks in Hy, and yet is he familiarly spoken of by the Irish people in every region, as if he had lived and moved amongst them from their childhood. The holy wells, popularly believed to have been blessed by him; the stones where he knelt in prayer, and left the sacred impress of his knees; the blessings or the maledictions uttered by him—what are they all but mementos—fond, though it may be fanciful—that a grateful race has cherished and nursed for generations regarding this wonderful man. The tall commanding form, the keen and flashing eye, the angelic loveliness of the countenance, the rich melodious voice, the copious and impressive eloquence which subdued even kings and courts, and swayed the destinies of nations yet unborn; the statesmanlike and highly-cultivated mind—these have all been familiar to us

from childhood, and are pictures on which fancy has loved to dwell from our earliest years. Nowhere, however, does the innate nobleness of his character shine to greater advantage than at the Convention of Drumceat, where, in the presence of hostile kings and mutually jealous clans, he pleaded the cause of justice, of learning, and of mercy. The princes and the rulers of the land were there; the prelates, and priests, and poets had their respective positions in that assembly; various feelings and various interests were at work; but the master-hand of the Abbot of Iona blended into one harmonious whole the conflicting interests of the assembled thousands, and like another Moses, swayed a people scarcely less stubborn, and scarcely less fickle, than the tribes of Israel. If war between the Dalriadan colony and the parent country were averted, to Columba is the honour due; if the cause of learning in the persons of the poets were preserved from destruction, to the apostle of Scotland must the credit be given; and if the fetters of the captive, Scanlan Mor of Ossory, were not broken, it was not that the fervid eloquence of Columbkille was wanting, but that the heart of Hugh was steeled against the inroads of the slightest feelings of mercy for his prisoner.

What good for future generations the wise counsels of the saint effected at the Convention we cannot now sufficiently appreciate; but we know that it was the salutary regulations there enacted that made the schools of Ireland for so many centuries afterwards the light and glory of Christendom. To Columba was this mainly due, and to him must every son of Ireland, in ages yet to come, reverently bow, as the great father and protector of literature. Though the schools which sprang into existence about that time are now no more; though Bangor, Clonmacnoise, Clonard, Moville, Kells, and Derry, are stripped of their ancient glories; though the bards who governed the colleges have, like their schools, long since passed away; still the name of him, who pleaded so well the cause of master and pupil, is written, and for ever shall be indelibly written, on the hearts of the Irish people. While the Roe steals down from its distant fountain in

Glenshane, and mingles its waters with the turbid Foyle; while the winter storms beat vainly against the rocky battlements of Magilligan, and howl in fury round the summit of the Keady; while returning spring scatters its thousand beauties over the broad lands of O'Cahan, and restores the buds and blossoms to the widowed forests, so long shall the name of Columbkille be handed down with benedictions from generation to generation, and the blessings that his golden eloquence won for the people at the Parliament of Drumceat, be for ever lauded by the patriot, the philanthropist, and the scholar.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

THE DECADENCE OF ECCLESIOLOGICAL ART IN IRELAND, AND SUGGESTIONS AS TO ITS REVIVAL

'Domine, dilexi, decorem domûs tuæ.'

IN the present state of art, and especially ecclesiastical art, in this country, we are living in a most remarkable period. It may safely be asserted that more churches, chapels, parochial and conventual buildings have been erected in Ireland during the last fifty years than during any corresponding period since the close of the twelfth century. On every side we see large edifices, costing great sums of money, rising in cities and towns, and even in small country villages. It seems now that the moment has come to review our progress in ecclesiological art as expressed in these buildings of every degree. I use the word 'ecclesiological' advisedly, for the knowledge and the practical application of ecclesiology seems to me to be not only rarely shown, but to be absolutely wanting in the greater number of these church buildings, especially in their interiors, and what ought to be their essential fittings and

furniture. The study of ecclesiology, in its applied forms, is utterly neglected; whereas that of archæology, as a popular science, is ardently pursued, whether it relates to historical or mediæval buildings, or to the rude structures and labours of pre-historic periods. Every quarter of the year produces its own crop of archæological treatises on all sorts and conditions of objects of antiquity, possessing either a historic or artistic value—at least in the eyes of those who write about them. But as far as ecclesiology, pure and simple, is concerned, we seldom, if ever, read any article of interest or instruction, which might serve to guide us in the difficult task of re-edifying and restoring all those adjuncts to the services of the Catholic Church, which were swept away so ruthlessly during the last three centuries.

No student of our ancient ecclesiastical history can enter one of the numerous ruined churches in this land without noticing remains of these adjuncts, such as sedilia, aumbries, corbels, or holes for the reception and support of parcloses or screens, and rood beams, along with (in many cases) spacious porches, chancel-crypts, and the almost total absence of 'vestries' from the greater number of such antique churches and oratories. In this day of building and restoration, I think it highly advisable that we should endeavour to get back again those portions of the sacred edifices of the Church of which we have been so long deprived, without in the least degree impairing the usefulness of the buildings as regards the social needs of modern life and practice. It will not suffice, however, to stop short at the mere fact of restoring the buildings; we must try by studying what has been done around us in other lands, to recover and take up again the golden traditions of good taste which were abandoned in the sixteenth century, from two causes: namely, the destructive influence of the 'New Learning,' as it was then called (somewhat like the 'New Criticism' of our days), and the giving up of Christian models for the Neo-Classical forms, which were then being so ardently pursued by the talented architects, artists, and designers of the Renaissance.

In looking at the dire effects of the powerful wave of classicalism which swept over the minds and thoughts of European nations, from Italy to the furthest confines of the north, and even to the newly-discovered lands of America, we now see how many things that were both beautiful and true, in harmony with nature, and the genius of the different peoples that produced them, were despised, neglected, and laid aside for the revived so-called pagan ideals of Greece and Rome. I am fully aware that the art of the middle ages, in its struggle to obtain supremacy over brute matter—as in its solving of the complex problems involved in the solution of ‘vaulting,’ and the ‘thrust’ of vast masses of masonry—ran riot in the luxuriance of the flamboyant forms of its latter architectural period. But it had this merit, at least, that it was a glorious contest of human intellect against matter, in struggling to attain to the perfection of such marvellous creations as we still see left in an unfinished state, in such magnificent edifices as the cathedrals of Rouen, Chartres, Bourges, Amiens, and even our own beautiful specimen of late work in the choir of Holy-Cross Abbey, county Tipperary.¹ Now, in spite of the terrible stoppages which occurred in all literary or artistic works in the country after the close of the fourteenth century, and even previous to that time, I consider that Irish ecclesiastical art was slowly but gradually advancing in the way of progress, on sure and certain lines. I have perceived many traces of this progress, even in the smallest and least known of the numberless churches and oratories which cover the face of our country. Take, for instance, one familiar example, amongst many, which occurs to me at this moment, in the now ruined and ivy-grown church of Kilmolash, in the county Waterford, on the banks of the

¹ In this choir, which was evidently planned by masons thoroughly acquainted with the southern European style (having worked in Portugal at the Abbey of Batalha, under Bishop William Hackett, of Kilkenny, *circa* A.D. 1465), there is a ‘sedilia’ which—so dense the ignorance respecting such matters—has been the subject of violent discussions between Irish archaeologists in past years, some asserting that it was a tomb, others that it was not; all seemingly unaware of its being simply the seat for the use of the ministers at the altar.

Finisk river. In this small but interesting edifice I can trace the progress of architectural knowledge and taste from the close of the sixth up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Herein I have found decided signs of the 'iconostasis' or chancel-screen which separated the sanctuary from the nave, as in the Greek Church even to the present day; the aumbries, or deep square receptacles in the walls near where the altars were placed, and in the western façade, there is a late pointed doorway, of which the mouldings are of a distinctly flamboyant type, showing how the later builders were imbued with the taste then prevailing in the rest of Europe. I could multiply such instances.¹ My reason for now citing this one, is to demonstrate how the Irish ecclesiologists and architects of that day were progressing towards a style which, if it had not been rudely interrupted by civil and religious warfare, would have led to a development of architecture in Ireland, destined to produce works that would have been, doubtless, a glory to their country.

For, I believe firmly, as the Irish were distinguished not only as illuminators of manuscripts, and workers in metal, but also as builders—as witness Cormac's chapel at Cashel, Kilmalkedar, Aghadoe, and Tuam—long previous to the Norman invasion, so by their Celtic quickness of intellect and their intuitive faculty, especially in the domain of art, they would have attained a high degree of perfection in constructive and decorative work of every description. Many persons object to this theory, that all such artistic forms as are shown in the buildings that I have mentioned, have been importations from Byzantine and other foreign sources. Still, admitting that our Irish types had been, in a great measure, derived from such extraneous sources, I assert that the Celtic mind had modified, in a most remarkable degree, the leading characteristics of such imported models, so as to make them 'racy of the soil,' and full of

¹ There is a charming specimen of late work, most probably designed and erected by Bishop Hackett, in the shape of a small pointed arched doorway, carved in limestone, with profiles admirably adapted to the material, now standing in the outer wall of Kilkenny cathedral.

that quaint beauty which displays itself, to the admiration of civilized Europe, in the graceful curves of its manuscripts and of its goldsmiths' works.

In submitting these preliminary remarks to the readers of the I. E. RECORD, I am desirous of reviving in Ireland, and especially amongst the clergy and educated laity, the spirit of research into the past artistic story of our old churches, leaving aside for the moment their purely historic and archæological aspects; and seeing whether we, in this day of revival, cannot take hold again of the golden cord of artistic tradition and of Catholic ritual in its fulness, which may lead us through the chaotic labyrinth of the misnamed—in so many cases—ecclesiastical art of the present day in our land.

Instead of the depressing silence which now broods over all such studies in this country, I wish to see intelligent criticism evoked and used fearlessly and pitilessly as regards all the buildings, furniture, and other objects employed in the services of the Church. Public interest must be awakened to the absolute necessity of restoring the art forms which were thrown aside at an unfortunate period, and which drifted away from men's memories, during the dark days of wars, rebellions, and penal laws which so long prevailed in this unhappy island. We see our neighbours, in England as well as in Belgium, fully awake to the consciousness that the 'talking about,' and the 'writing on' ecclesiology, as a sort of pseudo-science, does not avail much in a practical way in these practical days; but that the results of the investigations and the knowledge acquired during this last half century, must be brought to bear on artistic productions, for the use of the Church in our times.

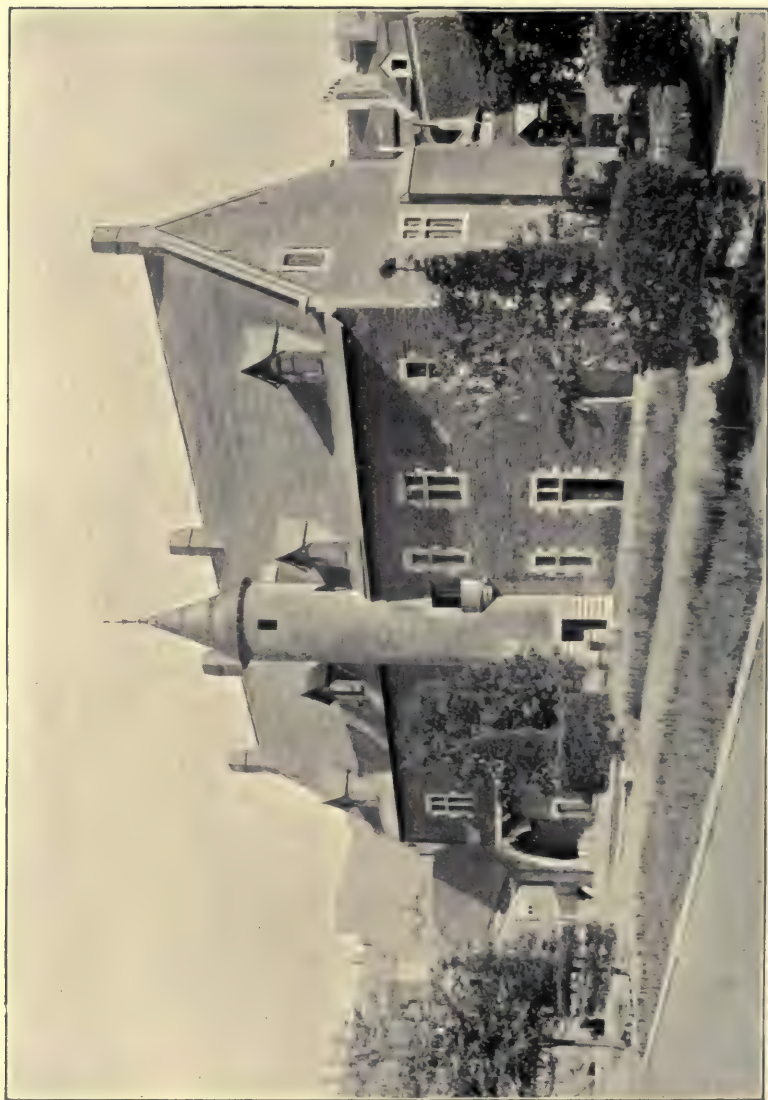
We are too near the twentieth century to be any longer producing merely 'correct' copies of 'correct' churches and cathedrals, *à la Pugin* type. Without pursuing the 'Will-o'-the-Wisp' idea of a bran-new architectural style, our English and Belgian ecclesiological friends are beginning to discover by degrees that a real architectural style is being developed out of the elements of

preceding centuries, which show that it is a worthy product of these latter days, and is admirably adapted to the needs of the present time, as we see in the works of learned ecclesiologists, such as the late John Sedding, Pearson, Bodely, Caroë, Delacenserie, Bethune, and many more of the band of gallant workers who with hand and brain, pencil and pen, hammer and chisel, are delivering us from the thralldom of the cold, cast-iron forms, and inept traditions which still prevail throughout Ireland, in all their 'out-of-date,' and painfully 'correct' reproductions of the thirteenth century Cistercian churches, and Hiberno-Lombardic chapels, mostly all derived from French sources, without the slightest attempt to show that the buildings belong to the present day, and are not merely clever archæological puzzles, to be both wondered and smiled at by succeeding generations of educated Irish people.

I shall endeavour, if I receive the hospitality of the pages of the I. E. RECORD, to show what a pressing need there is for a diffusion of ecclesiological knowledge among the clergy and laity of Ireland, and especially for the practical teaching of such knowledge in colleges and seminaries, as has been organized for more than thirty years past by the well-known Professor Reusens, in the Catholic University of Louvain, of which course a most admirable *resumé* has lately been published.

MICHAEL J. C. BUCKLEY, M.R.S.A.I.





THE IRISH COLLEGE AT NANTES.

IRISH EXILES IN BRITTANY

IV.

THE storms that swept over the Irish Church in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should, humanly speaking, have destroyed every vestige of the ancient faith in the land. Bishops were proscribed and banished, priests were hunted, altars overthrown, and on their ruins another *cultus* had been raised which, in any other country, might have become in popular esteem the national religion. There seemed no hope left for the faith of our fathers. The prelates were gone; the ministry of the priests who stayed with their stricken flocks was accomplished only at the cost of a heroism which could never be the normal condition of any Church; and for the future there appeared but little chance that with the years better things might come. Irish politics at this juncture had become hopelessly Anglicized, and the fortunes of the country no longer rested on 'native swords and native ranks,' but found their only support in the precarious honour of a royal house which certainly does not live in history for its fealty to principle or friends. So that the actual state of the Church in Ireland, bad as it was, yet might have issued in a condition of things still worse, if some plan had not been found to fill up the decimated ranks of the clergy by others who were able to hand on unquenched to another generation the flickering lamp of the national faith. In point of fact, this work was done, and well done; and nothing in our annals more splendidly attests the superb tenacity of the national conscience to the Catholic faith than the army of youths who for over a hundred years had sought in foreign lands the training and the learning needed in every age for those who should bear the burden of the Christian priesthood. They left home at a tender age, ran all the risks of travel by sea and land, at that time infested by the enemies of their mission abroad; and all this that they might be buried, in the flower of their age, in an

obscure corner of some foreign city, and so grow worthy of their future work, whose highest crown would be martyrdom, and which, in any event, was sure to be accompanied in its course by every species of privation and suffering. I think this picture has no counterpart in history, and enough has scarcely been done to put it in its right relief before the students of our national annals. Travelling was not then the luxury it has since become; the mystery of time and distance had not then been solved as it has been for us; and the weary vigils of our scholars abroad, in the eighteenth century, had little of the solace which very easily comes to modern exiles. They were cut off absolutely from their people, and every day might easily have imagined that ruin had, at length, reached their homes through the incidence of the incessant wars and persecutions of the time. This alone must have been a terrible accompaniment to the years of study and prayer which should elapse before they too might take part in the struggle, and taste all the bitter fortunes of war. One cannot imagine any human motive for this voluntary torture. It could not be love of letters, for these might be had at home at a certain price; nor mere love of country, for this would hardly place them in a position so little likely to further state interests; so that we are compelled to hold that perfect loyalty to God and His Church alone explains the generous sacrifice of home, and youth, and pleasure made by so many Irishmen in the past, in order that they might prepare their hearts and minds for the duty of ministering, in dark and evil days, to the spiritual needs of their suffering country.

It renders the history of the Irish exiles in Brittany still more interesting, and fully typical of the times, that a seminary for their use was established at Nantes, whose constitutions and various fortunes can be fully followed from its earliest moments to its final close. It will be the scope of this chapter to deal with this foundation, and, happily, I have under my hands the documents necessary to sustain the narrative.

I had not been in Nantes but one day when I heard of the Rue des Irlandais, and of the buildings that still evidence

the presence of our countrymen in the city. This fact first suggested to me the idea of compiling these notes, and awakened my interest in gathering the details of the Irish colony here. The site of the seminary is still occupied by a noble pile of buildings, some of which were in actual possession of the exiles, while others have been since added, and now serve for municipal uses. What remains of the older buildings is marked by a very beautiful, if severe, style of architecture, and the halls and refectory witness to the elaborate scale of the foundation. The new section is a superb structure, crowned by a square tower, which goes by the name of 'La Tour des Irlandais,' and admirably serves to perpetuate the memory of those whose residence there gave a peculiar mark to the neighbourhood. It is of interest to know that the Irish museum, now kept in another part of the city, will eventually rest within these buildings, and so permanently unite all the evidence which proves the presence of Irish footsteps in the historic strata of Nantes.

The first form of this foundation was rather that of an hospice than of a seminary. The necessity for such an institution arose from the peculiar circumstances which arose towards the close of the seventeenth century, when Nantes was crowded by numbers of Irish ecclesiastics, without employment and without means. In the course of time some were enabled to undertake ministerial functions, and became more or less incorporated with the diocesan clergy; others, however, were not so happily circumstanced, and became a source of anxiety to the authorities. It is said that some of them laid aside the ecclesiastical dress, and sought their livelihood in purely secular pursuits. I have no means to determine what proportion of the exiled priests fell so far below the level of their state of life, but I believe it cannot have been very large. The greater number either assisted the local clergy or else opened schools, and so solved the most urgent problem of life. It is said that these schools were not notably successful. They had often to open their doors to students who had been rejected from other academies, and this element did not raise the tone either of study or discipline. At length the disorder became

so extreme that the University¹ intervened, and revoked the licence for teaching, so that the exiles were once more without occupation, and the diocese face to face with the problem of making provision for their needs. At this crisis the authorities determined that the best and only means of meeting the difficulties of the situation was the establishment of a hospice, where the Irish priests might enjoy the security of community life, and where responsible superiors could exact discipline, and enforce a rule whose sanction would be immediate and personal.

This community was founded by the Rev. Dr. Ambrose Madden, of the diocese of Clonfert, and the Rev. Dr. Edward Flannery, of Waterford.² Its first quarters were in the Rue de la Paume, now the Rue du Chapeau-Rouge,³ and here the society remained for about five years. The date of the foundation was about 1689, when the Irish element was very strong in the city owing to the arrival of the Jacobites, who sought in great numbers asylum in France after the defeat of their cause. Their stay in this place extended over five years, and as far as I can gather was not marked by any incident of note. At the close of this period an opportunity of better quarters was given them by the vacation of the Manoir de la Touche by the religious congregation who had been some time in residence there, and to this noble residence the exiles passed in 1694. This good fortune came to them through the generosity of the Bishop of Nantes, Monseigneur Gilles de Beauveau, who showed himself peculiarly favourable to our countrymen. Their new house was a place of distinguished souvenirs, and had been occupied by the dukes of Brittany.⁴ Later on it served as the episcopal palace⁵ for a lengthened period. Its position is one of the best in the city, as it is high up the slope from the river on which the city is mainly built, and it touches the very heart of the most populous quarters. A

¹ *Instruction publique*. Par L. Maitre, p. 167.

² Sir James Ware, *Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 255.

³ Guimar, *Annales*, p. 476.

⁴ Jean v y etait mort, le mercredi 29 août, 1442, Ogée, *Dict. de Bretagne*.

⁵ *Archives du Chapitre*.

fine garden is attached to the property, and this rendered it still more suitable for the purposes of a seminary. There is no question that if the city was searched, even now, a more desirable site could hardly be found; and so the exiles had one more solid reason to bless the generosity of their princely benefactors.

The contract between the Irish priests and the bishop was signed on May 5, 1695; but the consent of the Chapter was not given until January 23, 1697. The document in which the canons consented to the transfer is worth giving here, as it shows quite a sharp business spirit, and clearly describes the condition of the property:—

Messieurs Barrin, chantre, et Daniel, tous deux chanoines, députés pour voir les batiments de la maison du bois de la Touche, et les espaces de terre que Mons. l'Evêque de Nantes a affeagés à la communauté des prestres hibernois, établie en cette ville, ont fait rapport que par l'information qu'ils ont fait, sur les lieux, ils ont connu que lesdites choses affeagés ne valloient de revenu annuel que la somme de cent cinquante livres portée par l'acte d'affeagement, que lesdits prestres hibernois se sont obligé de payer, par an, de rente feodale. Outre que les batiments sont sujets à de grosses réparations qui en doivent notablement diminuer le prix, desquelles ladite communauté les doit entretenir; mesme y pourra faire des augmentations; qu'ainsi ledit affeagement est profitable audit Seigneur Evesque et à ses successeurs.

Après quoy, le chapitre délibérant a consenti pour son interest que ledit affeagement subsiste en la forme et teneur de l'acte rapporté par Pesneau et Alexandre, Notaires Royaux, le 5^e Mars, 1697.

Mercredy, 23 Janvier, 1697.¹

The work of reparation was at once begun, and such disposition of the manoir was made as rendered it suitable to its new occupants. Sir James Ware² tells us that the chapel was restored, and gives as a particular fact, that a statue of St. Gabriel, to whom it was dedicated, was placed over the high altar. He further states, that the archangel was represented with his wings outspread over the figure of a youth; and in this we may see the symbol of the objects of the foundation.

¹ *Archives du Chapitre de Nantes.*

² *Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 255.

Such was the material structure that should give asylum to the outcast priests. One should have said that those for whom it was established would have taken the shortest route to its hospitable doors, and eagerly entered into the possession of a calm and regular life. Will it be believed that it turned out quite otherwise? The house was open and ready, but the guests were in no haste to come. Some, whose love of study and observance made a life of routine and work a source of delight, eagerly accepted the proffered hospitality; but they were comparatively few. The greater number, who were probably among those who had felt 'the weight of too much liberty,' were in no haste to narrow themselves to this 'scanty plot of ground,' and, resisting all ordinances and inducements, somehow managed to continue a life which must have been, at times, a heavy burden to carry. Owing to these causes the hospice had at first but little success, and a quarter of a century had passed before the community could be said to be seriously established. This was at last effected through the vigorous action of the bishop, who put an end to what seems to have been a period of license and disorder by the issue, in 1725, of the following ordinance:—

Christopher-Louis Turpin Crissé de Sausay par le miséricorde le Dieu . . . à tous les Doyens, Recteurs, Curés ou Vicaires de notre diocèse, Salut et Benediction.

Il nous a été représenté que plusieurs prêtres et ecclésiastiques Irlandois, ne demeurent pas dans la communauté qui a été établie pour les former aux fonctions de leur ministère; et se privent ainsi des avantages que nos Prédecesseurs ont eu dessein de leur procurer par un si sage érection; et que, par une suite comme nécessaire, ils se trouvent exposés à tous les dangers qui sont inséparables de la dissipation et de l'oisiveté.

C'est pour y remédier efficacement que nous avons résolu de les rassembler en communauté, et que nous allons incessamment donner nos ordres pour l'arrangement de la maison qui leur est destinée et leur procurer une honnête subsistance. Nous espérons que la pitié des Fidèles qui vous aident si libéralement dans les autres œuvres de charité, nous secondera dans celle-ci, d'autant plus volontiers qu'il ne s'agit pas seulement de pourvoir aux besoins des ministres de Jesus-Christ, mais encore à ceux de l'église; puisque ces Prêtres instruits par nos soins des devoirs de leur état et affermis dans les pratiques, les maximes et les

principes de notre sainte religion, seront en état, lorsqu'ils sont rapelés dans leur Patrie d'y confirmer dans la foi ceux de leurs Frères qui ont été assez heureux pour la conserver dans sa pureté ; et de faire rentrer dans le sein de l'église Romaine ceux que le schisme et l'Hérésie en ont retranché.¹

À ces causes Nous ordonnons.

1. A tous les Prêtres et Ecclesiastiques Séculars Irlandois qui sont, ou qui seront dans la suite, dans notre diocèse de ne faire leur demeure ailleurs que dans la maison que leur est destinée et s'y retirer au plus tard au premier Janvier prochain.

2. Leur defendons, sous peine de suspense encourue par le seul fait, de dire la Messe dans notre diocèse ni d'exercer aucunes fonctions de leurs ordres, ledit jour passé, sans une permission par écrit de nous, ou de nos Grands-Vicaires.

3. Declarons que nous n'accorderons ladite permission qu'à ceux qui demeureront dans ladite communauté et qui nous rapporteront un certificat de capacité et de bonne conduite du Préfet que nous avons établi pour le Gouverner ; lequel nous chargeons de faire observer le réglement que nous avons dressé pour le bon ordre de cette maison, sans qu'il lui soit permis d'y rien changer que de notre consentement.

4. Voulons que les permissions que Nous leur accorderons pour dire la Messe dans la chapelle dite de Bon-Secours ou autres églises ou chapelles de notre Diocèse, ne puisse valoir que pour six mois ; lequel temps expiré leur defendons sous les mêmes peines de suspense *ipso facto* de s'en servir, qu'ils n'en aient obtenu de Nous la rénovation, en Nous représentant une nouvelle attestation du Prefet.

5. Leur defendons de quitter ladite communauté pour servir dans les paroisses ou chapelles domestiques sans une permission par écrit dudit Préfet, qui ne s'accordera que rarement et pour un mois tout au plus.

From the three following sections of this severe regulation we learn that other foreign ecclesiastics lived in Nantes at this period, for whom special ordinances had also to be made. As their affairs do not come within our scope, we pass on to the paragraphs that affect the affairs of our people :—

9. Révoquons toutes les permissions de dire la Messe qui auroient été ci-devant accordées ausdits Prêtres Irlandois, ou autres étrangers et leur defendons sous les mêmes peines de s'en servir, ledit terme premier Janvier expiré.

¹ From this passage it is evident that the foundation was essentially a seminary where provision was made for the training of Irish missionaries for home work.

10. A l'égard des Prêtres étrangers, même les Irlandois qui viendront à l'avenir dans notre Diocèse, nous accordons huit jours à ceux qui ne retireront pas l'honoraire de leur Messe, pendant lequel temps ils pourront dire la Messe dans notre Diocèse ; et le sudit terme expiré, leur défendons, sous la même peine de la célébrer, sans notre permission ou celle de nos Grands-Vicaires.

11. Nous n'entendons néanmoins comprendre dans notre présente ordonnance, les Prêtres Etrangers, même les Irlandois qui auroient quelque titre ecclésiastique dans notre Diocèse, ou quelque emploi, approuvé de nous ou qui demeureroient dans Notre Grand et petit Séminaire.

Enjoignons à Notre Promoteur de tenir la main à l'exécution de notre présente Ordonnance que nous voulons être lue et publiée aux Prônes des Paroisses et affichée dans les Sacristies, et partout où besoin sera, afin que personne n'en ignore.

Donné à Nantes, dans notre Palais Episcopal, ce 29 Novembre 1725.

(Signé)

✠ CHRISTOPHE-L'EVEQUE DE NANTES.

Par Em. de Mgr. :

M. BRULE, prêtre, Ch. Sec.¹

We are assured that this ordinance was carried out in all its details by the authorities of the diocese. First of all, the building was set in order, and rendered suitable for the reception of a large number of occupants. The resources needed for this work were, no doubt, in some degree, supplied by the generosity of the faithful, to whom the bishop had made such a strong appeal ; but in some measure, at least, the expenses were also defrayed by funds in the possession of the exiles themselves, as we find testified in a contemporary document.² In 1727-1728 new buildings were added, and the whole seemed a large and commodious establishment. We are told that the seminary contained a common-room, lecture-rooms for the classes in theology and philosophy, a refectory, with ten tables ; four apartments for the professors, and seventy-two cells for the students.

¹ *Statuts et ord. de Mgr. Turpin*, 1745. p. 145.

² *Decl. biens du Clergé*, n. 7, Nantes.

From this it will be seen that, at length, the Irish seminary in Nantes was well under way and satisfactorily equipped, at least materially, for its beneficent and patriotic mission.

The years immediately following were not marked by any incident of note ; indeed, they have left, so far as I can gather, absolutely no trace of themselves upon the records of the time. This, however, should not occasion surprise ; as the very nature of the foundation, in its initial stages, should lead us to expect a very quiet and hum-drum character in all its affairs. It was simply a rendezvous for the poor exiled priests, whose principal concern must have been to find the means to sustain themselves in their new home. It would be unreasonable to look for intellectual output from such a society of worn-out veterans, whose enthusiasm for study and literary pursuits can hardly have survived the stress of the careers they had hitherto been forced to follow. The fact is that no work of any kind remains to give a clue to their character or talents ; there is no list even of those who came into residence after the bishop's mandate ; and for twenty years absolute silence broods over the history of the place.

Towards the year 1745 the *Annuaire* of the diocese begins to give evidence of the presence of Irish priests in Nantes. In the list of university doctors there occurs, in that year, the unmistakable Irish patronymic, Donnellan, which appears again in 1748. In 1751 he is mentioned among the officials of the diocese as Promoter and Doctor in the Faculty of Theology, and with him the singular name of Hargadane (?), who is credited with being Vicar-General of Tuam, in Ireland. In this year also I find the name Mac-hugo, who is given as belonging to the Irish foundation. In 1752 these three names again occur. In 1755 the superior of the Irish foundation is given as M. O'Byrne, Doctor of the University, and with him the above-named Hargadane and Mac-hugo. This community remained unchanged for four years, when the name Salver is added, with the quality of Professor of the Faculty of the seminary. These officials continued in office during 1760,

1761-1764, but in 1765 Salver was withdrawn. In 1760 the names are given in this order :—

Sup. M. DANIEL O'BYRNE, University Doctor.

M. DOYHEMIARD (?), Treasurer of the Cathedral, Protonotary Apostolic.

Univ. Docteurs : MAC-HUGO.

O'LOGHLIN.

SHERMANT.

This year marks an epoch in the annals of the house, and deserves special mention, for within it was conceded the charter by which the foundation became a seminary, and was entitled by law to receive students for the Irish mission. The royal letters by which this favour were conceded were granted at the prayer of Father Daniel Byrne, who had been superior from 1755. It would appear from this interesting document that a strong community was for some time in residence at the Manoir de la Touche, and that the immediate reason for demanding the legal status of a seminary was the distance of the house from the diocesan seminary, where evidently studies had hitherto been pursued, and the consequent necessity of having a teaching faculty in residence. It would further seem that the corporate capacity of the institution had not had complete legal acceptance, and needed a royal charter to have the legal right to accept legacies and donations. All these favours were granted by the King, in letters dated 1765, and given at Fontainebleau in the fifty-first year of his reign. It would serve no useful purpose to cite them at their full length ; but some extracts may be of interest, as they illustrate the position of the seminary, and also give us an idea of how such things were done in the France of that day.

The opening sentence puts us *au courant* with the state of the seminary at that time :—

Louis, par le grâce de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre, à tous presens et à venir, salut : notre trer cher et bien-aimé le père Daniel Byrne prestre superieur du Seminaire irlandais de la ville de Nantes nous a fait représenter que le feu roy, Louis XIV. notre tres-honoré seiynneur et bis aieul aurait autorisé l'establisement des prestres irlandais dans plusieurs villes de nôtre royaume et leur avait donné des maisons et differents bien fonds pour

pouvoir s'y soutenir ; que plusieurs prestres de la même maison persecutés dans leur parrie à cause de la religion Catholique se seraient réfugiés à Nantes en l'année 1695 et eauraient été reçus par les, evesques de cette ville dans une maison nommée bois de la Touche et dependente de l'evêché de Nantes, que ladite maison où ces prestres ont vecu dabord en communauté a été erigée ensuite en seminaire où ils sont actuellement pres de soixante ; que leurs principales fonctions consistent dans la desserte de plusieurs paroisses où ils exercent avec beaucoup de zèle les fonctions du St. Ministère ; qu'ils sont encore employés en qualité d'aumoniers dans les hospitaux, sur nos vaisseaux, sur ceux de la compagnie des Indes, et sur les navires marchands ; mais comme leur etablissement n'a pas été par nous encore autorisé et par cette raison il n'a pu jusqu'à present estre pourvu à sa dotation, l'exposant nous a fait tres humblement fait supplier de vouloir bien approuver et confirmer par lettres patentes ledit seminaire, ensemble de lui permettre de recevoir et d'acquérir par dons, legs et donatives, etc.

From this it would appear that the authorization hitherto given was purely local, and came altogether from the bishops of Nantes. It would also seem to follow, from the words cited, that the students and priests came to France, not with the intention of returning home after their ordination, but with the purpose of permanently settling down in the ministry abroad. This is a point worth noting, especially in reference to the further disposition now made by the King, and more clearly still stated by the local authorities. The letter goes on to say :—

(Nous) Permettons en outre au dit sieur évesque de Nantes de faire del reglement qu'il jugera convenable tant pour le spirituel que pour le temporel dudit seminaire ou la philosophie de même que la theologie pourra estre enseignée par des professeurs de la nation irlandaise, accordons à cet effet aux etudiants la faculté de prendre leurs degres dans l'université de Nantes en subissant les examens et soutenant les theses ordinaires, sans toutefois que nos présentes lettres puissent prejudicier ou porter atteinte aux droits des evesques de Nantes et à ceux de l'université de la dite ville.

From these passages we may gather that the national character of the foundation became more emphasized, as it is laid down as a condition that the professors be of Irish birth, in view evidently of the real scope of the College, which was to prepare priests for the work of the sanctuary

in Ireland. By this document, too, we learn that the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Nantes was supreme in the community, and consequently to them we must trace the selection of the superiors and the appointment of the staff. In this the seminary differed from all such establishments now in existence, whose affairs, I believe, are invariably directed by the hierarchy at home.

Before the privileges conceded by the King could be actually enjoyed, the letters patent had to be submitted to the local authorities; the permission of the University had to be obtained for the institution of the new teaching faculty; and ultimately the Breton Parliament had to sanction the whole proceeding. From the action of the University authorities we can see how extensive their powers were. They would seem to have not alone the right to rule their institute proper, but to have had territorial jurisdiction with respect to all educational work. They took the question of the Irish seminary into consideration at a meeting held in Nantes, on May 20, 1766, and laid down with great precision the conditions which should qualify the powers granted by the royal authority. First of all, they lay down that no derogation of the rights of their corporation can be permitted, for to them, they hold, 'the care and supervision of studies have been confided by the laws of Church and State.'¹ Then they proceed to determine exactly the character and nationality of those who should be members of the new school, and accord the right of affiliation only to students of Irish birth who wish to prepare for the Irish mission, and who are bound to return home on the completion of their studies.² For such they permit that—

The school which is to be established in the community of Irish priests, situated in the parish of St. Nicholas, in the city of

¹ Sans qu'il soit néanmoins porté aucune atteinte aux droits de ladite université à qui le soin et l'inspection des études sont spécialement confiées par les lois de l'église et de l'état. (*Registres des délibérations de l'université de Nantes.*)

² L'université voulant, d'un côté, procurer aux prestres Irlandais la faculté de s'instruire et de s'acquérir les connoissances qui puissent les mettre en état de travailler dans la suite au progrès de la religion catholique dans leur patrie en laquelle ils sont tenus de retourner aussi tost après leurs études (*Registres des délibérations de l'université de Nantes, 20 Mai, 1766.*)

Nantes, should become a school of the University, with the view of granting to the students of philosophy and theology the right of taking the degrees of the University.¹

These concessions were, however, qualified by the following conditions, which go to show how rigid was the supervision of schools at this period, and how jealous the corporations of the learned were of giving others any part in their prerogatives. The extract is, I fear, somewhat long, but it will interest all who are concerned with the history of educational methods.

In the University registers already quoted I find the following regulations :—

À l'effet que les étudiants de ladite ecole tant de philosophie que de theologie puissent prendre des grades dans ladite université aux conditions suivantes :

PRIMO

Ladite ecole tant de philosophie que de theologie ne sera que pour les seuls ecclesiastiques venus d'Irlande et des isles Britanniques en France pour y faire leurs études et demeurant dans ladite communauté sans qu' aucuns externes de quelque pays, nom ou qualité qu'ils soient, même Irlandais, puissent prendre des leçons dans ladite ecole.

SECUNDO

Leurs deux professeurs de philosophie et de theologie de la dite ecole se feront recevoir maîtres es arts, en subissant les examens ordinaires avant de commencer leurs leçons, et ils presenteront leurs lettres de maîtres es arts et leurs mandemens de professeurs à la faculté des arts que le doyen fera assembler à cet effet, indiquant aux dits professeurs le jour et l'heure de ladite assemblée.

TERTIO

Les professeurs de theologie qui ne peuvent pas être plus de deux à la fois seront au moins Bacheliers en theologie avant de commencer le cours de leurs leçons ; ils seront tenus en outre de prendre le bonnet de docteur en theologie dans ladite université au moins dans l'espace de trois années, en soutenant les theses et autres actes que les bacheliers ordinaires sont obligées de soutenir sans que leurs qualités de professeurs puissent les en exempter ; et ils presenteront à la faculté de theologie la mandement qu'ils auront eu de leur superieur pour professer suivant l'usage des autres professeurs de theologie.

¹ *Registres des deliberations de l'université de Nantes.*

QUARTO

Les dits professeurs de philosophie et de theologie commenceront leurs cours de leçons à l'ouverture des ecoles de l'université et ils ne finiront pas avant la clôture des cours academiques de ladite université; les dits professeurs donneront aux syndics des facultés de philosophie et de theologie à l'ouverture des ecoles les noms de leurs ecoliers.

QUINTO

Les dits professeurs de theologie et de philosophie auront soin de faire soutenir, chaque année au moins, à quelq'un de leurs ecoliers des actes et thèses publiques en leur maison et communauté; et ils seront tenus de faire examiner et indiquer leurs thèses encore bien qu'elles ne soient pas destinées à l'impression, scavoir, les thèses de philosophie par le syndic de la faculté des arts et leurs theses de theologie par le syndic de la faculté de theologie, suivant l'usage et l'arrest de la cour du vingt-deux aoust mil sept cent cinquante neuf; et les professeurs avant de soutenir se presenteront devant le Recteur de l'université pour qu'il leur prescrive le jour et heure convenable des theses, afin que le dit sieur Recteur y assiste si bon lui semble conformement audit arrest; les dits actes et thèses s'ils sont imprimés le seront par l'imprimeur de l'université.

SEXTO

A chaque prima mensis d'aoust les dits professeurs se presenteront à la faculté de theologie suivant l'usage des autres professeurs pour lui indiquer les traittes qu'ils se proposeront de donner à leurs ecoliers dans le cour de l'année suivante, et la faculté veillera à ce qu'ils enseignent à leurs dits ecoliers les traittes et matières les plus utiles et les plus convenables; et pour qui est de la philosophie les professeurs enseigneront à leurs ecoliers les differentes parties de la philosophie suivant l'usage dans le cours des deux années.

SEPTIMO

Les dits professeurs de theologie enseigneront à leurs ecoliers les quatre propositions du clergé de France de mil six cent quatre vingt deux et les leur feront soutenir dans les thèses suivant que les matières les demanderont, et ceux de leurs ecoliers qui voudront prendre des grades en la faculté de theologie seront de soutenir obligés leurs actes pour les dits grades dans la salle ordinaire de la faculté.¹

¹ This article shows what a high price our students paid for the privileges accorded to them. We may easily imagine that the sturdy Irish faith of many of them revolted against the doctrine they found themselves forced to defend. This article is of further interest to those who study the history and development of theology in the Irish Church, and gives a clue to some peculiar opinions held by some Irish Churchmen far into the course of the present century.

OCTAVO

Les écoliers qui après leurs cours de philosophie voudront se faire recevoir maîtres es arts se présenteront à la faculté des arts pour estre examinés comme le sont les étudiants de la philosophie, après quoi ils assisteront à l'inauguration solennelle de la Magdeleine pour y recevoir le bonnet de maître es art suivant l'usage

NONO

En quelque nombre que soient les docteurs Irlandais Anglais ou Ecossais en la faculté de theologie, il ny aura jamais que les deux professeurs en theologie et exerçant actuellement et reçus docteurs, comme il est dit cy dessus, à avoir voix et suffrage dans les assemblées et actes tant de la faculté que de l'université sans qu'ils puissent estre suppliés ; et quand aux assemblées de l'université qui seront de ceremonies publiques, les autres docteurs pourrnt y assister sans pouvoir deliberer ayant été reçus gratis.

DECIMO

Les gradués et docteurs Irlandais se conformeront au surplus à tous les reglemens de l'université et des facultés cy devant faits à leur regard en ce qui ne se trouvera point du contraire aux presentes conditions notamment au sujet du decanat et rectorat.

Il a encore été arrêté et enoncé par Monsieur le Recteur qu'une copie de la presente sera delivrée au Sieur O'Byrne et une autre envoyée à Monsieur le Procureur General du parlement et que les lettres patentes, arrest de la cour et requeste dont il s'agist seront enregistrées sur le livre des deliberations pour y avoir recours au besoin.

Signé

BONNAMY, Pr. General.

Such were the constitutions of this university college of the eighteenth century, and no one can doubt the ability and precision with which they were framed. They were at once accepted by the Parliament, which added scarcely a word to them, except to emphasize still more that the foundation was for Irish students, and no others, and that its sole *raison d'être* was the preparation of priests for the mission in Ireland, whither they were bound to return on the completion of their college course. They repeat the order of the University with respect to the local colour of the theology to be taught in the new seminary, and they ordain that nothing be taught 'de contraire aux libertés de

l'église Gallicane, surtout à la déclaration de 1682.'¹ They further confirmed a clause in the royal letters by which the Irish Seminary was entitled to receive donations and bequests, and they agreed also to the suppression of the priory of St. Crispin, in the diocese of Nantes, which was held by the president as a personal appanage, but which henceforward was to belong to the Seminary in its corporate capacity. All these facts and privileges were registered in the Bureau of the Breton Parliament, on 14th August, 1766.²

Having given at such length the conditions of studies and tenure of the Seminary, we may now resume the annals of the house. In 1767 the *personnel* remained unchanged, except that a new member joined the faculty as professor. His name is given as Dr. Picamilli, which certainly does not savour of Ireland. There was then no change until 1769, when Dr. O'Donoghue came into residence. This community continues until 1777, when the *Annuaire* gives the list of priests as follows :—

	Superior, M. DANIEL O'BYRNE.
Univ. Docteurs :	MACHUGO en Irlande.
	O'LOGHLIN "
	SHENANT "
	DONOGHUE "
	O'FALON Professeur de faculté aux Irlandais.
	O'FLINN Professeur de Philosophie aux Irlandais.

In 1778 we find Father O'Falon absent, and in 1779 Father O'Connor comes into view. In 1780 the position of president is marked *vacat*, and here Father Daniel O'Byrne falls out of the annals of the place; for on December 18, 1778, I find the following record :—

V. et D. O'Byrne, prêtre supérieur du Séminaire des Irlandais de Nantes où il est mort.

I am sorry I cannot give any particulars of the birth or lineage of this distinguished man. The details concerning his personal character can only be deduced from the public

¹ *Archives Curieuses de la Ville de Nantes.* Par F. J. Verger, tome iii., p. 242.

² *Régistres de la Chambre des Comptes de Bretagne.*

acts associated with his name. That he was a man of ability is evidenced by his academic distinction, and his tact and energy are clearly shown by his success in the difficult work of obtaining the royal charter for his college. I should be glad to fix the diocese that gave the Irish exiles in Brittany such a distinguished leader; but the absolute dearth of evidence hinders me giving any opinion which would avail more than the merest conjecture in settling the question. Perhaps some documents may be found in Ireland that can throw some light upon his early days; but I am safe in saying there are none such in Nantes. I cannot even determine the place of his burial, and must be content to breathe a prayer that he may rest well in his nameless foreign grave.

The members of the community for 1780 are given in this form in the *Annuaire* :—

(Super. (vacat)

Univ. Docteurs : O'LOGHLIN en Irlande.

SHENANT „

O'DONOGHUE „

O'FLINN Professeur de la faculté aux Irlandais.

O'CONNOR Vicaire de la Marne.

JEAN WALSH en Irlande.

This is the first mention of the name Walsh in connection with the Seminary, but it afterwards occurs every year until the revolution. In 1781 the list reads :—

Superior, Monsieur WALSH.

Univ. Docteur : O'LOGHLIN en Irlande.

SHENANT „

DONOGHUE „

O'FLINN professeur de la faculté aux Irlandais.

JEAN WALSH en Irlande.

J. B. WALSH ¹ Docteur de la Faculté de Paris
agregé à cette de Nantes, Supérieur de
Seminaire des Irlandais.

¹ This very distinguished man was not a native of Ireland, but came of Irish ancestry. His family reached Nantes with James II., and were noted for their fealty to the royal cause. They became nobles of France, and settled at the Chateau of Serrant, in Anjou. They, perhaps, were the best known of

O'Byrne, and with him the following doctors of the University:—

O'LOGHLIN ut supra.
 SHENAN "
 O'DONOGHUE "
 O'FLYN à Aigrefeuille.
 O'CONNOR ut supra.
 JEAN WALSH "
 LOUIS WALSH "
 J. B. WALSH docteur de la faculté de Paris
 aggrégé à cette de Nantes, à chateau de
 Serrant.
 O'RIORDAN en Irlande.
 GRANGER "
 STAPLELON "
 COYLE "

The new president was an *alumnus* of the college which he was now to rule. He was born, in 1757, of respectable parents, in the parish of Clonfeacle, county Tyrone, and at the close of his classical studies came as a student to Nantes. At the close of his course he stood the usual tests of the University, and, having made all the acts according to the charter, was declared doctor of divinity, *en Sorbonne*. He was afterwards chaplain to the Duc d'Angoulême, and on the occasion of his appointment was presented with a rich set of vestments, which are still, I believe, in the possession of some of his kinsmen in the diocese of Armagh. His term of office in Nantes coincided with stirring times, as we shall see in the sequel.

In 1788 the community remained practically the same, the last in the list for this year being another Dr. O'Byrne, of the Faculty of Paris, who is given as Professor of Theology and Rector of the Irish Seminary. From the records I cannot judge exactly whether this is not the same as the Superior of Nantes, who this year is entitled *grand vicaire d'Armagh*. In 1789, Dr. Walter Walsh is added to the names given in the preceding year; but he is a non-resident member of the community. The house remained practically unchanged during the two succeeding years, and in 1792, for the last time, the community of Irish priests is

given in the *Annuaire* of the province. It consists of the following :—

O'BYRNE (Patrice-Jacques) superieur, docteur en Sorbonne,
Grand Vicaire d'Armagh.

COYLE, prêtre, docteur en theologie,

O'CONNOR " "

O'DONOGHUE " "

STAPLETON " "

WALSH (Gautier) (Jean-Baptiste).

Le Seminaire contient de 70 à 80 seminaristes.

During the year 1792 the fatal tide of the great revolution was flowing at its highest through France, and was fast submerging in its waters every vestige of religious principles. The whole fabric of religion was being sapped to its very foundations, and there seemed no one left to make any worthy resistance to the influences that were openly destroying the true life of France. It is a fact of which we may well feel proud that our countrymen in the Seminary of Nantes did not remain inactive at this supreme crisis. Among the faithless they were faithful found, and through their brave resistance to the principles of those evil days they brought upon themselves the anger of the authorities, who in Nantes, as elsewhere, had already caught the deadly contagion. On July 2, 1792, their action was brought before the Municipal Council, and the following order was issued in their regard :—

Le Conseil ouï ces renseignements, considerant que les prêtres Irlandais, d'après les sentiments qu'ils ont manifestés sur notre glorieuse revolution ne peuvent que concourir par des manœuvres secrètes, conjointement avec les prêtres non-assermentés à executer et entretenir les troubles et le fanatisme; considerant que le local dont ils jouissent est un demembrement du domain national, auquel il doit être réuni; considerant qu'infractions des conditions auxquelles ils ont promis d'être fideles et de se soumettre aux lois civiles et religieuses de l'etat ils ont eux mêmes rompu le traité qui leurs garantissent un asile paisible et les bienfaits d'un peuple libre et genereux; considerant enfin qu'il serait aussi injuste qu'impolitique que la loi qui a frappé les prêtres qui refusent de reconnaître cette souveraineté du peuple n'atteignît pas ceux-ci par ce qu'ils sont étrangers, eux qui veulent méconnaître cette souveraineté qui les protege, le procureur de la commune entendu dans ses conclusions le conseil général est

d'avis que le directoire du département peut et doit exercer à leur égard les mêmes moyens de repression et se resaisir au profit de la nation des biens dont elle leur avait conditionnellement accordé la jouissance.¹

However false the conclusions of the Council may have been, there can be no doubt that their premisses were absolutely true. Further evidence of the spirit prevailing in the Seminary was brought before the authorities in August 23 of the same year,² when it was testified, in public session, that the Masses celebrated by the Irish priests at the Chapel of *Bon Secours* brought together large crowds, which became the occasion of disorder and tumult, such as the authorities were bound to prevent; and in consequence the Irish priests were forbidden to celebrate Mass in the Chapel of *Bon Secours*,³ or in any other except that attached to their residence.

This measure did not suffice to repress the ardour of the exiles, and a further order was made, on September 10, 1792, which took from them what remained of their liberty. In the municipal register for that date I find the following :—

Sur la plainte portée par plusieurs citoyens contre quelques prêtres Irlandais, pour injures et propos très grossiers par eux tenus contre la garde national, le Conseil charge de Procureur de la Commune de leur notifier l'ordre qui leur défend de sortir de leur maison et de vaguer dans les rues de cette ville sous peine et d'être détenus au chateau, même d'être exportés de la France.⁴

Life had evidently become insupportable under such a regime as this; the reign of terror had at length been realized in all its horrors; and it was only a question of a little time until the last threat should be verified. How the interval was spent in the Seminary, which was now become their prison, I have no document to sustain any surmise;

¹ *Archives Curieuses de la Ville des Nantes*. Par F. J. Verger, tome iii., p. 242.

² *Ibidem*, p. 280.

³ This chapel was near the cathedral, and close by the river; its ruins are yet to be seen. The altar in use during the last century is now in a church at Basse-Goulaine, near Saint-Sebastien. My attention was called by Monsieur Bonamy de la Ville to this interesting relic of our exiled countrymen.

⁴ Verger, tome v., p. 289.

but that strange things must have happened between September, 1792, and April 5, 1793, we may deduce from the following paragraph :—

Les prêtres Irlandais détenus aux Carmélites obtiennent la permission de s'embarquer sur un navire de leur nation, la 'Peggi,' allant à Cork.¹

So ended the story of the Irish Seminary at Nantes. The further fortunes of the returned exiles lie outside the limits of this paper, and I cannot follow them in their subsequent careers. Of the distinguished man who was the last superior I may, however, be allowed to say a word. On his return to Ireland he ruled successively two parishes in his diocese, and then became President of Maynooth, holding this high office for three years, when he resigned. I believe his portrait is still in the National College. He afterwards became Dean and Vicar-General of the primatial see, and died as parish priest of Armagh.

I have given at such great length the history of the Nantes' Seminary because it is the strongest link in the chain that binds Ireland to Brittany. I regret the material under my hands does not enable me to give the narrative any of those personal touches that give life and colour to such a story. I have been able only to give a bare outline of facts which, though of great moment to the purpose I have in view, yet cannot but be, from the nature of the case, very dry reading. The absence of all literary remains on the part of the occupants is remarkable in relation to a college of such eminence; but not a line, so far as I can find, survives to show what manner of men those were who, in their day, attained to such academic distinction. We must suppose that the stress of their daily duties absorbed all their intellectual energies, and left no time for the more enduring work which outlives its author, and grows more precious with the passing of the years.

Perhaps, too, my personal sympathy enters more largely

¹ *Premier register des deliberations du Comité Central.* Verger, tome v., p 433.

² I rather suspect this Italian name may well have had another and more familiar form; in fact, I believe under this disguise we have the name whose praises Father Prout sang so well.

into this than the other chapters, and in this way I have been led to seek out its details with all possible fulness. With all the exiles I have a fellow-feeling, but with these especially, since within a stone-throw of their home I am engaged in work precisely similar to that to which they devoted their lives.

A. WALSH, O.S.A.

ANOTHER BATCH OF LETTERS

IN August, 1897, this review put into print a few unpublished letters of Cardinal Newman, Father Peter Kenny, S.J., Dr. Kieran of Dundalk, and Dr. Whitehead of Maynooth. The example thus set was meant to be contagious. It may, indeed, in cases that have not come under our notice, have induced some to look over their bundles of old letters; and in two instances it has added to our own store of such documents.

Sir Henry Bellingham, Bart., of Castlebellingham, in County Louth, broke through all the prejudices of his race and class, and entered the Catholic Church about thirty years ago. He married Lady Constance Noel, daughter of another convert, the Earl of Gainsborough, better known, perhaps, by the title which he held at the time of his conversion, Viscount Campden. Ten years ago Mr. Bellingham—as he then was, in the lifetime of his father Sir Allan Bellingham—seems to have mentioned to Cardinal Manning a letter addressed by the latter to Lord Gainsborough, which had come into Mr. Bellingham's possession.

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER,
January 26th, 1888.

MY DEAR MR. BELLINGHAM,—Your mention of the letter which I did not know to exist, is very interesting to me, and makes me wish to see it. If you will kindly let me have it, it shall be returned to you. Or come here, and let me see it.

Always very truly yours,

✠ HENRY E., *Card. Archbishop.*

TO HENRY BELLINGHAM, ESQ., M.P.

The following is the letter asked for, written thirty-seven years before, when Archdeacon Manning had just given up his Anglican living :—

44, CADOGAN PLACE,

January 14th, 1851.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter has just reached me. Rumours have already made premature statements of the step you now announce. God grant it may have been His will and guidance. I can never forget the bond which is (I will not say was) between us, and I trust it may never be dissolved.

Since we parted I have been through deep sorrow. My conviction had long been formed that I could not continue to hold on, under oath and subscription; but obedience to others made me wait. When this anti-Roman uproar broke forth, I resolved at once. I could lift no hand in so bad a quarrel, either to defend a Royal Supremacy which has proved itself to be indefensible, or against a supremacy which the Church for six hundred years obeyed. I therefore at once went to the Bishop of Chichester, and requested him to receive my resignation. He was most kind in desiring me to take time; but I, after a few days, wrote my final resignation.

What my human affections have suffered in leaving my only home and flock, where for eighteen years my whole life as a man has been spent, no words can say; but God gave me grace to lay it all at the foot of the Cross, where I am ready, if it be His will, to lay down whatever yet remains to me. Let me have your prayers for light and strength.

May God ever keep you.

With my kindest remembrances to Lady Campden,

Believe me, my dear friend,

Yours very affectionately,

H. E. M.

TO THE VISCOUNT CAMPDEN.

Sir Henry Bellingham, to whose kindness we owe the privilege of printing the preceding letter, published, about twenty years ago, a valuable work on the 'Social Aspects of Catholicism and Protestantism.' Lady Constance Bellingham presented a copy to Dr. Newman. Here is his letter of thanks :—

THE ORATORY,

June 8th, 1878.

DEAR LADY CONSTANCE,—Thank you for your kind and welcome letter and for the gift which it heralded. I am very glad to have a volume on a subject so interesting and at this

time so needing a careful discussion. I have read enough already to understand with great satisfaction that Mr. Bellingham, abstaining from the generalities and assumptions so frequent just now, argues out his points on the basis of an accumulation of facts and of unbiassed and even hostile testimony. I am often asked by Catholics for a book on the subject he has taken, and it is so pleasant to have reason for anticipating that he has supplied so serious a want.

I am, my dear Lady Constance,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

TO LADY CONSTANCE BELLINGHAM.

Nearly ten years later Cardinal Newman wrote the following letter to Sir Henry Bellingham:—

THE ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM,

Feb. 4th, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you very sincerely for your kindness in sending for my perusal the interesting correspondence between the Bishop of Winchester and Canon Wilberforce. I have taken the date of the newspaper in which it occurs, and will bring it before those who are able, and may be willing, to take the subject up. But it is a subject which requires very delicate and exact treatment, and a complete knowledge of the facts of the case.

Speaking under correction, I should say that the High Church, even the 'High and Dry,' have always held, as by a tradition, that the identity of the Anglican Church was not broken at the Reformation. The peculiarity of Ritualists is not this principle, but the introduction of Roman doctrines into their worship, such as the Mass. The Ritualists and High Church agree together in holding the *ante* and *post* identity of the Anglican Church, resting, as they can, on the unlucky fact of its having continued all along in possession. This has been its one note, to the exclusion of the four notes of the Creed. What Ritualism, as well as Tractarianism, has risen up to oppose and rival is not High Churchism, but the Evangelical schools.

My fingers will not write, and a friend has been kind enough to take my pen for me.

Very truly yours,

✠ JOHN H. CARD. NEWMAN.

TO H. BELLINGHAM, Esq.

Another document which the August 'Batch of Letters' was the means of placing in our hands is a long letter which the Very Rev. James Maher, P.P., of Carlow Graigue,

uncle to Cardinal Cullen, sent from Rome to his brother-in-law, Mr. Edmund Cullen, more than fifty years ago. The physicians had ordered for him a long period of rest after a serious illness. He spent the year 1845 in the Eternal City, returning to Carlow in June, 1846. We may mention that he was born in 1793, and died in 1874.

This letter was not discovered in time to be included in the large volume which Cardinal Moran published of his grand-uncle's correspondence. We owe it to the kindness of Mrs. Maher, of Moyvoughly, who received it from Mother Paul, of the Convent of Mercy, Westport, the only survivor out of the large family of the gentleman to whom this letter was addressed. Father Maher's two sisters were married to two brothers—Mary to Hugh Cullen, father of the first Irish cardinal of our day, and Margaret to Edmund Cullen, the recipient of the following letter :—

THE IRISH COLLEGE, ROME,
27th February, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your friends at Rome, though they have not troubled you with many letters, have never been forgetful of you. Every day we remember you at the altar in our supplications. It is one of the great consolations of our holy religion, that friends, no matter how far separated, are, as it were, brought together daily, and united by charity, helping and aiding each other by their prayers and good works.

Father Tom has left us a few days since, bringing with him the affectionate regards of all his Roman acquaintances. He was a great favourite in the Irish College; his time in Italy has been turned to the best account; he has laid up a good store of ecclesiastical knowledge, which he will find of infinite advantage in the discharge of his sacred duties. He has, we have every reason to believe, imbibed the true spirit of his vocation: zealous for spiritual things—the honour and glory of God—and perfectly indifferent as to the things of this life. May heaven grant him grace to persevere to the end!

Dr. Cullen, in consequence of his delicate health (and he is far from being strong) is thinking of going to Ireland after Easter, and I remain for a time to look after the affairs of the establishment. He will travel home in company with Dr. Haly. The bishop's visit to Rome has improved his health; he is greatly pleased with everything here in the Christian capital, especially with the talent, piety, knowledge, and ecclesiastical spirit of the Irish College; he has sent a candle by Father Tom to his mother,

blessed by the Pope, and carried by the bishop in the procession at St. Peter's, on the Feast of the Purification. It is, perhaps, the prettiest piece of waxwork you have ever seen. It has not, I hope, been injured by the journey; it will be a fine emblem of our faith, burning brightly, as, entering the dark portals of death, we close our eyes for the last time upon the transitory glories of this world, to open them, as we humbly hope, to the beatific vision of God in the next.

How many unexpected events have occurred since last I had the pleasure of writing to you. Four priests of the diocese (three of them rather young) have been called to the other world. On hearing of Father Doran's death (a priest whom I greatly esteemed), the thought forced itself on me, times innumerable, that we, whether old or young, have in good truth very little business in this life, beyond making a good preparation to leave it. Who could have thought a few months ago, that the grave would so soon have closed over him? How much of life and vigour and health he enjoyed when I, one year since, left him, delicate and infirm myself; and yet here am I now in health (how inscrutable are the ways of heaven!) discoursing of his death. If death be on his march, and sure to triumph whenever he arrives, we are not, however, blessed be God, without cheering prospects at the other side of the grave, 'God so loved the world [his Apostle tells us], as to give His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish,' but may have life everlasting. Here we have firm footing; here we have the ground of hope. Earthly life is only the infancy of man, a mere commencement of existence. When we pass it, eternal life begins. To see Jesus Christ, our divine Saviour, in His glory even for one moment, would afford more happiness than has ever been enjoyed by mortal in this life. The thought of our sinfulness damps our hopes. No doubt all have sinned, but if we have repented, it is equally certain that God has forgiven us. Sin is beyond comparison the greatest evil that can befall man. All other evils—the loss of property, even the overthrow of kingdoms—leave not a trace behind in a few generations; whilst sin, if not effaced by penance, involves the offender in punishment which never ends. It is, therefore, clearly the greatest of all evils, and to be proportionately detested; but we have a sacrifice for sin, an atonement for our iniquity: the Saviour has offered Himself to suffer in our stead, and His sufferings have been accepted in liquidation of our debt. Oh, how heinous must sin be which requires such an atonement, and how supereminently holy must God be to whom such a victim for the violation of His law has been offered!

If, then, we be fast approaching the boundary line which separates time and eternity, detesting as we ought, and as I hope we all do, all past transgressions, and relying with full but humble

hope on the mercies of Him who laid down His life to save us, what evil can befall us? Our hope is in Him who has triumphed for us over death and hell. We have faith. Oh yes, we believe; we are not tossed by every wind of doctrine, for, aided by the grace of Jesus Christ, we believe whatever God has revealed, and what the Church, the organ of communication with us, proposes to our belief. We receive all truth with a full and unhesitating faith; we see, at present, under the sacramental symbols, by the light of faith, the victim of our salvation, our security, our hope; but when the mystic veil necessary to our present condition shall be removed, we shall see Him, face to face, as He is in Himself. Then heaven begins.

Let us wait with patience for awhile, every hour preparing; 'for He that is to come, will come, and will not delay.'

In viewing with an eye of faith the mysteries of religion, nothing strikes us so forcibly as the excessive love of Jesus Christ for man—'The Son of God loved me [says St. Paul], and delivered Himself for me.' Paul was a sinner, a persecutor of the Church, at that time; and yet Christ so loved him as to make Himself responsible for Paul's sin, and thereby saved him. Now what He has done for the Apostles He has done for us all. He has suffered in His own person the chastisement which, were it not for His love for us, would have fallen upon our own guilty heads. No wonder then that St. Paul should have exclaimed: 'Who can comprehend what is in the breadth and length, and height, and depth of the charity of God which surpasseth all knowledge!' Nay, St. Paul goes farther. Inflamed with the love of the Saviour, and filled with a holy indignation against our sensibility, he cries out: 'If any man love not our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema,' that is, accursed.

Who, taking time to reflect upon the subject, can remain insensible to the divine love, and not seek to repay it by a return of love? God is entitled to the affections of the heart, and will be satisfied with nothing less. As the night is approaching in which no man can work, we ought certainly to use every moment at our disposal to increase in faith, in hope, in charity; these virtues will not come of themselves, we must acquire them by aid from above, by fervent prayer, by meditation on the passion of our Saviour, by frequenting the sacraments: we must exert ourselves, not only every morning, but really every hour in the day we ought to turn our thoughts to God, to thank Him for past favours, to implore the graces which are still wanting to us, to disengage our hearts perfectly from all earthly concerns, to prepare us for Himself. The closing scene of life is too important to the Christian to waste any portion of it in those affairs which shall so soon end. By our efforts, we can, even amidst the infirmity of old age, lay up for ourselves treasures in heaven. Faith, and hope, and charity are the legitimate title-

deeds to the inheritance of the children of God, the passport to the kingdom of heaven; with these in our hands—and through the grace of God, we may be furnished with them—have we not, as we advance to the house of eternity, bright prospects before us?

Instead of a letter, I have, I find, been writing a sermon. To hear something of Italy might amuse for a moment; but we know enough if we only know how to love the Lord Jesus Christ, who first loved us, who has created and redeemed us for Himself. It is better, then, to write about the affairs of eternity.

A letter from Edmund reached the Irish College a few days since, bringing us the most welcome news of your improvement in health. What favour has not heaven bestowed upon you? The prayers of those holy virgins who have grown up under your roof, whom you watched from infancy, educated, and amply provided for; their prayers in your behalf have been heard in heaven. I often look back to the three happy years in which I myself had the happiness to be one of your family. The eleven children were then all at Crawn, both the parents and the parish priest. What a crowded house we had, and, as latter events have proved, what a seminary of virtue? How many religious vocations cherished and brought to maturity in our family? Six out of eleven have already resigned the hopes of the world, consecrated themselves by vow to God. One has visited Rome, the centre of Catholic unity, to drink at the fountain-head of that water springing up into life everlasting. Another has crossed the Atlantic. May heaven protect our dear sister Josephine to wait on the Lord in the person of the poor. The rest have left father and mother, house and lands, nay, have counted with Saint Paul, 'all things to be loss for the excellent knowledge of Jesus Christ,' and Crawn has paid her thousands to enable them to effect their holy designs. These deeds, my ever dear sir, will tell on the great accounting day. With the royal prophet you ought often to exclaim, 'Not to us, O Lord, not to us; but to Thy name be glory given.'

I have filled my paper, and yet have said very little of all I had to say; but I must be satisfied. Prepare for the other life under the protection of the ever Blessed Virgin; the preparation will be the better made, and the more easily, through her aid. She makes such matters very easy, smooths down all our difficulties, removes unnecessary fears, and consoles and sweetens our last days. Don't forget her; she has been left to us by her Divine Son as our most affectionate and loving mother. On His cross, addressing Saint John, He said, 'Behold thy mother,' alluding to the Virgin.

Give my love to my sister. How can she be sufficiently grateful to heaven for the rich graces of religious vocations which have been so abundantly bestowed on her children? The

prophecy of old, descriptive of the multitude and magnitude of the graces and mercies to be enjoyed under the Gospel dispensation, has been verified: 'And it shall come to pass in the last days,' saith the Lord, 'I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh.' All have partaken of it, some more abundantly than others, by corresponding faithfully with the first graces received.

Remember me to Hugh and Pauline; they will, I doubt not, be as good as those who have gone before them. Affectionate regards to James and Alicia and the little ones, especially Clare. Best respects to Edmund and Mary and the young brace, and to sister Juliana: but I intend in a short time to write to the convent to discharge all my obligations there. Dr. Cullen and P. Moran¹ desire to be most affectionately remembered to you all. The latter has grown very tall, enjoys good health, and is a very promising young ecclesiastic. The bishop has the greatest regard for him. We have just heard to-day of the death of Sister Vincent Renny, of the Mercy Convent. The recollection of all her virtues will long survive; she was a most amiable and perfect soul, all innocence, all purity, devoted with her whole heart to the service of her Creator; she has had a happy exchange. May our last end be like unto hers!

Well, I must finish. Farewell! May heaven protect you and yours, and may we never forget the one thing necessary.

Affectionately yours,

JAMES MAHER.

It would be interesting to ascertain the number of priests and nuns that have come from those united families of Cullens, Mahers, and Morans. Some delightful books have treated of the biography, not of individuals, but of many generations of the same family—the Herschels, the Trenches, the Mendelssohns. An interesting book of another kind might be devoted to the history of a family such as we are referring to. The lady to whom we owe Father Maher's epistolary sermon has kindly supplied the following list of the relatives of Cardinal Cullen who became priests or nuns:—

Paul Cullen, who was destined to play so important a part in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, was the son of Hugh Cullen and Mary Maher. His father's brother, Michael, and his mother's brother, James, were parish priests in the diocese of Kildare. Two sisters of his mother

¹ His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney.

entered the Presentation Convents at Carlow and Kildare, in which latter Convent his sister also became a nun. His nephew, Patrick Francis Moran, is now Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney; and the Most Rev. Michael Verdon, Bishop of Dunedin, is another nephew.

The late William Cullen stood in the same relationship to our first Irish Cardinal, as do also the Rev. James Maher, late Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome; the Rev. Edmund Cullen, C.M., and the Rev. Paul Cullen, C.M.

Amongst the Cardinal's nieces are Mrs. Cullen, of the French Sisters of Charity at Darlington; Mrs. Keatley, of the Convent of Mercy, Drogheda; and Mrs. Cullen, Irish Sister of Charity, Superior of St. Vincent's Hospital, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin. Of the Cardinal's grand-nieces, two bearing his name are amongst the French Sisters of Charity in North William-street, Dublin, and Dunmanway, co. Cork; while two of the Cummins family are Sisters of Mercy at Callan, and a third at Westport. The Rev. Michael Cullen, S.J., Beaumont College, Windsor, is a grand-nephew of Cardinal Cullen. The letter we have printed speaks of 'Father Tom,' a cousin of the Cardinal's, namely, Father Thomas Cullen, P.P., of the diocese of Kildare. Cousins of the name of Cullen are, or were, Sisters of Mercy at Westport and Pittsburgh, and two together in the Convent of Mercy, Carlow, while a fifth was a Presentation Nun in Mountmellick.

Other cousins of the name of Maher entered the Dominican Convent, Wicklow, and the Convents of Mercy, Athy, Callan, and Carlow; while two of the Kenna family joined the Presentation Convent, Kildare. In the next degree of kinship stand the Rev. Edmund Cullen, C.C., of Kingstown; the Rev. Hugh Cullen, C.C., Naas; Rev. Walter Hurley, C.C., Delgany; Rev. Gerald Cummins of the Kildare diocese; three Dominican Nuns of Wicklow, and a Sister of Mercy at Westport. Our catalogue furnishes other names, amongst which are those of Mother de Ricci Maher, of the Dominican Convent, Cabra; Mother Columba Maher of the same Convent; Rev. John Kearney and Rev. Edmund Kearney of the Kildare diocese; Rev. Thomas Maher, S.J.;

Rev. Martin Maher, S.J., &c. But we need not trace further the branches of this remarkable Levitical family.

Amongst the not very numerous letters which Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth College, 1857-1880, preserved out of his vast correspondence was the following from Mr. John Rogers Herbert, R.A. This distinguished painter would, doubtless, have had more vogue if he had continued, as at first, to draw his inspiration from pagan or worldly themes. But, when drawn into the Catholic Church about his thirtieth year, in 1840, partly through the influence of the enthusiastic convert, Augustus Welby Pugin, he seems to have deemed it a duty to devote his talents to the illustration of religious subjects, not so popular among the English public of the nineteenth century as in the country and the century of Fra Angelico. But Mr. Herbert's reputation stood sufficiently high to secure him the commission to decorate with frescoes the Peers' robing room in the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. To these he alludes in this letter. He chose the subjects from the Old Testament—the Fall of Man, the Building of the Temple, &c. The greatest of his works is said to be 'Moses bringing the Tables of the Law.' The son, whose soul he commended to Dr. Russell's prayers, was already dead seven years. Though Arthur Herbert was only twenty-two years old when he died, in 1856, he had exhibited paintings two years with success in the Royal Academy. Before Mr. J. R. Herbert died, in his eightieth year (1890), he had also lost, in 1882, a son of still greater promise, Cyril Wiseman Herbert:—

7, GRAVESEND PLACE,
ST. JOHN'S WOOD-ROAD,
Sept. 15th, 1863.

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I have not forgotten the very kind expressions which fell from your lips when I spoke of the loss of my dear son Arthur John—that you would say a mass for his soul if I reminded you of the anniversary of his death. Friday, the 18th November, is the day.

I am sure you will be pleased to hear that the members of the Government have been greatly impressed with my doings at Westminster, and that the enemies in the House of Commons have become warm friends, and that they have it I am a sort of

Master in Israel. I am glad if Catholic Art rises, and commends religious thoughts to the spectator. I shall not become vain at its success. It has not been done with ease, and if I am entrusted with any talent it is for good, and not of my own making. Forgive my having spoken of my own doings, but I know you are interested in them, and I have ventured to give you the tidings of the impression of my work. How glad I shall be to see you here or at Westminster whenever you come to London.

My friend Mr. Kenelm Digby invites me to Ireland. I am uncertain of my plans. If I can get west, I shall, I hope, get your blessing at Maynooth; and meanwhile I beg it now.

My daughters join me in hearty wishes for your health and every good thing to you.

Believe me, Very Rev. Dear Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

J. R. HERBERT.

The writer of this letter shares with the friend whom he mentions the distinction of being the only Englishmen who were elected honorary members of the Irish Ecclesiological Society, which had been organized a little earlier, under the presidency of Dr. Russell, of Maynooth. All these names occur again in a letter of the poet Denis Florence MacCarthy, which followed me to St. Beuno's, a month after the date of the preceding letter:—

SUMMERFIELD HOUSE, DALKEY,
28th October, 1863.

DEAR MR. RUSSELL,—I am glad to find that new duties, new associations, and new scenery have not quite put out of your head all recollection of the little (or big) circle at Summerfield. It would give me great pleasure indeed to visit North Wales while you are there; not, indeed, in search of the picturesque, because to those who have eyes the beautiful is everywhere, but for the romantic variety of the picturesque which North Wales so abundantly provides. I do not, however, see much probability of my being able to do so. Besides, your mention of Dr. Johnson sets my back up even against the Vale of Clwyd. I would be inclined to say (if *you* were not there) as that sturdy old hater said of the Giant's Causeway, that it was worth seeing, but not worth going to see. But I withdraw the disparaging quotation, and will go sometime or other, you may rely upon it, if I can.

I fear for my poor 'Underglimpes' in the hands of a Coleridge. Attuned as his ear must be almost hereditarily to

the melody of 'Genevieve' and 'Kubla Khan,' my impromptu pipings must seem very small indeed.

Since I last saw you, I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance in an accidental way of one of your late reverend associates at Limerick, Sir Christopher Bellew. Dr. Madden and I were going over Killiney one day to pay a visit to Kenelm Digby. In a shower of rain we both sheltered under a hawthorn tree, and were joined by a distinguished-looking priest, who had, as I unpatriotically thought, an Oxford or Cambridge look about him. In a few minutes after, we met at Mr. Digby's, who was good enough to introduce us to him, and I found to my amazement that he was as well up in the Marquis de Villars' controversy and the Chevalier de Chatelain's *Rayons et Reflets* as I was myself. Your uncle, Dr. Russell, also, was good enough to call here one day with Mr. Kenelm Digby, whose acquaintance I was very glad to make, and who impressed us all here very favourably. Your uncle kindly asked me to Maynooth to meet the Attorney-General, but unfortunately I could not go. See what an autobiography you have brought upon you by your friendly note.

Believe me, dear Mr. Russell,

Sincerely yours,

D. F. M'CARTHY.

The two out-of-the-way books which afforded Father Bellew an opportunity of gratifying Mr. MacCarthy, at their first meeting, by showing his familiarity with them, were, of course, connected with the poet himself. *Rayons et Reflets* gave French metrical translations of some of his sweetest lyrics, and the *Mémoires de Villars* was a curious old book, published by the Philobiblon Society, in 1862, on which MacCarthy had read a very erudite paper before the Royal Irish Academy. This drew from Lady 'Speranza' Wilde a remonstrance in blank verse, beginning:—

Descend not, poet, from the heights.

A certain college professor, better known afterwards as a preacher and as dean of a great diocese, had a little of that amiable vanity which has distinguished some very good and very able men. One day, walking with a colleague up and down in front of the college (not Maynooth), he and his companion passed a donkey that was browsing placidly on the lawn. 'That poor animal,' said he, 'little knows

how much theology is passing by.' That hawthorn-tree upon Killiney Hill, under which Denis Florence MacCarthy and Richard Robert Madden sought refuge from a summer shower, on their way to the author of *Mores Catholici* and *The Broadstone of Honour*, was just as little aware how highly it was honoured in sheltering, at the same moment, the sweetest of our poets, the venerable historian of the United Irishmen, and the only Irish baronet who ever gave up the world to become a priest.

MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

ABSOLUTION FROM A RESERVED SIN AND THE MAYNOOTH SYNODAL DECREES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly give your opinion on the force and value of the following sentence, to be found in the Acts and Decrees of the Maynooth Synod, par. 86, cap. xvi., *De Poenitentia*: ‘Casus reservatus in dioecesi confessarii non subtrahitur reservationi ea de causa quod non reservatur in dioecesi poenitentis.’ My difficulty is whether a confessor in Ireland can absolve a penitent coming from another diocese in Ireland from a sin, which is reserved in the diocese of the confessor, but not in that of the penitent. According to many, if not most, modern theologians, it is solidly probable that a confessor can absolve a penitent when the sin is reserved in the diocese of confessor, but not in the diocese of penitent. They ground their opinion on the commonly-received belief that the penitent’s bishop supplies jurisdiction when the subject confessed in another diocese, and as he has not reserved the sin in the case made, the confessor can freely absolve.

I should have no hesitation in following this opinion in practice were it not for the sentence in the Maynooth Decrees already referred to. Does this sentence prevent a confessor in Ireland from following the opinion just given? If it does, then it must have the force of a legislative enactment to this extent, that the bishops collectively and individually refuse jurisdiction on behalf of their subject in such circumstances. I don’t think this sentence can have such meaning or force, but if it hasn’t, it seems to be merely the expression of a theological opinion on the part of their Lordships; and so it may be departed from in practice by any confessor who thinks the opposite more probable or solidly probable. You will much oblige by enlightening myself and others on this matter.—I remain, &c.

DUBITANS.

Our correspondent contemplates the case, for example, in which a penitent from another diocese confesses to him a

certain sin reserved in *loco confessionis*, but not in *diocesi poenitentis*. Can he absolve such a penitent? It is assumed, of course, that the penitent is not in danger of death, that there is no special necessity for receiving absolution, and nothing to prevent the penitent from having recourse to his superior. We assume, moreover, that the confessor has not got special faculties for absolving from the reserved sins of his diocese.

The question may be considered from the point of view of the general law of the Church, or with special reference to the law that obtains in this country. Viewing the matter from the standpoint of the general law, theologians are divided on this question. They differ as to the source from which the diocesan clergy (as distinct from regulars) derive the jurisdiction to absolve *peregrini*, and hence arises a diversity of opinion on the question raised by our correspondent. Some derive the jurisdiction over *peregrini* from the bishop of the place where the confession is heard, and hence infer (rightly or wrongly) that a *peregrinus* is subject to the reservations of the place in which he confesses. Others derive the jurisdiction from the bishop of the penitent, and hence infer that a *peregrinus* can be absolved from all sins not reserved in his own diocese. Others, again, think that jurisdiction to absolve *peregrini* is a legal jurisdiction coming from the Pope, inasmuch as he approves the general custom according to which confessors treat *peregrini* (*fraude seclusa*) just as they treat other penitents. We need not stop to specify further modifications of these opinions. The two latter opinions are now very generally admitted to be both probable. We look upon the opinion last mentioned as the more probable of the two. But our correspondent can undoubtedly claim good authority for the opinion which derives the jurisdiction over *peregrini* from the bishop of the penitent's domicile, and lays down that a confessor can absolve a *peregrinus* from a sin reserved in *loco confessioni tantum*.

Lehmkuhl says :—

Practice statui potest ut peregrinum absolvere liceat nisi aut (1) peccatum reservatum sit utrobique, *i.e.*, in loco confessionis

et in loco domicilii poenitentis aut (2) 'in fraudem legis . . . in alienam dioecesim se transtulerit.'¹

And Haine :—

Si casus est reservatus tantum in loco confessionis [confessarius absolvere potest]. Et haec sententia est practice tuta; tum quia stante solida probabilitate hujus sententiae, reservatio jam evadit dubia [ideoque nulla], tum quia licitum est ex communi DD. absolvere cum jurisdictione probabili probabilitate juris.

We have no right, therefore, to quarrel with our correspondent's practical conclusion when he says that, viewing the matter from the standpoint of the general law, he would have no hesitation in following the practical rule laid down by Lehmkühl.

We think, however, that the general law—and here we differ from our correspondent—is modified in this country by the words above quoted from the Synod of Maynooth. We cannot admit that these words express a mere theological opinion, the authority of which may, as our correspondent suggests, be discounted by the weight of authority against it.

In form, indeed, the words quoted are not mandatory, but affirmative. And it is for this reason, perhaps, that our correspondent understands them to contain a mere expression of theological teaching. On the other hand, however, it may be contended that we should not, in any case, expect the words to take an imperative form; for the obligation, if there were one, was to fall on the legislators themselves—binding them to withdraw jurisdiction. But, moreover—and this is what weighs with us—we should not assume unnecessarily that the bishops undertook, in these words, what they had no power whatever to accomplish. They had no authority to decide, or to attempt to decide definitively, a question hotly disputed among the first theologians of the time. Yet the interpretation suggested to us makes the bishops adopt, and seem to teach, one of the rival opinions, without as much as condescending to notice any

other. They are made to decide by implication, and teach us the origin of jurisdiction over *peregrini*, with the same apparent confidence and authority with which they tell us, a page or two before, that the Easter-time begins in this country on Ash Wednesday, and ends on Ascension Thursday, or on the octave-day of the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul. We could admit such an interpretation only under compulsion.

But there is no necessity for having recourse to it. Whatever the bishops thought speculatively of the merits of the controversy above referred to, they came to the conclusion, we may suppose, that the ends of reservation, the good of penitents, and the convenience of confessors as well, would be best served by a common arrangement that, in this country, a confessor should not, for the confessions of *peregrini*, have jurisdiction over a case reserved *in loco confessionis*, though not reserved *in dioecesi poenitentis*. That the bishops could have made such an agreement cannot be disputed. That they actually did make this arrangement will be admitted by all who refuse to accept the only alternative of placing the bishops of the synod in a false and untenable position.

Our interpretation does no violence to the words of the Synod; and so far, perhaps, it can claim no advantage over the alternative interpretation. But, our interpretation avoids the necessity of supposing that the bishops of the Synod took up an untenable view of their authority. For this reason we commend it to our correspondent. We may further remark that confessors find it sometimes difficult enough to master the reserved cases of their own diocese; in our correspondent's view, they would need, for the efficient discharge of their duties, to know the reserved cases of the dioceses as well. The bishops at the Maynooth Synod ruled that confessors must (unless in case of fraud) treat *peregrini* just as they treat their own penitents, and so in most cases practically relieved confessors from the trouble of knowing the reservations of other dioceses than their own. We doubt if the interests of confessors or penitents would, as a rule, be served by reverting to the state of things

practically existing under the general law. Penitents would more frequently escape the reservations of their own pastors, and confessors would have more need to be familiar with the reservations of neighbouring dioceses.

The special inter-diocesan arrangement for this country holds, of course, only so long, and so far, as the bishops of the country continue to abide by the regulation of the Maynooth Synod. There is nothing, for instance, to prevent two bishops from reverting to the common law, or making an express agreement in virtue of which the confessors of their dioceses would have the power which our correspondent is desirous to exercise. Manifestly, too, the arrangement does not in any way suggest our correspondent's jurisdiction over a *peregrinus* who does not belong to an Irish diocese.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE VOTIVE MASS OF THE HOLY GHOST

REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall feel very much obliged, if you will kindly answer the following question :—

Can a priest say the Mass of the Holy Ghost to obtain some temporal favour; *v.g.*, to prevent the loss of cattle, to relieve or cure a person suffering from a severe malady, &c., on a semi-double, simple, or ferial, not within an octave, or other time which excludes Votive Masses?

The reason of my asking the question, is, that some priests affirm that the Mass of the Holy Ghost cannot licitly be celebrated, even on these days, except for some grave spiritual necessity.

Until I heard this opinion advanced, I thought that as a priest was free to say a requiem Mass on these days for a deceased person, so he was equally free to say the Mass of the Holy Ghost on the same days for the temporal benefit of a person, in the usual way in which Mass is offered up to obtain any temporal favour.

If a priest cannot lawfully say the Mass of the Holy Ghost

except for a grave spiritual necessity, perhaps it may be considered that such a necessity is generally present with the temporal one for which the priest is asked to celebrate the Mass.

Yours sincerely,

P.P.

Our correspondent need have no scruple about saying the Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost on any day on which the rubrics permit the celebration of a Requiem or other Votive Mass. The object for which this Mass is offered need not necessarily be a spiritual one, either grave or otherwise; it may quite lawfully be offered for the purpose of obtaining temporal blessings. Our correspondent's advisers seem to possess hazy notions of one or two correct principles. It is true that the Mass of the Holy Ghost is one of the three that may be said as a Solemn Mass of thanksgiving; it is also true that a Solemn Votive Mass cannot be celebrated unless for a grave cause. But it is nowhere stated that a Solemn Votive Mass, whether of the Holy Ghost, of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, &c., cannot be celebrated for any other object than 'a grave spiritual necessity.' On the contrary, a grave temporal necessity affords quite the same justification for the celebration of a Solemn Votive Mass as does a similar necessity in the spiritual order.

We may seem to be wandering from the question which we have undertaken to answer; but our object is not merely to show our correspondent that he was not wrong in following the practice to which his friends objected, but also that the opinion put forward by his friends could not, in any conceivable circumstances, be right. A private Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost may be offered for any becoming object on any day permitting a Votive Mass, and a Solemn Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost may be offered for temporal as well as for spiritual objects. We give the following extract from De Herdt in support of the latter statement, because we are quite certain that it was some confused notion regarding Solemn Votive Masses that led our correspondent's

friends to tender him the erroneous advice to which he refers. We may remark that a grave public cause is required to justify a bishop in permitting a Solemn Votive Mass :—

Quae est causa gravis et publica quae requiritur ad cantandum votivam solemnem ?

Resp. Talis est spiritualis vel¹ *temporalis* necessitas, quae communitatem vel saltem majorem ejus partem afficit v.g. pro obtinenda pace, serenitate aeris, etc. pro acquirendo gravi et publico beneficio, vel avertendo malo, pro recuperanda sanitate Pontificis, Episcopi Regis, etc. ; si gratiae pro magno accepto beneficio sint agenda,¹ etc.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ Tom vi., n. 27.

DOCUMENTS

BISHOPS WHO HAVE POWER TO DISPENSE IN AGE CAN DISPENSE SECULAR AND REGULAR CLERICS

EX S. CONG. S. R. U. INQUISITIONIS

EPISCOPI QUI POTIUNTUR FACULTATE DISPENSANDI A DEFECTU
AETATIS, DISPENSARE VALENT CLERICOS SAECULARES ET
REGULARES

Feria IV, die 29 Ian. 1896.

In Congregatione Generali S.R. et U. I. habita coram Eñis
et Rñis DD. Cardinalibus contra haeticam pravitatem Gene-
ralibus Inquisitoribus propositum fuit sequens dubium :

In facultatibus quinquennialibus S. C. de Propaganda Fide sub
formula III. n. 13 conceditur facultas 'Dispensandi super defectu
aetatis unius anni, ob operariorum penuriam, ut promoveri possint
ad sacerdotium si alias idonei fuerint.' Quaeritur utrum haec
facultas extendatur etiam ad Regulares.

Et omnibus diligenti examine perpensis, praehabitoque
DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Eñi ac Rñi DD. Cardinales
respondendum mandarunt : 'Affirmative, facto verbo cum SSño.'

Feria vero V. die 30 eiusdem mensis et anni in solita Audientia
r. p. d. Assessori impertita, facta de suprascriptis accurata
relatione SSño D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, Sanctitas Sua resolutionem
Eminentissimorum Patrum approbavit et confirmavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. *Not.*

EXCOMMUNICATION BY ROMAN CONGREGATIONS

EXCOMMUNICATIO LATA A SS. CONGR. ROMANIS NON RESERVATUR
ROM. PONTIFICI CEU ILLA AB EO LATA IN COMMUNICANTES IN
CRIMINE CRIMINOSO

Feria IV., die 16 Iunii, 1894.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. I. habita coram Eñis
et Rñis DD. Cardinalibus, contra haeticam pravitatem Gene-
ralibus Inquisitoribus, propositum fuit sequens dubium :

In Constitutione s. m. Pii Papae IX. quae incipit 'Apostolicae
Sedis,' excommunicatione Rom. Pontifici simpliciter reservata

innodantur : 'Communicantes cum excommunicato nominatim a a Papa in crimine criminoso, ei scilicet impendendo auxilium vel favorem.' Quaeritur utrum his verbis comprehendantur etiam excommunicati a Romanis Congregationibus, saltem quando earum decretis accedit approbatio Summi Pontificis.

Et omnibus diligenti examine perpensis, praehabitoque DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Eñi ac Rñi DD. Cardinales respondendum mandarunt : 'Negative.'

Feria vero VI., die 18 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia r. p. d. Adessoris S. O. impertita, facta de suprascriptis accurata relatione SSñmo D. N. Leoni PP. XIII., Sanctitas Sua resolutionem Eminentissimorum Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. *Not.*

SHOULD MEMBERS OF CONFRATERNITIES FOLLOW THE PROCESSION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT WITH HEADS UNCOVERED ?

DUBIUM, QUAERITUR AN SODALES PROCEDERE DEBEANT CAPITOMNINO NUDO IN PROCESSIONIBUS CUM SSMO SACRAMENTO

Postulato Sacrae Rituum Congregationi exhibito : Utrum in processionibus cum SSñmo Sacramento confraternitatum sodales semper nudo omnino capite procedere debeant ? Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente Secretario, auditoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae respondendum censuit : *Affirmative*, ad tramites Ritualis Romani, Caeremonialis Episcoporum et Decretorum *Aesina* 23 Januarii 1700 ad 2 ; *Mutinen.* 22 Septembris 1837 ad 2 ; et *Toletana*, 21 Augusti 1872, ad II. Atque ita rescripsit, die 22 Julii 1897.

C. CARD. MAZELLA EP. PRAENESTIN. S. R. C. *Praef.*

L. ✕ S

D. PANICI, S. R. C. *Secret.*

BANNERS TO BE CARRIED IN PROCESSION

DE ADMITTENDIS NECNE VEXILLIS, TUM INTRA ECCLESIAS, TUM IN POMPA FUNEBRI DUCENDA, CLERO COMITANTE

Ab H. S. Inquis. sequentis dubii solutio ex postulata, est nimirum :

Utrum admitti possint vexilla, sive vexillum dictum nationale,

in Ecclesiis, occasione functionum religiosarum, et in adsociatione cadaverum ad coemeterium cum funebri pompa et interventu cleri?

Responsum fuit die 3 Oct. 1887 :

‘Quatenus agatur de vexillis, quae praeseferunt emblemata manifeste impia vel perversa, si ea extollantur in pompa funebri, clerus inde recedat ; si in Ecclesiam per vim inducantur, tunc si missa nondum inchoata fuerit, clerus recedat, si inchoata, post eam absolutam auctoritas ecclesiastica solemnem protestationem emittat de violata templi et sacrarum functionum sanctitate. Quatenus agatur de vexillis ita dictis nationalibus, nullum emblema de se vetitum praeferentibus, in funebri pompa tolerari posse, dummodo feretrum sequantur, in Ecclesia vero non esse toleranda.’

Quid vero agendum, si vexilla dicta nationalia violenter in Ecclesiis introducantur ?

Idem S. Officium, sub die 24 Nov. 1897 respondit : ‘detur Decretum S. Poenitentiariae in *Apuana* sub die 4 Aprilis 1887.’

Decretum autem sic sonat :

‘Quatenus agatur de vexillis, quae praeseferunt emblemata manifeste impia vel perversa, si ea extollantur in pompa funebri, clerus inde recedat ; si in ecclesiam per vim inducantur, tunc si missa nondum inchoata fuerit, clerus recedat ; si inchoata post eam absolutam auctoritas ecclesiastica solemnem protestationem emittat de violata templi et sacrarum functionem sanctitate. Quatenus agatur de vexillis ita dictis nationalibus, nullum emblema de se vetitum praeseferentibus, in funebri pompa tolerari posse dummodo feretrum sequantur ; in ecclesia vero non esse toleranda, nisi secus turbae aut pericula timeantur.’

CERTAIN DEFECTS IN ORDINATION

ITERETUR SECRETO ORDINATIO DIACONI, IN QUA EPUS CERTO CAPUT
ORDINANDI, PHYSICE NON TETIGIT

Beatissimo Padre.¹

N. N. prostrato ai piedi della S. V., umilmente espone che egli, due anni or sono, fu ammesso all' ordinazione del Diaconato.

¹ N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter exponit quod duobus abhinc annis, ad recipiendum Diaconatus Ordinem fuit admissus. Nunc autem circa hanc ordinationem dubiis premitur. Optime enim meminit quod Epus, dum manus imponeret, ipsum physice non tetigit ; de hoc aliquamdiu turbatus

Oggi però ha dei dubbii su quella ordinazione. Egli ricorda bene che il Vescovo nello imporgli le mani, non lo toccò fisicamente: ne visse inquieto per qualche tempo; ma pensando che il tatto fisico non è essenziale, si lasciò poco dopo promuovere al sacerdozio. Se non che, avendo non guari appreso che la imposizione delle mani senza contatto corporale rendeva dubbia l'ordinazione, agitato da novello timore, chiede se la sua ordinazione a diacono debba essere reiterata sotto condizione.—Che ecc.

Fer. IV, 26 Ianuarii 1898.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab E.mis ac R.mis D.D. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE.mi ac RR.mi DD.ni responderi mandarunt:

Detur Decretum Fer. IV 2 Ianuarii 1875; scilicet iteretur sub conditione Ordinatio Diaconatus, quae iteratio fieri potest a quocumque catholico Episcopo secreto, quocumque anni tempore etiam in sacello privato, facto verbo cum SS.mo.

Feria vero VI, die 28 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, idem SS. Deminus resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum confirmavit ac facultates omnes necessarias et opportunas impertiri dignatus est.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. Not.

ORDINANDUS RECEPIT PRIMAM ET SECUNDAM IMPOSITIONEM MANUUM
CUM INTENTIONE NEUTRA, QUAM AFFIRMATIVAM EFFECIT ANTE
MANUUM CONSECRATIONEM: ACQUIESCAT

*Beatissimo Padre.*¹

N. N. prostrato ai piedi della S. V., umilmente espone che egli fu ordinato sacerdote con questa intenzione: Dubitando se

exstitit; sed putans tactum physicum non esse essentialem, ad sacerdotium, se promoveri indulsit. Iamvero quum nuper audierit, ex impositione manuum sine contactu corporali peracta, dubiam evadere ordinationem, iterum timore pressus, postulat utrum sua ordinatio ad Diaconatum, debeat sub conditione iterari.

¹ N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter exponit se sacrum recepisse presbyteratus ordinem cum sequenti intentione: quum enim dubitaret utrum ad presbyteratum idoneus esset neque, ex una parte volebat excludere intentionem recipiendi characterem, ex altera vero illam ponere volebat. Tandem ita sibimet dixit: pono illam intentionem, quam in decursu ordinationis pro cetera statui. Ita dubitans, primam et secundam manuum impositionem recepit; et tunc solum, intentionem recipiendi sacerdotium efformavit, quum ad manuum consecrationem perventum est. Nunc autem, conscientia pressus, postulat utrum valida sit ordinatio sic recepta.

era idoneo o pur no al presbiterato, da una parte voleva togliere la intenzione di esser prete, dall'altra voleva metterla. Finalmente disse così : metto quella intenzione che determinerò certamente in qualche punto dell'ordinazione. Dubbioso sempre, ricevette la prima e la seconda imposizione delle mani ; e solo quando si fu alla consacrazione delle mani risolse di esser prete. Or, inquieto di coscienza, chiede se sia valida l'ordinazione così ricevuta.

Fer. IV, 26 Ianuarii 1898.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EE.mis et RR.mis DD. Cardinalibus Inquisitoribus Generalibus, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque voto RR. DD. Consultorum, responderi mandarunt :

Acquiescat.

Feria vero VI, die 28 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia R. P. D. Adessori impertita, facta de his omnibus relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, idem SS. D.nus resolutionem EE.morum PP. adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I. Not.*

THE CEREMONIES OF LOW MASS

PARISIEN

VARIA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA QUOAD GENUFLEXIONES CORAM SS. SACRAMENTO, ETC.

R. D. Augustinus Dauby, Sacerdos et Moderator pii Instituti a Sancto Nicolao nuncupati, in Civitate Parisiensi, de consensu sui Rmi Ordinarii, sequentium Dubiorum solutionem a Sacra Rituum Congregatione humillime expetivit, nimirum :

I. Quoad genuflexiones faciendas a ministro Missae privatae, quae iusta de causa et praevia licentia celebretur in Altari expositionis SSmi Sacramenti, quaeritur :

1. Minister, qui transfert missale a cornu Epistolae ad cornu Evangelii et genuflectit in plano ante medium Altaris, debetne etiam genuflectere in accessu ad cornu Altaris et recessu ?

2. Quando idem minister ad offertorium et purificationem ascendit ad Altare et descendit, ubinam genuflectere debet ?

II. Rubricae Missalis ad titulum 'Ritus servandus in celebratione Missae V., n. 6, praescribunt ; " Si in altari fuerit tabernaculum SSmi Sacramenti, accepto thuribulo, antequam incipiat

incensationem, genuflectit, quod item facit quotiescunque transit ante medium altaris;” quaeritur: Utrum etiam in Missa privata debeat Sacerdos genuflectere:

1. quando defectu ministri, ipse transfert Missale a cornu Epistolae ad cornu Evangelii, et vicissim;

2. quando in Maiori Hebdomada transit a cornu Epistolae ad cornu Evangelii ad legendam Passionem?

III. Rituale Romanum in tit. ‘Ordo ministrandi Sacram Communionem,’ haec habet: ‘Sacerdos reversus ad altare dicere poterit: O sacrum convivium, etc., v. Domine exaudi, etc. Et clamor, etc., Dominus vobiscum, etc.’; quaeritur:

1. Utrum istae preces convenienter dicantur, iunctis manibus antequam cooperiatur pyxis et digiti abluantur?

2. Utrum Sacerdos duas genuflexiones facere debeat, unam statim ac deposuit pyxidem super Altari et antequam eam cooperiat; alteram priusquam, reposita in tabernaculo pyxide, ipsius tabernaculi ostiolum claudat?

IV. Iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum, ad benedictionem impertiendam cum SSmo Sacramento ipse celebrans accipit ostensorium super Altari positum; sed receptum est, ut Diaconus accipiat ostensorium et porrigat celebranti, qui post benedictionem Diacono tradit super Altari collocandum, quaeritur: Utrum liceat in hac duplici ostensorii traditione ritum servare, qui praescribitur pro feria V in Coena Domini et in festo SS. Corporis Christi ante et post processionem SSmi Sacramenti?

V. Licetne aliquid canere lingua vernacula.

1. In Missa solemni dum sacra Communio distribuitur per notabile tempus?

2. In solemni processione SSmi Sacramenti, alternatim cum hymnis liturgicis?

VI. Iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum in solemni Officio ad nonam Lectionem et in Laudibus Hebdomadarius et Assistentes pluviali sunt induti, quaeritur:

1. Utrum idem fieri possit a principio Matutini?

2. Utrum lectori septimae Lectionis Evangelii homiliae duo acolythi cum cereis accensis assistere possint, durante lectione Evangelii?

Et Sacra Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. quoad primam quaestionem: Unicam genuflexionem

esse faciendam in plano ante medium Altaris ; quoad alteram quaestionem : Tam ante ascensionem ad Altare, quam post descensionem de eodem in plano genuflexionem esse faciendam.

Ad II. Negative ad utrumque.

Ad III. Quoad primam partem : Negative et preces dicendae sunt infra ablutionem et extersionem digitorum. Quoad alteram partem : Affirmative iuxta Decretum in *Romana* d. d. 23 Decembris 1862, et praxim Basilicarum Urbis.

Ad IV. Aut servatur ritus a Caeremoniali Episcoporum lib. II., cap. 32, § 27 praescriptus, aut, iuxta praxim Romanam, Diaconus ostensorium celebranti tradere vel ab eodem recipere potest, utroque stante.

Ad V. Negative ad utrumque.

Ad VI. Si non adsit legitima consuetudo, Negative et servetur Caeremoniale Episcoporum lib. II., cap. VI., § 16.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 14 Ianuarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus S. R. C., Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

L. ✠ S.

VARIOUS QUESTIONS REGARDING CHURCHES AND CHURCH PRACTICES IN ENGLAND

Rmus Dnus Cuthbertus Hedley, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Episcopus Neoporten. Sacrae Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur humillime exposuit, nimirum :

I. In Anglia nec dari Paroecias strictim dictas, nec Beneficia, quibus adnexum sit onus Divini Officii recitandi ; verum Ecclesiis singulis addictos esse unum vel plures Sacerdotes, qui ibidem residences, munia quasi parochialia in Territorio sive (ut aiunt) in Districtu Missionario ipsius Ecclesiae ratione muneris exercent.

II. Rectores Ecclesiarum alios esse ad nutum Episcopi amovibiles, alios vero nonnisi praevis Processu Canonico vel Resignatione sponte oblata et accepta : universos autem Vicarios, sive Sacerdotes Assistentes esse ad nutum Ordinarii amovibiles.

III. Ecclesias per Angliam perpaucae esse consecratas, ceteras benedictas sub invocatione Sancti Titularis : nonnunquam vero Fideles (deficiente Aede Sacra) congregari ad Missam audiendam Sacramentaque suscipienda in Schola vel alia Aula congrua pro publico Oratorio ab Ordinario designata.

Quare idem Rmus Episcopus Orator, apprime cupiens cuncta quae cultum divinum respiciunt in sua Dioecesi ad tramites Decretorum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis disponere, enixe postulavit, nempe :

I. An apud Anglos in Ecclesiis Cleri Saecularis Calendarium Dioecesanum a laudata Sacra Rituum Congregatione approbatum et singulis annis iussu Ordinarii editum, additis festis SS. Titularium, Dedicationis, atque aliis (si quae fuerint) a Sancta Sede concessis, censeatur Calendarium uniuscuiusque Ecclesiae, cui proinde quivus Celebrans in Sacro faciendo atque Sacerdotes Ecclesiae, etiam in Officio Divino recitando se conformare debeant ?

II. An liceat Regularibus, si quando ipsis precario committeretur una cum cura animarum administratio alicuius Ecclesiae Saecularium, Sacras Functiones iuxta ordinem Calendarii propriae Religiosae Congregationis peragere, relicto Calendario Dioecesano, cui populus iam assuetus fuerit ?

III. An Regularis, Ecclesiae Saeculari aliquando ad tempus sive ad beneplacitum Episcopi (Superiore Religioso assentiente) praepositus, atque privatim recitans Horas Canonicas, adhibito iuxta decreta a S. Rituum Congregatione Calendario proprii Ordinis, teneatur nihilominus ad Officium Sancti Titularis Ecclesiae Saecularis praedictae et quidem sub ritu duplicis primae classis cum Octava ?

IV. Item, an, commissa absque tempore praefinito, administratione Ecclesiae Regularis Sacerdoti saeculari, huic liceat, amoto Calendario Regularium, quo hactenus usus fuerit Clerus illius Ecclesiae, ordinare Missas et Officia publica iuxta Calendarium Dioecesanum ?

V. Quid decernendum de Calendario illorum Districtuum (sive sint de iure Cleri Saecularis sive de iure Cleri Regularis) ubi, Ecclesia nondum aedificata, populus ad Sacra adunetur in aedificiis, nonnisi transitorie ad cultum destinatis ?

VI. Cum saepenumero eveniat (vi privilegii a Sancta Sede concessi) Canonicos Ecclesiae Cathedralis praepositos esse, cum cura animarum et onere residentiae, Ecclesiis dissitis nec a Cathedrali dependentibus, utrum a Canonico Rectore huiusmodi Officium divinum sit persolvendum iuxta Calendarium Cathedralis, vel potius iuxta Calendarium Ecclesiae, cui hac ratione et stabili modo sive etiam vita perdurante ipse fuerit adscriptus ?

VII. Ad Sacerdotes Assistentes sive Vicarii teneantur in reci-

tatione privata divini Officii se conformare Calendario Ecclesiae, cui sunt addicti?

VIII. Ad liberum sit Canonico Rectori, quamdiu hoc munere fungitur, statuere pro arbitrio Calendarium Cathedralis pro Calendario Ecclesiae et Districtus Missionarii, sive quasi Paroeciae, cui, ut supra praeest, ne scilicet Missa ab Officio discrepet?

IX. Utrum Officium Vesperarum Dominicis festisque diebus publice decantari solitum, ordinandum sit iuxta Calendarium Ecclesiae, in qua persolvitur: an potius concordandum cum Officio privatim recitando a Rectore Ecclesiae, partes, ut plurimum, hebdomadarii agente?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque mature perpensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Negative.

Ad III. Negative.

Ad IV. Affirmative.

Ad V. Calendarium Dioecesanum adhibendum est.

Ad VI. Negative ad primam partem, Affirmative ad secundam.

Ad VII. Affirmative.

Ad VIII. Negative.

Ad IX. Affirmative ad primam partem, Negative ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 4 Februarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus S.R.C. Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

L. ✠ S.

LITANIES OF THE HOLY FAMILY

DUBIUM

SERVENTUR DECRETA CIRCA RECITATIONEM LITANIARUM, NON
OBSTANTE CONSUETUDINE

R. P. Petrus Blerot e Congregatione SSmi Redemptoris et director generalis Archiconfraternitatis a Sancta Familia nuncupatae, quae Leodii in Belgio anno 1844 canonice erecta, titulo Archiconfraternitatis anno 1847 ab Apostolica Sede decorata fuit, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione, de expresse consensu plurium Rmorum Antistitum, sequentis dubii solutionem humillime effla-

gitavit; nimirum: Utrum, attentis decretis a Sacra Rituum Congregatione editis relate ad recitationem Litaniarum, continuari possit consuetudo, qua sodales praedictae Archiconfraternitatis in congressibus, ad quos in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis publicis, etiam ianuis clausis, ipsi soli admittuntur, et extra functiones liturgicas, non privatim sed communiter recitant quasdam Litanias, gesta et exempla Sanctae Familiae, a qua nomen habent. referentes et a plerisque Rmīs Ordinariis approbatis?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, proposito dubio respondendum censuit: *Serventur decreta, non obstante consuetudine.*

Atque ita rescripsit, et servari mandavit.

Die 11 Februarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus S.R.C. Praef.*

DIOMEDES PANICI, *Secret.*

L. ✠ S.

SPECIAL LITANIES

DUBIA

CIRCA RECITATIONEM LITANIARUM

Praeter tres Litanias pro usu publico in universali Ecclesia approbatas, h. e., Litanias Sanctorum, Litanias B.M.V., et Litanias SSmi Nominis Iesu, peculiare quaedam Litaniae habentur ex. gr. de Sacratissimo Iesu Corde, Purissimo Corde B.M.V., aliaeque ab uno vel altero Rmo Ordinario pro usu tantum privato approbatae, quae idcirco neque in Breviario neque in Rituali Romano continentur.

Quaeritur 1. num eiusmodi peculiare Litaniae ita strictim prohibeantur, ut Monialibus sive religiosis Institutis non liceat illas privatim canere vel recitare ad instar precum oralium?

2. Et quatenus *negative*, num iisdem religiosis Familiis illas liceat canere vel recitare communiter in Choro, aut respectivo Oratorio?

3. Item quaeritur num peculiare, eiusmodi Litanias liceat Fidelibus in publica Ecclesia sive privatim sive communiter cantare, vel recitare ad modum quarumcumque precum?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, omnibus in casu perpensis, ita rescribendum censuit, videlicet:

Ad I. *Negative*, h. e., ita strictim non sunt prohibitae, ut singulis privatim eas non liceat cantare, vel recitare.

Ad II. *Affirmative*, h. e., ita strictim prohibentur ut communiter in Choro publico, vel publico Oratorio illas Litanias cantare vel recitare minime liceat.

Ad III. Ad I. partem, h. e., privatim, *Affirmative*: ad ii. partem, h. e., communiter, *Negative*.

Atque ita rescipsit, et servari mandavit.

Die 11 Februarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus S.R.C. Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

L. ✕ S.

CONDIMENTS ON FAST DAYS

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

CIRCA CONDIMENTA IN DIEBUS JEJUNII ¹

Il Sac. Evaristo Mosconi, Parroco di S. Maria delle Grazie presso Montepulciano, propose alla S. Penitenzieria i seguenti dubbi:

1. Nei di in cui è permesso il condimento di strutto e lardo, chi usa il lardo medesimo per condire minestra, polenta, frittata ecc., può liberamente mangiare quei pezzetti di lardo che restano, dopo essere stati soffritti per estrarne lo strutto?

2. Nei di di stretto magro, ne' quali sono vietate le uova, si può bagnare leggermente coll'uovo sbattuto le erbe, v. g. i carciofi?

3. Nei giorni di stretto magro è lecito l'uso dell'olio in cui siasi fritta la carne, o almeno è ciò lecito nei giorni di semplice astinenza?

Sacra Poenitentiaria ad proposita dubia respondet ut sequitur:

Ad 1^{um} *Affirmative* dummodo pergant esse pars condimenti.

Ad 2^{um} Condimentum ex ovis quando haec prohibentur, *non licere*.

Ad 3^{um} Qui ita agunt *non ess inquietandos*.

Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria die 17 novembris 1897.

B. POMPILI, *S. P. Corrector.*

A. C. MARTINI, *S. P. Praef.*

Versio latina.

¹ 1. In diebus in quibus permittitur condimentum ex adipe et larido, ille qui adhibet laridum pro condimento offae, pulmenti ex farina sesami, ovorum intritae, potestne licite edere illa fragmenta quae supersunt ex larido, postquam fricta fuerint ad extrahendum adipem?

2. In diebus strictioris abstinentiae, in quibus ova vetantur, licetne parum-per perfundere cum ovis permixtis, herbas, ut v. g. cinaras?

3. In diebus strictioris abstinentiae estne licitus usus olei, in quo perfricta perit caro; vel saltem licitusne erit in diebus simplicis abstinentiae?

NEW VOLUME OF 'DECRETA AUTHENTICA'

DECRETA AUTHENTICA CONGRIS SACRORUM RITUUM, VOL. I.

URBIS ET ORBIS

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII, cujus jussu et auctoritate Sacra Rituum Congregatio Decreta è suis registis selecta, revisa et typis commissa in lucem profert, in Audientia, subsignata die, ab infrascripto Cardinale sacrae eidem Congregationi Praefecto habita, collectionem horum decretorum, quae in praesenti volumine ceterisque mox edendis continentur, apostolica sua auctoritate approbavit, atque authenticam declaravit; simulque statuit Decreta hucusque evulgata in iis, quae a Decretis in hac collectione insertis dissonant, veluti abrogata esse censenda, exceptis tantum quae pro particularibus Ecclesiis indultis seu privilegii rationem habeant. Insuper idem Sanctissimus Dominus noster de praedictis praesens Decretum in forma authentica expedire, atque huic editioni cusae typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, praefigi mandavit contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque, etiam speciali mentione dignis.

Die 16 Februarii anno 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus*,*S.R.C., Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S.R.C., Secretarius.*

THE 'ORATIO IMPERATA' OF ANOTHER DIOCESE

DUBIUM

Quum juxta decretum Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis datum 9 Decembris 1895 omnes sacerdotes sive saeculares sive regulares Missas in aliena Ecclesia vel alieno Oratorio publico celebrantes omnino se conformare debeant dictae Ecclesiae vel Oratorio, ab eadem Sacra Congregatione expostulatum fuit: 'Utrum sacerdotes alienae Dioecesis obligentur etiam ad dicendam Orationem praescriptam ab Episcopo loci, ubi celebrant, an potius sint liberi ab hac oratione imperata?'

Et sacra ipsa Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature perponsa, proposito dubio respondendum censuit: *Affirmative* ad primam partem; *Negative* ad secundam. Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 5 Martii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Secretarius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SERMONS AND MORAL DISCOURSES FOR ALL THE SUNDAYS OF THE YEAR ON THE IMPORTANT TRUTHS OF THE GOSPEL. Edited and in part Written by Rev. F. X. McGowan, O.S.A. 2 Vols. New York and Cincinnati: Pustet & Co.

IN the preface to the first of these volumes the author, gives expression to the hope that the sermons will prove 'interesting, useful, and instructive.' After careful perusal of of several of the discourses, selected here and there at random, we have come to the conclusion that this hope has been fully realized. For, even if there be nothing in the subject matter which has not been touched upon already in works of a similar kind—and the author makes no pretensions to novelty on this score—still the method of treatment is sometimes original and often attractive, the ideas are clothed in clear and well-chosen language, and the themes treated of are among the most practical in the domain of moral and religious truth. So that the collection seems to have before it a great future of usefulness for the missionary priest.

For a long time it has been our conviction that the sermon-book is, more or less, an evil. If we had no such ready aids to preaching, we should be compelled to go for our information to the sources of Theological and Scriptural knowledge, to plan the framework out of designs of our own invention, and to fill in with matter collected after the expenditure of much careful labour. All this would have the happiest results. Our intellectual culture would be still more perfected; our acquaintance with the sacred sciences more amply extended, and our memories stored to better advantage with facts which would be useful for future occasions. But while there are numbers of hard-worked missionary priests who profess not to have enough respite from duty to undertake so elaborate a method of preparing their discourses, the use of the set sermon book as a model is, at the least, a necessary evil. And to those who aim at putting together in a brief space of time, with order and lucidity, some thoughts to serve

as an instruction on the Gospel of the day, or on any of the great Christian truths, we heartily recommend the two volumes under notice.

The book is brought out by the well-known firm of Pustet, New York, and wants nothing in the way of good binding and printing.

P. M.

PRAELECTIONES DOGMATICAE, quas in Collegio Ditton-Hall, habebat Christianus Pesch, S. J. Tom. V., De Gratia, de lege positiva divina. Tom. VI., De Sacramentis in Genere, de Baptismo, de Confirmatione, de Eucharistia. Tom. VII., De Sacramento Poenitentiae, de Extrema Unctione de Matrimonio. Freiburg: Herder.

THE favourable impression created by the earlier portions of Father Pesch's work on Dogmatic Theology is maintained, if not further enhanced, by the merit of the three volumes now before us. They continue to exhibit what was so observable in their earlier brothers—erudition, depth of thought, lucid arrangement, and strength of treatment. Like all parts of the book, they are written well up to date, and the latest discussions appertaining to their subject matter will be found embodied in their pages.

Beyond these statements of general excellence it is unnecessary to particularize the treatment of special questions. In the treatise *De Gratia*, the whole Pelagian controversy will supply a good example of the author's learning, his acquaintance with original sources, and his profound grasp of theological principles. On the everlasting controversies as to the nature of Grace, sufficient and efficacious, and the harmonizing of the latter with Free-will, he is a Molinist of the Molinist, and it would be hard to find a stronger presentation than his of the Jesuit system.

One of the best features of the book is, and has been throughout, its copious extracts from Patristic writings—a feature most commendable; for it not only familiarizes students with the language of the fathers, but awakens in their opening minds a desire for the personal examination of ancient records. For instance, the well-known friendly discussion between St. Jerome and St. Augustine as to when the Old Law ceased to be lawful and became 'mortifera,' is here transferred bodily from their writings, and occupies three pages of Father Pesch's book.

We were not surprised to find him in the treatise *De Sacramentis in Genere*, an uncompromising opponent of the Physical Causality of the Sacraments; but having sided with Lugo here as against Suarez, he restores the balance of power, rather unexpectedly too, in the tract *De Eucharistia*; for on the question as to how far '*destructio victimæ*,' is required for a sacrifice, and how this idea is verified in the sacrifice of the Mass, he boldly rejects the very widely received, and since Franzelin's time, very popular opinion of De Lugo, adopting in preference the opinion of Suarez—we must admit too with considerable weight of reason.

On Father Pesch's volume on Penance, Indulgences, Orders, Matrimony, we could write many well-deserved encomiums, but we have said enough to show our appreciation of the book in all its parts. Of course we do not endorse all the author's conclusions. For instance, in the Matrimonial treatise he propounds the opinion that the '*Casus Apostoli*' applies to the case when the converted party is a convert to a heretical sect. This opinion, we are aware has been advanced by other theologians, but we have never seen 'a reasonable reason' for it. Father Pesch, we suspect, would readily admit that the arguments mentioned by him are not, to say the least, conclusive. On the other hand, the opinion seems to run counter to the clear words of Scripture when there is question throughout of the '*fidelis*' who in the text is surely not a baptized heretic, but a member of the true Church—the '*frater*' and '*soror*.' Besides, in addition to the express and formal statement of Innocent III., one cannot help asking, is it likely that this privilege, whether we regard it as coming immediately or mediately from Christ, was ever intended *per se* or *per accidens* as a favour to heresy?

MORAL PRINCIPLES AND MEDICAL PRACTICE. By Rev. Charles Coppens, S.J. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS handy volume of 222 pages, brought out in Benziger's usual high-class style, contains the lectures addressed by the author to the medical students of the John A. Creighton Medical College, Omaha, Nebraska. Fr. Coppens is not a lawyer, but a Jesuit priest of considerable versatility, being author, as he tells us himself, of text-books on Metaphysics, Ethics, Oratory, and

Rhetoric. These lectures do not profess to give a full and elaborate exposition of the various enactments of the United States legislature concerning medical men. They contain rather the principles that ought to underly medical jurisprudence. These principles are the ordinary conclusions of moral theologians and moral philosophers applied to the special cases that may be expected to trouble (and perplex medical practitioners. The lectures, however, contain many of the special medical enactments of the United States legislature, and more than once set forth the judicial decisions of the British courts as defining the common law of the United States.

In his preface Fr. Coppens gives us the reason for the publication of these lectures: 'The leading medical writers and practitioners are sound at present on the moral principles that ought to direct the conduct of physicians. It is high time that their principles be more generally inculcated on the younger members, and especially on the students of their noble profession. To promote this object is the purpose aimed at by the author.'

That the book is calculated to promote that object, nobody can reasonably deny. For the orthodox teaching of theologians in those difficult cases that may disturb the consciences of some physicians is inculcated clearly and forcibly. Though eloquence is seldom aimed at, the interest in the subject is well sustained throughout, and, in a word, the lectures are very readable. A glance at the titles of the chapters will satisfy us that no serious difficulty is evaded; all the most difficult which are also frequently the most unclean questions are grappled with. The author is to be congratulated on having lectured so forcibly and convincingly on such subjects as craniotomy, abortion, and venereal excesses, without saying or suggesting anything that could disturb the most sensitive conscience. Often, indeed, plain speaking is necessary, but there is never the slightest suspicion of pandering to pruriency.

The book is, in the first instance, intended for medical students, and they must find it a great boon to have at hand so trustworthy and convenient a guide through their difficulties. But its sphere of usefulness is by no means restricted to the students. The lectures possess exceptional interest, and ought to be of considerable use, not only to medical men generally, but to all who are interested in the scrupulous application of moral principles to medical practice.

M. B.

MISSA IMMACULATA I.H. B.M. VIRGINIS IMMACULATAE AD
III. VOC. AEQU. Auctore P. Griesbacher, Op. 26. Score
and Parts. Ratisbon: Coppenrath.

THIS Mass of Griesbacher's for three equal voices is scarcely as classical in style as most of his earlier efforts. The composer has moderated his polyphonic part-writing in favour of a more simultaneous progression of the voices. A slight touch of sentimentality is sometimes imparted through the use of such 'modern' accomplishments as the 'chord of the ninth,' or chord formations produced by parallel motion of the three parts, as at the beginning of the second *Kyrie*, or the minor subdominant in major cadences. The rather frequent use of sequences, too, in our opinion somewhat detracts from the ideal beauty of the composition. Most of these things, however, will probably recommend the Mass all the more to those choirs for whom it is written. They will find, moreover, besides a sweetness of harmonies, that melodic interest in all the parts which betrays the hand of a master to whom contrapuntal thinking is quite natural. The organ accompaniment requires a fairly good player, to whom it affords plenty of scope.

H. B.

CATHOLIC CEREMONIES AND EXPLANATION OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR. From the French of the
Abbé Durand. With 96 Illustrations of articles used
at Church ceremonies, and their proper names. New
York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, 1896.

THIS little book gives, on 283 24mo pages, a good deal of excellent information on the ceremonies and prayers of the Mass and Vespers, explaining the sense of the prayers, and the symbolical meaning of the actions performed, as well as the things used in the Liturgy, such as the altar, sacred vestments and vessels, &c. A short, but fairly exhaustive explanation of the ecclesiastical year is added, and well brought out and judiciously selected illustrations serve to give the reader a clear idea of the things spoken of. The book is intended primarily to introduce the faithful to the spirit of the Liturgy, to give them an interest in the grand and impressive ceremonies of the Church, and to enable them to follow these ceremonies with intelligence and devotion. For this purpose the book is admirably adapted, and we should like to see it in the hands of every Catholic.

CANTUS SACRI. Eight Easy Benediction Pieces, with the Psalm *Laudate Dominum* in the VI. and VIII. Tones for two Parts (Soprano and Alto), with organ accompaniment. By J. Singenberger. Score and Parts. Ratisbon: Pustet & Co.

SINGENBERGER, the President of the American Society of St. Cecilia, knowing the conditions of a large number of church choirs, has made a special study of the art of writing easy music without becoming either trivial or monotonous. Hence we can give his compositions the best recommendations. The above Benediction pieces will probably be particularly welcome to choirs wanting in high Soprano voices, and to nuns who have frequently to sing before breakfast, as the Soprano part does not, as a rule, ascend above F². Only in two pieces F² # is required; but as these pieces are in D and A respectively, a transposition downwards can easily be effected.

H. B.

DATA OF MODERN ETHICS EXAMINED. By John J. Ming, S.J. Second Edition. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

WE are glad that this reply to the Data of Modern, that is evolutionary, Ethics of Mr. Herbert Spencer, has reached a second edition. The second edition does not differ in anything substantial from the first, which was already reviewed in the I. E. RECORD. Suffice it to say, that it has the same excellences to commend it as the first edition, and that in the exposition of the system the author examines much may still be desired.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS PER MODUM CONFERENTIARUM. Auctore Clarissimo P. Benjamin Elbel, O.S.F. Novis Curis Edidit P. F. Irenaeus Bierbaum, O.S.F., Provinciae Saxoniae S. Crucis Lector Jubilatus. Editio secunda (iii.-iv. Mille). Cum Approbatione Superiorum. Volumen Tertium. Continens Partes Tres. Paderbornae. Ex Typographia Bonifaciana (J. W. Schroeder).

ELBEL'S *Moral Theology* is justly famous on account of its exhaustiveness, clearness of style, reliableness, and practical usefulness for priests on the mission. Fr. Bierbaum's re-edition

of the work, revised and completed so as to meet all modern requirements, met with so much approbation that a second edition became necessary, of which the third and last volume is the one under review. To facilitate the sale of the excellent work, the publisher has reduced the price, notwithstanding the fact that this second edition is enlarged as compared with the first.

MISSA IN HONOREM SANCTI SPIRITUS. For two Parts, Soprano and Alto (Tenor and Bass *ad lib.*), with organ accompaniment. By J. Singenberger. Score and Parts. Ratisbon: Pustet & Co.

THIS Mass is described by the author as 'very easy,' and ought to be within the power of the weakest choirs. It is very simple, of course; but with proper declamation of the words it ought to produce a pleasing and dignified effect. Tenor and Bass parts may be added *ad libitum*, an arrangement which may recommend the Mass to choirs that only occasionally have the assistance of male voices.

MISSA IN HONOREM PURISSIMI CORDIS B.V.M. For four mixed voices, with organ accompaniment. By J. Singenberger. Score and Parts. Ratisbon: Pustet & Co.

In this Mass the composer has allowed himself a wider scope, and produced a work of a festive splendour. Occasionally he makes use of the licence of subdividing parts, so as to attain fuller harmonies. On the whole, however, the work is by no means difficult, and can be recommended to choirs of moderate attainments. It is modern in style, easy to comprehend, and will probably give pleasure and edification to both singers and listeners.

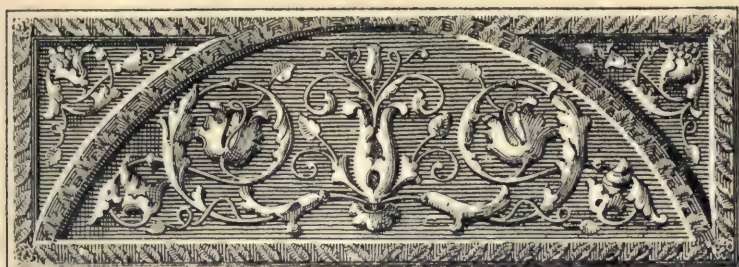
H. B.

TWELVE EUCHARISTIC CHANTS. For two or three female voices, with organ accompaniment. Edited by Alban Lipp. Score and Parts. Augsburg and Wien: A. Böhm and Sons.

THIS is a collection of chants by various composers. Naturally they differ both in artistic excellence and in liturgical suitability.

But there is no number that must be pronounced as unworthy of the house of God, though we should be slow to recommend No. 5, an *O Salutaris* by Löhle. One of the most interesting numbers is a *Pange lingua*, by Bruno Stein in which the Alto part is formed on the Gregorian melody of that hymn, and, according to a note of the author, is to be made prominent in performance. The full contents of the collection is : Two two-part and two three-part *Pange lingua*, by Bill, Bruno Stein, Lipp, and Reidl ; a two-part *O Salutaris*, by Löhle ; a two-part *Adoramus*, and a two-part *Vexilla Regis*, by Griesbacher ; a two-part *O Sacrum Convivium*, by Bruno Stein ; a two-part *Jesu dulcis memoria*, by Bill ; a two-part *Adoro te*, by Thaller ; a two-part *Adoramus*, by Reidl, and a three-part *O Escā Viatorum*, by Frz. Müller.

H. B.



AILEACH OF THE KINGS: A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF THE ANCIENT NORTHERN RESIDENCE OF THE IRISH KINGS

God bless the grey mountains of dark Donegal !
God bless royal Aileach, the pride of them all ;
For she sits evermore like a queen on her throne,
And smiles on the valleys of green Innishowen.!

C. G. DUFFY.

I. THE ORIGIN AND SITE OF AILEACH

ON the eastern shore of the Swilly, on the summit of a hill 802 feet above the level of the sea, lie the remains of a cyclopean fortress, with whose history was closely interwoven the story of our country in the forgotten years of the hazy past. Few of the pleasure-seekers who visit it in the glowing summer or the mellow autumn, and who gaze enraptured on the glorious scenery it presents to their view, think for a moment that the soil they tread on is both royal and sacred, the former court of kings, and the arena of Patrick's combat with paganism. Yet so it is ; for here on Greenan Hill was the Northern Tara, known to us in history as 'Aileach of the Kings ;' and here did Ireland's great apostle, when visiting 'Tyrowen of the Islands,' as Innishowen was then called, confront and conquer the learning of the Druids, and win to the faith the monarch himself.

One requires, indeed, to be told that this was once the

seat of royalty, for no indication of its former greatness now remains, save the *débris* of the fallen palace that crowns the mountain. Kerne and gallowglass are now supplanted by browsing sheep and lazy kine, and the matin hymn of the sky-lark awakes the echoes instead of the soldier's trumpet; but still there is a halo of bygone glory about the place which even its present desolation cannot utterly destroy. Its history stretches back to remote ages, but the misty atmosphere of uncertainty hangs about its origin; so that we can trace it but dimly, just as one traces from afar the outlines of a city revealed only by the faint reflection of its lamps in the midnight air. Nor can we, in this sketch, pretend to more than a collection of some of the reliable historical authorities regarding it; but these, inasmuch as they are not accessible to all, may possess some interest for readers of the I.E. RECORD.

So thoroughly had our local history been buried in obscurity, that the origin of the name and the very site of the palace of Aileach had long been matter of dispute; but, thanks to the researches of Petrie, O'Donovan, O'Curry, and a host of others, these vexed questions are now satisfactorily settled. The general outlines and, as far as possible, the details of this sketch have been mainly drawn from the authority of these antiquarians; and though all, perhaps, may not be disposed to adopt their particular views, at least all will respect the learning and the zeal which these men displayed in the cause of their country's history and antiquities. The importance of their writings on the subject of this essay must be our apology for drawing so largely upon them.

O'Curry, in his *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, commenting on the historical poems of Flann Mainistrech, or, as he is more popularly called, Flann of the Monastery, speaks thus:—

The seventh is a poem of thirty-five stanzas, or one hundred and forty lines, on the origin and history of the ancient palace of Aileach [near Derry, in the present county of Donegal]. The origin of this celebrated palace, according to this account of it [containing a specimen of poetic etymology which I only quote

for what it is worth], was shortly this :—When the great Daghdha was chief king of the Tuatha de Danaun in Erin, holding his court at Tara, he on one occasion entertained at his court Corgenn, a powerful Connacht chief, and his wife. During their stay at Teamair, Corgenn's wife was suspected of being more familiar with the monarch's young son, Ædh [or Hugh], than was pleasing to her husband, who in a fit of sudden anger slew the young prince in the very presence of his father. Corgenn's life would have paid for the murder on the spot, but that the old monarch's sense of justice was too strong to kill a man for avenging a crime so heinous as he believed his son to have been guilty of ; but, although he would not consent to have his guest put directly to death, he passed on him such a sentence as, whether he intended it so or not, ended in the same manner. The singular sentence which the king passed upon the unfortunate Corgenn was [according to the story] to take the dead body of the prince on his back, and never to lay it down until he had found a stone to fit him exactly in length and breadth, and sufficient to form a tombstone for him, and then to bury him in the nearest hill. Corgenn was obliged to submit, and accordingly set out with his burden. After a long search he found at last the stone he sought for, but found it only so far off as by the shore of Lake Feabhail [now called Loch Foyle, at Derry]. Here, then, depositing the body on the nearest eminence to him, he went down, raised the stone, and carried it up the hill, where he dug a grave and buried the prince, and with many an *ach* [or groan] placed the stone over him ; but, wearied by his labour, he had hardly done so before he dropped dead by its side. And it was from these *achs*, or groans, of Corgenn that [compounding the word *ach* with *ail*, an ancient Gaelic name for a stone] the old monarch, when informed of what had happened, formed the name of Aileach for his son's grave—that is, stone and groan—a name that the place has ever since retained. It was the custom in ancient times in Erin, when a great personage had died, to institute assemblies and games of commemoration at his grave ; and this was done at his son's grave at Aileach by the monarch Daghdha.

The poem, however, contains two further explanations of the name of Aileach. In some time after the death of Corgenn, it is said *Neid*, son of *Indai* [a semi-mythological personage who may be called the Mercury of the Tuatha de Danaun], brother to the monarch the *Daghdha*, built a palace and fortress here, after which it was called *Aileach-Neid*. *Neid* was himself afterwards killed by the Fomorians or Pirates, and the place having gone to ruin, its history is not recorded from that time down to the reign of the monarch of Erin, Fiacha Sraibtime, who was slain at the battle of Dubh-Chomar, A.D. 322. In this Fiacha's reign, however, it is stated that *Friginn*, a young Scottish chief, eloped

with *Ailech*, that is, 'the splendid,' daughter of Fubtaire, the King of Scotland, brought her over to Erin, and put himself under the Irish king's protection. And it is said that King Fiacha gave the youthful lovers the ancient fortress of Aileach for their residence and security, and that here Frigrinn built the magnificent house which is described in the poem, whence the place got the name of *Aileach-Frigrinn*, as well as the older name of *Aileach-Neid*.

Flann's curious poem begins :—

Should anyone attempt to relate
The history of host-crowded Aileach,
After Eachaidh the illustrious.—
It would be wresting the sword out of Hector's hand.

I must observe here, however, that the ancient name of Aileach was certainly *Ail-each-Neid*, and the investigations of antiquaries [including the cautious Dr. Petrie] have led to the same conclusion to which we should come by following the ancient manuscript authorities—that the *stone* ruins at *Aileach*, as well as several other similar stone erections in several parts of Erin, must be referred to the Tuatha de Danaan, if not to the Firbolgs, certainly to a race superior to the Milesians. A simpler etymology may easily be suggested for the name, for when we remember that the Milesians always used wooden buildings in preference to the stone used by their predecessors, we can easily understand why they should emphasize such an erection under the name of *Aileach*. The word *aileach* itself may, in fact, signify simply 'a stone building,' since *ail* is a stone, and *ach* the common adjective termination; so that *ail-each* would literally signify 'stony,' *i.e.*, of, or belonging to, or made of, stone.

The eighth poem of Flann's is one of thirty-four stanzas, or one hundred and thirty-six lines, also on Aileach, and apparently a continuation of its history from his former poem. It gives the names and the lengths of the reigns of every king of the race of *Eoghan*, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who reigned in it as king of the northern O'Neills, from Eoghan himself down to the Domhnall O'Neill mentioned above, who died in the year 978. This poem begins :—

Four generations after Frigrinn,
By valiant battle,
The noble Aileach was taken by the warriors
Of the hosts of Eoghan.

The Eoghan mentioned here, whose clann took possession of Aileach under compact with his other brothers, was Eoghan the son of Niall of 'the Nine Hostages,' who gave name to the territory, which ever after bore his name, as Tyr Eoghan [or Tyrone—a name, however, now applied to a more limited district]. This Eoghan was visited, at his palace of Aileach, by St. Patrick,

when he embraced the Christian faith, and received baptism at the hands of the great apostle.¹

In the third volume and nineteenth lecture, O'Curry again returns to the subject of Aileach, and treats of its antiquity and the style of its architecture :—

The next great building [says he], in point of antiquity and historical reminiscence, is the great *Rath*, or rather *Cathair*, of Aileach [in the county of Donegal], so well described by Dr. Petrie in the Ordnance Memoir of the parish of Templemore. This great *Cathair* is said to have been originally built by The Daghdá, the celebrated king of the Tuatha de Danann, who planned and fought the battle of the second or northern Magh Tuireadh against the Fomorians. The fort was erected around the grave of his son, Aedh [or Hugh], who had been killed through jealousy by Corgenn, a Connacht chieftain.

The history of the death of Aedh, and the building of Aileach [or 'The Stone Building'], is given at length in a poem preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, which poem has been printed, with an English translation [but with two lines left out at verse xxxviii.], by Dr. Petrie, in the above memoir. The following extract from this curious and important poem, beginning at verse 32, will suffice for my present purpose :—

Then were brought the two good men,
In art expert,
Garbhan and Imcheall, to Eochaid (Daghdá),
The fair-haired Vindictive ;
And he ordered them a rath to build
Around the gentle youth :
That it should be a rath of splendid sections —
The finest in Erin.
Neid, son of Indai, said to them,
(He) of the severe mind,
That the best hosts in the world could not erect
A building like Aileach.
Garbhan, the active, proceeded to dress
And to cut (the stones).
Imcheall proceeded to set them
All around the house.
The building of Aileach's fastness came to an end,
Though it was a laborious process ;
The top of the house of the groaning hostages,
One stone closed.

In a subsequent verse of this poem [verse 54] the author says that Aileach is the senior, or father, of the buildings of Erin :—

It is the senior of the buildings of Erin—
Aileach-Frigrind ;
Greater praise than it deserves
For it I indite not.

It appears clearly from this very ancient poem that not only

¹ O'Curry, *Lectures*, vol. ii., Lect. 7.

was the outer *rath*, or protective circle of Aileach, built of stone by the regular masons, Imcheall and Garbhan, but that the palace and other houses within the enclosure were built also of stone [nay, even of chiselled and cut stone]. All these buildings, probably, were circular, as the House or Prison of the Hostages, certainly must have been, when, as the poem says, it was 'closed at the top with one stone.' This, however, is a matter concerning which I shall have something to say in a future lecture.

The time to which the first building of Aileach may be referred, according to the chronology of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, would be about seventeen hundred years before the Christian era; but another and much later erection, within the same Rath of Aileach, is also spoken of in ancient history, and as having conferred a name upon this celebrated palace.

It is stated further in this poem that Aileach, in after ages, obtained the name of Aileach-Frigrind, as it is, in fact, called in the stanza quoted above. According to another poem [written by Flann of Monasterboice], preserved in the *Book of Leinster*, this Frigrind was a famous builder, or architect, as he would be called in our day. Having travelled in Scotland, he was well received at the court of Utaire, the king of that country, where, having gained the affections of the king's daughter, the beautiful Ailech, she eloped with him, and he returned to his own country with her. Fearing pursuit, however, he claimed the protection of the then monarch of Erin, Fiacha-Sraibhthine [the same who was slain in the battle of Dubh-Chomar, in Meath, A.D. 322]; and the monarch accorded it at once, and gave them the ancient fort of Aileach for their dwelling-place, for greater security. Here Frigrind built a splendid house of wood for his wife. The material of this house, we are told, was red yew, carved, and emblazoned with gold and bronze, and so thick set with shining gems, 'that day and night were equally bright within it.' I may observe that Aileach is one of the few spots in Ireland marked in its proper place by the geographer, Ptolemy of Alexandria, who flourished in the second century, or nearly two hundred years before the time of Frigrind. By Ptolemy it is distinguished as a royal residence.

II. GREENAN ERRONEOUSLY REPUTED A TEMPLE OF THE SUN

That this place was the principal or chief residence of the Tuatha de Danann princes, and was known then by the distinctive appellation of Aileach-Neid, at the time that *Ith*, the uncle of Milesius, visited this country, we learn from Keating. In his account of *Ith's* voyage to and landing in

this island, Keating informs us that the prince landed on a certain part of the northern coast, and, after sacrificing to Neptune, inquired the name of the country, and of the king who governed it. He was told that the country was called Inis-Alga, and was governed at that time by three princes (who were grandsons of the Daghdá), and that they were then residing at their palace of Aileach-Neid. He was, moreover, informed that they were at that time quarrelling amongst themselves about a quantity of jewels that had been left them, and that their dispute, if not soon amicably settled, was likely to end in blood. Ith set out immediately for Aileach, was kindly received by the princes, and, after hearing the causes of their disagreement, proposed such an arrangement as gave satisfaction to all. On leaving he urged them to union and fraternal love, pointed out the great advantages of their country, and how little reason there was for disputes among them; in a word, spoke as a man who had closely observed the fertility of their soil and the natural wealth of their country. After his departure the princes meditated on his words, and, suspecting that he had some evil design on their kingdom, they gathered together a chosen band of followers, and pursued the strangers. Overtaking them soon, a battle was fought, in which Ith was slain, and his companions routed; and the plain was called from that time Magh-Ith; that is, the Plain of Ith. It has long been a subject of dispute where the exact spot lies in which this battle was fought; but O'Donovan, in a note given in his edition of the *Book of Rights*, states that 'it is an extensive plain in the barony of "Raphoe," Donegal. The church of "Donaghmore," near the little town of Castlefinn, is mentioned, in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*,¹ as in this plain.' He then quotes the words of Colgan in support of this statement. However, the settlement of this point is not to our present purpose; it is enough for us to learn that, at the remote period referred to, the palace of the De Dauann was known as *Aileach-Neid*.

¹ Lib. ii., c. 114.

Like most of the kingly residences of remote times, Aileach suffered many an attack, was frequently plundered and reduced to ruin, but was again restored by its royal masters. Thus in A.D. 674, we read in the Annalists: 'The destruction of Aileach-Frigrinn by Finnshneachta, son of Dunchadh.' Again, at A.D. 900, we are told that 'Aileach-Frigrinn was plundered by the foreigners;' and we are informed that thirty-seven years later 'Aileach was plundered by the foreigners against Muircheartach, son of Niall, and they took him prisoner, and carried him off to their ships, but God redeemed him from them.'

Aileach ceased to be the residence of the kings of Ulster of the Ui-Neill line after the death of Muircheartach, the son of Niall Glundubh, who was killed in a battle with the Danes at Ath-Firdiadh (now Ardee), in the year 941.¹

However, though it may not have been the *permanent* residence of the Ulster kings from this period, it must still have been their *occasional* abode till the time of its final destruction, which the *Four Masters* thus record under the year 1101:—

A great army was led by Muircheartach Ua-Brian, King of Munster, with the men of Munster, Leinster, Osraighe, Meath, and Connaught, across Eas-Ruaidh, into Inis-Eoghan, and burned many churches and many forts about Fathan-Mura, and about Ardstraha, and he demolished Grianan-Oiligh, in revenge for Ceanncoradh, which had been razed and demolished by Domhnall-Ua-Lochlain some time before, and Muircheartach commanded his army to carry with them from Oileach to Luimneach a stone [of the demolished building] for every sack of provisions which they had. In commemoration of which was said:—

I never heard of the billeting of grit stones,
Though I heard of the billeting of companies,
Until the stones of Oileach were billeted
On the horses of the Kings of the West.

To understand the meaning of this novel mode of taking revenge, we must turn to the *Annals of Thomond* to learn its cause. We read there that:—

In 1064 MacLoughlin, Prince of Aileach, invaded the principality of Mortoghmore O'Brien, King of Munster; among other

¹ O'Curry, Lect. xx.

predatory acts he plundered and demolished the Palace of Kincora. Mortagh, after re-edifying it, marched into Ulster and burned down the royal Palace of Aileach, and made each man of his army bring away a stone of it into Thomond. How peacefully he waited for three years, during which time he had his ancestral palace in course of construction before he thought of bringing away the stones of Aileach from the North. This was an act of vengeance with a vengeance, which put to the blush the wildest exploit of his fiercest enemy.

The date 1064 in this extract is at variance with that given by the Annalists of Donegal. The correct date is 1088.

In his *Lays and Legends of Thomond*, Michael Hogan, the 'Bard of Thomond,' thus refers to this event in his lines on 'The Destruction of Kincora':—

But the King to the blue North his wrathful face turned,
And Aileach the Pompous to ashes he burned !
And his clansmen returned, each bringing a stone,
Of the proud palace walls by his vengeance o'erthrown.

This [says Petrie] is the last notice of Aileach, as a royal residence, to be found in the Irish annals, and it appears never again to have been re-edified. The kings of the Kinel-Owen, or Northern Hy-Niall, still indeed retained for some time the name of Aileach as their title, as the kings of Southern Hy-Niall did that of the deserted Temur, or Tara; but they transferred their residence to Inish-Enaigh, in the parish of Urney, in Tyrone, where they probably continued to reside till after the arrival of the English. It may also be remarked that this destruction of Aileach, like that of Emania, was regarded as an epoch in Irish history.¹

Aileach, however, was known by the distinctive title of Grianan-Aileach, and the former part of the name is that by which it is at present known under the form of Greenan, though until a comparatively recent period it was still designated Greenan-Ely. The fact of another ruined castle, named Elagh, situated about two miles distant, being in existence, sufficiently explains why the name of Aileach connected with Greenan fell into disuse. Mistakes were likely to occur from having two places so near each other bearing the same name; and therefore Aileach, or, as the

¹ *Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore.*

people called it, Ely, was dropped, and the distinctive appellation of Grianan, or Greenan, was retained.

But the very name of Grianan, or Greenan, has been made an argument against the theory of the royal palace of Aileach having ever been built upon this hill. It is urged that the present ruin is the remains of a 'Temple of the Sun,' and that the name itself is proof of this. In the Ordnance Memoir already referred to, Dr. Petrie takes up this argument, and shows its want of foundation; still, we find it repeated in a comparatively recent work, and Petrie's proofs contemned as worthless assumptions. Mr. Anthony Marmion, in the Introduction to the fourth edition of his *History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland*, thus writes:—

But not only these caves, but also what is called the Military Rath, as well as the Dane's Fort and Round Tower, were all originally connected with sun-worship. The name of the rath at Lough Swilly, already described, would indicate this, notwithstanding Mr. Petrie's chapter on Antiquities in the Ordnance Memoir to the contrary, who interprets Grianan as synonymous with duna, fortress or palace, and calls Grianan-Aileach a royal palace; but its more correct translation is Grianan, the sun, and Aileach, a stone building—Grianan-Aileach would, therefore, be, the Stone Temple of the Sun.

Nearly thirty years before this edition of Mr. Marmion's work appeared, the same argument was advanced in an elegant and forcible manner in an article on 'Burt Castle,' published in the second volume of the *Dublin Penny Journal*:—

This we know [writes the author of that article] on the concurring testimony of Keating, Vallencey, and O'Connor, that the Phœnicians and Celts brought into this country the sun-worship of their own. This was undoubtedly one of their temples, and the very etymology of its name strongly corroborates the opinion, for the Celtic name of the sun is *Gryan*, and *Ane* is a temple; similar names have been given to other places dedicated to the same divinity. Strabo, confirmed by Pausanias, mentions a *Grynium* at Eolis, and described it as a temple and grove of Apollo (or the sun). Eupherion of Chalais, writing on the origin of Oracles, describes a circular *Grynium* sacred to Apollo. So Virgil, in his sixth *Bucolic*:—

'His tibi Grynai nemoris dicatur origo
Ne quis sit lucus, quo se plus jactet Apollo.'

In these two quotations is found the substance of all the arguments advanced in favour of the sun-temple theory. Petrie refutes them at such length, that it would be impossible to introduce here his reasoning *in extenso*. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with the principal portions, and refer the reader to the Ordnance Memoir for the remainder:—

It has, indeed, been supposed by some ingenious writers [says he] that this curious remains of antiquity was erected as a temple of the sun—a conjecture resting on the etymology of its name *Grianan*, which, as they state, does literally mean ‘the place of the sun,’ or, ‘appertaining to the sun.’ But etymology is at best but an uncertain foundation for historical hypothesis; and the habit so generally indulged in by Irish antiquaries of drawing positive conclusions from etymological conjectures, has done more to retard than advance the knowledge of the history and antiquities of the country.

That *Grian*, or the sun, was an object of worship among the Pagan Irish is not to be denied; but that the word *Grianan* was ever applied to denote a temple of the sun, or a temple of any kind, no authority has been as yet adduced, or found, while there are abundant evidences that it was constantly used, in a figurative sense, to signify a distinguished residence, or a royal palace. It is thus explained by O'Reilly:—‘*Grianan*, a summer-house, a walk, arched or covered over on a hill for a commodious prospect [a balcony], a royal seat.’ O'Brien, an earlier and better authority, also explains it as a ‘royal seat;’ and gives as an illustration the name of the very place in question:—‘*Grianan-Oilig*, the regal house of O'Neill in Ulster.’ O'Flaherty and MacI'rbis, without explaining the word, use it to express a royal habitation.

After quoting the authority of Keating, and his learned translators, John Lynch, Colgan, Cormac Mac Cullenan, and giving examples from each, of the word being used in the sense he explains it in, he shows that it was also synonymous with *Dun*, a fortress, and proves this from extracts taken from a MS. in Trinity College, and from a tale in the *Book of Glendalough*. He then proceeds:—

In like manner, examples almost equally numerous might be quoted, from similar documents, of the application of this term to the palace, or royal fortress, of the northern Irish kings. Of this fact two instances may here suffice, as others will be found in the succeeding pages. Both these occur in the poem of Cormacan Eigeas, the bard of Murtagh of the Leather Coats,

written in the year 939, and which has been given in full in the general history of the county, prefixed to this work, viz. :—

O Murtagh, son of noble Niall,
Thou hast taken the hostages of Inis-Fail;
Thou broughtest them all to Aileach,
Into the Splendid Grianan of horses.

Conor, son of Tiege the bull-like,
Puissant arch-king of Connaught,
Came with us without a bright fetter,
Into the green Grianan of Aileach.

But, even though it were allowed that the word Grianan was sometimes applied to the temple of the sun, the Irish authorities still abundantly prove that this—the Grianan of Aileach—was not a monument of that description. In all the Irish histories the palace of the Northern Irish kings is designated by the name *Aileach* simply, or *Grianan-Ailigh*, *Aileach-Neid*, or *Aileach-Fririn*; and its situation is stated to have been on a hill in the vicinity of Derry.

So far Petrie on the meaning of the word, and its application to the ruin on Greenan Hill.

Professor W. K. Sullivan, in his introductory volume to O'Curry's *Lectures*, already quoted, writes as follows on the word Grianan :—

In duns and large raths there was also a special chamber placed in a sunny aspect, and called from this circumstance a Grianan. This chamber appears to have been erected on the wall of the dun, or in some elevated position, so as to command a view of the surrounding country, and escape the shadow of the encircling mound.

In this we find nothing to favour the sun-temple theory. If the opinion relative to Greenan having been a temple of the sun, were not of modern origin, it is strange that John Toland would have passed it over in his *History of the Druids*. Toland was himself a native of Inishowen, born, as Harris states, in Iskaheen, and educated in his earlier years at Redcastle, in the parish of Moville. His work on the Druids was expressly written to give an account of their mode of worship, and of the remains of their temples or monuments. In his second letter on the subject he makes mention of the *Carn*, or Druidical remain, on the top of Fahan Hill, and of another opposite on the top of Inch Hill,

both distant only a few miles from Grianan-Aileach, and within sight of it, but says not a word of Greenan Hill. This is the more remarkable inasmuch as in this same letter he explains the word *Grian*, and of *Greannach*, an Irish adjective which he translates as 'long-haired,' and which, he says, 'is a natural epithet of the sun in all nations.'

From the foregoing our readers will be able to form a pretty accurate notion of the meaning of the term Grianan, and in what sense it is to be taken in the present instance. We shall now return to Ailech, and treat as briefly as possible of its former importance in Ireland, and of the part taken by some of its leading kings in the events of the several periods in which they respectively lived.

III.—THE KINGS OF AILEACH

Making all due allowance for the amount of fable mixed up with the accounts of its origin and early history, still from every reliable document on ancient Irish history we learn that it was a place of the greatest importance long before the Christian era. Its very situation, which now seems to us so ill chosen and so unsuited to a royal fortress, is just such as we might expect to be selected by the eastern people who are said to have been its founders. It was modelled after what they had seen in the east; surrounded with three several walls, or fortifications, at stated distances from each other; inaccessible to any sudden attack from an enemy, and commanding a most extensive view of the waters of the Foyle and of the Swilly. No hostile fleet could enter either lough, without being at once perceived; and by land it would be difficult for any force to approach without being observed from afar, and means being adopted to repel them. It was what Thomas Davis designated "a rath on a far-seeing hill," which commanded the view of the country far and wide, and which could scarcely be surprised by an enemy. Petrie, in his *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, remarks the great similarity in the sites of Tara, Emania, and Aileach, with the exception that Aileach was on a much more elevated situation than either of the others. However, Aileach was not without a parallel as to

the loftiness of its position even in the north of Ireland, for on a hill about four miles west of Coleraine (now called the Giant's Sconce) are the remains of a cyclopean fortress, identified by Dr. O'Donovan as the famous 'Munitio Cetherini' mentioned by Adamnan. This fortress derived its name from Cethern, son of Fintan, one of the heroes of the Red Branch, who flourished in Ulster about the beginning of the Christian era. This hill is 797 feet above the sea-level.¹ Another similar pile exists on the top of a hill in the parish of Cloncha (Malin), but its history is buried in obscurity. The ruin is known simply by the title of 'The Castle,' and the hill is called Knock-Rath, or the Hill of the Rath or Fort. Mr. Petrie points out the similarity as to situation, encircling ramparts, &c., between Ecbatana in Media, described by Herodotus, and Aileach; and shows that there is nothing strange in the selection of such an elevated situation for the royal palace and fortress.

The importance of Aileach, or rather of its kings, can best be estimated by the power which they wielded, and by the tributes that were paid them. These are set down very clearly and definitely in the *Book of Rights*; and though we may be inclined to smile at times at the primitive mode of paying taxes observed by our ancestors, we must admit that it answered their purpose just as well, if not even better, than our income-tax and poor-rates do at present. At certain periods the King of Aileach was also King of Ireland; but when this was not the case, he was to receive a stated revenue from the Irish chief king, in consequence of his high position as head of the northern Hy Niall:—

The King of Aileach himself, then, when he was not King of Eire, is entitled to sit by the side of the King of Eire at banquet and at fair, and to go before the King of Eire at treaties, and assemblies, and councils, and supplications. And he is entitled to receive from the King of Eire fifty swords, and fifty shields, and fifty bondmen, and fifty dresses, and fifty steeds; these for the King of Aileach.

And when the King of Cashel was for the time being

¹ See Reeve's *Adamnan*, p. 94, n. 1.

supreme King of Ireland, he was to pay a certain tribute to the King of Aileach, as follows :—

Fifty drinking horns and fifty swords,
Fifty steeds with the usual trappings
To the man of prosperity of the Doires of goodly fruit,
To the prince of Aileach who protects all.

The special revenues due to the King, as king of Aileach are set down separately by themselves, and are very considerable, indeed. The catalogue of them begins thus :—

The right of the King of Aileach ; listen ye to it.
Among the oak forests immeasurable
He is entitled to income, no trifling tribute,
From the tribes [and] from the Forthuatha.
A hundred sheep, a hundred cloaks, a hundred cows,
And a hundred hogs are given to him
From Culeantraidhe of the war
To the King of Aileach laboriously.
Three hundred hogs, &c., &c.

Then follow all the districts subject to Aileach, and the amount of tributes, or rights, that they paid ; but certain districts were exempted from the taxation, because, as O'Donovan explains in a note, they were of the same race as the King of Aileach himself. These districts were—Tullahogue (the Hill of the Youths), in the barony of Dungannon ; Crabh (Crew or Creeve), a district on the west side of the lower Bann ; Magh Iotha (the plain of Ith), believed to be an extensive plain in the barony of Raphoe ; Inis-Eoghain, and Tyr-Connell. The limits of this last-named district corresponded almost exactly with the boundaries of the present county of Donegal, with the exception of Inishowen, which belonged to Tyr-Eoghain, or the territory of Eoghain. This district was far more extensive than the present county of Tyrone.

Of course, we are not to suppose that the kings of Aileach had not their duties as well as their rights to attend to. These are just as carefully marked down for them as are their privileges, and are equally curious and interesting ; but the amount of tribute, or *rights*, as they termed it, paid to them evinces clearly the great power and high position they held among the kings of Ireland.

The succession of kings in Aileach, from the time of its restoration by Frigrinn, is difficult to trace; but from the notice by the annalists of Eoghan (whom St. Patrick converted and baptized), it seems certain that the place was regarded then as an ancient seat of royalty. In the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* the account of King Eoghan's conversion is given, where, after stating that the King went out to meet and welcome Patrick as soon as he heard he was in his territories, the writer goes on to tell that—

The man of God accompanied Prince Eoghan to his palace, which he then held in the most ancient and celebrated seat of the kings, called Aileach, and which the holy bishop consecrated by his blessing, promising that from the seed of Eoghan many kings and princes of Ireland should spring; and as a pledge of which he left there a certain stone, blessed by him, upon which the promised kings and princes should be ordained.¹

Dr. Petrie considers it most probable that this stone still exists, and possibly is that called *St. Columb's Stone*, in the garden of Belmont, about a mile from the city of Derry.

Eoghan's principality, known by the title of Tyr-Eoghan, embraced the present county of Tyrone, the county of Londonderry, parts of Armagh, and the peninsula of Inishown. Eoghan was one of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and his death is recorded by the *Four Masters* under the year 464:—

Eoghain, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages [from whom are descended the Cinel-Eoghain], died of grief for Conall-Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and was buried at Uisce-Chain, in Inis-Eoghain, concerning which was said:—

Eoghan, son of Niall died
Of tears—good his nature—
In consequence of the death of Conall, of hard feats,
So that his grave is at Uisce-Chain.

The place where he was buried in Iskaheen is now unknown, but it was probably in or near the old graveyard at the chapel in that parish.

Passing over the intervening kings from the time of Eoghan, we come to one who, a century later, acted a prominent part in Irish affairs, and left in an unmistakable manner his 'footprints on the sands of time.' This was Aedh (or Hugh), the son of Ainmire, King of Ireland.

¹ *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 145.

Ainmire was first cousin of the famous St. Columba, so that Ædh and Columba stood in relation to each other of first and second cousins. In his twenty-fifth year St. Columbkille was obliged to leave the Monastery of Glasnevin, beside Dublin, in consequence of a plague that had broken out in that locality, and to return to the north. He came to Derry, which was then an island on which was a royal fort; and Ædh, who was then very young, and who at the time was residing there, offered him the southern portion of the island as a site for a monastery. Some say that Ædh was then too young to be in power, and that it was his father Ainmire who bestowed the gift on his saintly cousin. However, be it given by whom it might, St. Columba accepted the gift, and founded there his first great monastery, A.D. 545. In after years Columba's heart ever turned with an indescribable love to this his first foundation, and from the place of his exile would he strain his gaze to catch even a glimpse of the distant hills that environed his beloved oak grove of Doire-Calgach. There is an ancient Irish poem attributed to the saint, in which he expressed his great and undying love for the green island in the Foyle. Dr. Douglas Hyde has lately given us a charming metrical paraphrase of this poem, and were it not for fear of occupying too much space, we would gladly transcribe this paraphrase in its entirety. We will just venture to give a few stanzas:—

And oh! were the tributes of Alba mine,
 From shore unto centre, from centre to sea,
 The site of one house, to be marked by a line,
 In the midst of fair Derry, were dearer to me.
 That spot is the dearest on Erin's ground,
 For the treasures that peace and that purity lend;
 For the hosts of bright angels that circle it round,
 Protecting its borders from end to end.
 That spot is the dearest on Erin's ground,
 For its peace and its beauty I gave it my love;
 Each leaf of the oaks around Derry is found
 To be crowded with angels from heaven above.
 My Derry, my Derry, my little oak grove,
 My dwelling, my home, and my own little cell;
 May God the Eternal, in heaven above,
 Send woe to thy foes and defend thee well.

Shortly after his accession to the throne of Ireland, Ædh gave permission to his son Comasach to make a friendly circuit round the various courts of the kingdom, where, however, he conducted himself in a most insolent manner. Bran Dubh, King of Leinster, determined to put an end to this haughty youth's career, and had him assassinated. The melancholy tidings were borne in due time to Ædh, who was then residing at his palace of Aileach, and he collected together his forces, and marched into Leinster to avenge the death of his son. But the expedition proved a fatal one to him, for he was slain in the battle of Dunbolg (near Baltinaglass), A.D. 594. This Ædh it was who had summoned the great Convention at Drumceat, where such salutary laws and regulations were enacted.

Leinster seems to have been an unfortunate territory to the northern kings, for, in the year 718, Fergal Mac Maoileuin, monarch of Ireland, setting out from Aileach to collect the Boromean tribute in that province, was slain at the battle of Almhain (now the Hill of Allen, in the county of Kildare), with six thousand of his mercenaries, and a great number of the northern chiefs and warriors.

None of the kings of Aileach were more fortunate in having their names and exploits handed down to posterity than Muirheartach, or Mortogh of the Leather Cloaks, son of Niall Glundubh, or Niall of the Black Knee, who was a most distinguished king, but was killed in a battle against the Danes, near Dúblin, A.D. 919, after a reign of three years. Muirheartach was son-in-law of the supreme monarch, and was, moreover, Roydamna, or heir presumptive to the throne of Ireland. He was a bold and successful warrior, and made many hostile incursions into Leinster, Connaught, and Ulidia; sailed on one occasion to the Hebrides, plundered them, and subdued their inhabitants; contended frequently against the Danes, who once took him prisoner, and twice destroyed his palace at Aileach; opposed his father-in-law in battle more than once, but in the end coalesced with him against the common enemy, the Norsemen. In 941 he planned and executed his famous circuit of Ireland, which has transmitted his name to posterity. He

was fortunate enough to have in his retinue a distinguished poet, named Cormacan Eigeas, who, in the year following the expedition, committed to verse a history of the whole. This poem has been translated into English and annotated by Dr. O'Donovan, and published by the Irish Archæological Society. Muircheartach was, as we have said, heir apparent to the throne of Tara; but he well knew that his claims would be disputed. He determined, therefore, to anticipate any opposition, and to reduce to subjection all those who were likely to oppose him. With this object in view, he selected a thousand chosen warriors, dressed them in leathern cloaks—from which circumstance he was ever after known as 'Murtogh of the Leather Cloaks'—and in the depth of winter, when he knew his foes would be unprepared, he marched to Dublin, whence he took Sitric, the Danish King, with him as a hostage. He then proceeded against Lorcan, King of Leinster, whom he also carried with him; marched from thence into Munster, and took Cellaghan, king of that district; advanced next into Connaught, where Conchobar, son of Teige, came to meet him; and then returned to Aileach, carrying with him his royal hostages. In the spirit of a true chevalier, he was unwilling to bring so large and unexpected a party to his beautiful queen—'Dubhdaire of the black hair'—without due notice; and he, therefore, despatched a courier before him, to apprise her of his coming:—

From the green Lochan na n'each
A page was despatched to Aileach,
To tell Dubhdaire of the black hair
To send women to cut rushes.

'Rise up, O Dubhdaire' [spake the page];
Here is company coming to thy house;
Attend to each man of them
As a monarch should be attended.'

'Tell to me' [she answered], 'what company comes hither,
To the lordly Aileach-Figreann;
Tell me, O fair page,
That I may attend them.'

'The Kings of Erin in fetters' [he replies],
With Muircheartach, son of warlike Niall,
Ten hundred heroes of distinguished valour,
Of the race of the fierce fair Eoghan.'

For five months Murtagh detained his hostages at Aileach, but at the end of that time he sent them to his father-in-law, Donnchadh, King of Ireland. Donnchadh, however, not to be outdone in generosity, sent them back again, and it is probable they remained at Aileach till the death of Murtagh, which occurred in 943. The *Four Masters* thus record his death :—

Muircheartach of the Leather Cloaks, son of Niall Glundubh, lord of Aileach, the Hector of the west of Europe in his time, was slain at Ath-Fhirdiadh by Blacaire, son of Godfrey lord of the foreigners, on the 26th of March.

The modern name of the place where he was slain is Ardee, in the County Louth.

The Venerable Charles O'Connor, of Balanagare, in his *Dissertations on the History of Ireland*, contrasting the characters of Cellaghan, King of Munster, and Murtagh King of Aileach concludes thus :—

Murkertagh made improvements in the art of war. His character lies entombed in the history of a people, hardly inquired after in our own time. He had as great a genius for war as any man that this island has, perhaps, ever produced. The endowments of his heart were still greater. He, for some time, valued himself and his party too much ; but loving his country more, he relented, and reconciled himself to his sovereign and his brother-in-law [*recte*, father-in-law]. Thenceforward he never relapsed into faction. Of all enemies, he was the most generous ; of all commanders, the most affable. He never descended from his dignity ; but reconciled familiarity to rank, which, in the ordinary course of things, must be kept separate from it. Elevated, benevolent, and captivating, he was, unhappily, taken off at a time when his character put him in possession of a power which probably would have relieved his country from bondage.

In 956, Domhnall O'Neill, son of Muircheartagh, came to the throne, and we find his death recorded under date A.D. 978. It was this monarch who was visited at Aileach by the famous poet MacCoise, whose palace in Meath had been plundered by O'Neill's people. O'Curry, in the 6th of his Lectures, already quoted so often, gives a full and interesting account of this visit, and of the curious poem MacCoise recited on the occasion to the monarch. It will

repay a perusal, and, were it not for its length, we would introduce it here. Suffice it to say, that the poem had its desired effect, and procured for its injured author a full compensation for all the losses he had sustained.

But though Aileach boasts many distinguished kings and princes, it is questionable if any of them have stronger claims to a prominent place in our history than the last resident king, who reigned and held his court there. Domhnall Ua Lochlainn, or Donnel O'Lochlin, was a warrior of whom any nation might be proud; and had he lived in a country less torn asunder by petty jealousies and factions, would probably have ranked in the first class of renowned heroes. As it is, he occupies no inconsiderable place in our annals; and the palace of Aileach, first inhabited by the memorable Daghdá, found, at the time of its final destruction, a worthy occupant in the person of Ardghar's royal son. His entire reign, both as King of Aileach, and afterwards as King of Ireland, exemplified strongly the words that 'man's life upon earth is a warfare;' for he seems to have been cradled in the camp, and schooled in the battle-field, and to have turned to the best account the military genius with which nature had endowed him. His kingly air, his strength of mind, his unbounded generosity marked him out for his high position; and, though success is not always the proof of valour, still, when victory crowned all, or nearly all, the battles of eight and thirty years of warfare, it is impossible to withhold from Domhnall Ua Lochlainn the fame of a noble and daring soldier.

Under date A.D. 1088, the *Four Masters* tell us that Domhnall proceeded into Connaught, obtained hostages of all that province, whose king likewise joined him in his expedition, marched into Munster; burned Limerick, plundered the province of Munster; destroyed Kincora, the ancient palace of the Munster kings, and carried off eighty-score heroes as hostages and pledges. Two years later a great meeting took place between Domhnall, the King of Cashel, the Lord of Meath, and the King of Connaught, and all agreed to deliver hostages to the King of Aileach as a

token of their submission to him. In the year 1093 Domhnall blinded Ædh Ua-Canannain, Lord of Cinel-Connaill; and in the following year he slew the King of Ulidia in the battle of Bealach-Guirt-an-inbhair; that is, as O'Donovan explains it, 'The Road or Pass of the Field of the Yew.' 'This Pass was at Gortinure, in the parish of Killelagh, barony of Loughinsholin, in the county of Londonderry.' The same year he marched to Dublin, joined by the chiefs of the Kinel-Conaill, Cinel-Eoghan, and others, proceeded to Oughterard, in Kildare, and after burning that town routed the Munstermen in battle.

In 1100 his old enemy, Murtagh O'Brien, brought a great fleet of the 'foreigners' to Derry, but the indomitable King of Aileach completely destroyed them; and in the same year he took prisoner the King of Ulidia, and many of his chiefs together with him. The King of Munster was the one persistent enemy who disturbed the rest and peace of Domhnall during his whole long term of sovereignty. He it was, who, in one of his predatory incursions into the North, destroyed the regal fortress on Greenan, and caused each of his soldiers, as we have already seen, to carry back to Limerick a stone of the demolished palace. It is true this destruction of Aileach by Murtagh O'Brien in A.D. 1101 was but an act of retaliation for the destruction of the palace of Kincora by Domhnall in 1088, but the carrying off of the stones from the ruined mansion was a refinement of savagery ill becoming a kingly mind.

The remaining portion of Domhnall's reign was principally made up of incursions into Meath, Connaught, &c., until in A.D. 1121 we find recorded the death of this wonderful man in that quaint style of eulogy so peculiar to the Donegal annalists:—

Domhnall, son of Ardghar MacLochlainn, King of Ireland, the most distinguished of the Irish for personal form, family, sense, prowess, prosperity, and happiness, for bestowing of jewels and food upon the mighty and the needy, died at Doire-Choluim-Chille, after having been twenty-seven years in sovereignty over Ireland, and eleven years in the kingdom of Ailech, in the seventy-third year of his age, on the night of Wednesday, the fourth of the Ides of February, being the feast of Mochuarog.

The title did not die with him, for, thirty years later, we find recorded by the same authorities that 'the hostages of Leinster were sent to his house, to the son of Niall, grandson of Lochlainn; *i.e.*, King of Aileach and Teamhair.' On till the close of the twelfth century the title of King of Aileach is met with in our annals; but after that time it disappears from our history, and is lost for ever.

IV. LEGENDS OF AILEACH.—THE PROSPECT FROM THE GRIANAN.—THE PENAL DAYS

The royal abode of so many kings and warriors thenceforth became the prey of 'time's destroying fingers.' The sound of revelry and the clang of armour alike were stilled within its walls. Captive kings no longer sat at the monarch's board, and 'the house of the groaning hostages' held no more its fettered inmates; but, when the reality was gone, imagination would still people it with warlike hosts, ready to come to their country's deliverance when the time arrived, and the signal was given them. In a cave underneath the mountain, say the legends, lies entranced in magic slumber a troop of horse belonging to Hugh O'Neill. They have not, like the fallen soldiers of Sennacherib, 'the dew on their brow, and the rust on their mail,' but are equipped in perfect armour, well mounted on fiery chargers, whose reins they hold with one hand, while the other rests upon the hilt of a shining blade. The spell that binds them can only be broken by their destined leader, and everyone else is powerless to disenchant them. On one occasion a man wandered accidentally into this cave, and was terrified at the sight of the armed soldiers. One of them raised his head, and asked 'was the time come;' but when no answer was given him, he fell back again into his magic slumber. Duffy, in his spirited ballad, entitled *Inishowen*, refers to this legend:—

When they tell us a tale of a spell-stricken band,
All entranced, with their bridles and broadswords in hand,
Who await but the word to give Erin her own,
They can read you that riddle in proud Innishowen.

Another very beautiful but melancholy legend is frequently told in connection with Aileach; but as Keating

relates it as having occurred at Emania, in the time of Connor MacNessa, King of Ulster, we will merely give an outline of it here.

A certain noble, who was of a warlike disposition, wishing to perfect himself in the exercise of arms, went for that purpose to Scotland, to receive instructions from Sgathach, a lady of masculine bravery and experience. Here Congculionn, or Cuhullin, fell in love with a Scotch lady, named Aoife, and had his affection returned. He was obliged suddenly, and sooner than he expected, to return to his native land; but ere leaving he gave directions to Aoife how to train up their child, if a son. She was to have him instructed in the military art by the best teachers, and at a certain age he was to be sent to Ireland to seek out his father. A chain of gold which he gave her was to be put about the youth's neck when setting out for the shores of Erin, and by this was his father to know him and acknowledge him as his son.

Three obligations, however, she was to impose on him with all a mother's authority when setting out on his journey, and to insist strictly on their observance. The first was, that he should never give place to any person living, but rather die than be obliged to turn back. The second was, never to refuse a challenge from the boldest champion alive, but to fight with him even though he was sure to fall in the encounter. And the third was, never to disclose his name to anyone asking it. In due time a son was born, and named Conlaoch. His mother got him trained by the same Amazon who had instructed his father, and he became the greatest proficient in the military art in Scotland. At the appointed time he came to search for his father, Congculionn, and directed his steps to the king's palace, where a great meeting was at that time being held to deliberate on matters relating to the province of Ulster. On coming to court the young Conlaoch refused to disclose his name even to the king's messengers; and Cuhullin, who formed one of the assembly of nobles then met together, asked the king's permission to see this haughty youth, and to force him to obedience. To Cuhullin's inquiry as to his

name and the object of his coming, Conlaoch refused an answer, till the father, incensed by the obstinacy of the young warrior, struck him with his spear. Roused to fury, Conlaoch sprang at Cuhullin, and, 'as meet two troubled seas, with the rolling of all their waves, when they feel the wings of contending winds, in the rock-sided firth of Lumon,' so met the warriors in deadly combat. Never was deadlier struggle witnessed; but the fire of youth was in Conlaoch's veins, and the hitherto unconquered Cuhullin had to yield to the prowess of his adversary. Worsted in the conflict, he was forced to take advantage of a ford in the stream to save his life. Maddened by his defeat he called upon one of his officers to bring him the spear, called in Irish the *Gai Builg*, with which he was sure to destroy his adversary. Grasping it in his hand, he threw it with all his force, and surely enough pierced the body of the unfortunate youth, who fell dead upon the spot. Pity for his fate and unmerited death now seized upon the heart of Congcullion, and bending over his fair young victim, from whose cheek and brow the bloom of boyhood had scarcely worn away, he descried the chain which years before he had entrusted to the hands of the enamoured Aoife. His grief can be better imagined than described, for he was now heartbroken. They buried the ill-fated Conlaoch in the green valley below, and raised above him a hero's tomb. The summer passed, the autumn died away, and surly November breathed over the landscape, stripping the quivering branches of their foliage, and sending the withered leaves through their weird, fantastic dances. On an evening at this season a female form was seen at Conlaoch's grave, and the morrow found her still kneeling there. It was Aoife, the loving mother, who, fearing for the fate of her son, had followed him to Erin; and, learning the sad story of his melancholy end, had come to die at her loved one's tomb. The green sward opened its bosom for her too, and she sleeps with the child of her love in this northern valley, far from the home of her youth and the graves of her kindred.

The prospect from the summit of Greenan is grand in the extreme. 'It commands,' says Petrie, 'one of the most

extensive and beautifully varied panoramic prospects to be found in Ireland.' Westward lies Tyrconnell, with its glorious mountains and verdant valleys; away towards the north stretch the realms of O'Doherty, historic Inishowen; eastwards rise up the basaltic headlands of Magilligan and the dark hills of Derry; whilst the blue mountain ranges of Tyrone close in the beauteous picture towards the south. It is a region of romantic story, the scene of a thousand battles, the natal soil of many a saint, the asylum of the poet and historian, and the field where the expiring patriotism of Ireland fought its last death-fight against the encroachments of English power.

And around this old ruin, which crowns the summit of Greenan, how many glorious as well as sad reminiscences cluster! What revolutions has it not witnessed! what wonderful changes has it not beheld! How many generations have come and gone, have played their part upon the stage of life, and then retired behind the curtain of death, since first the Daghdha's murdered son was laid to rest upon the summit of this mountain! Nearly a thousand years before Sardanapalus perished amid the smoking ruins of Niniveh did Corgeann sink here beneath his cruel burden; and the towers of Rome did not fling their shadows over the yellow Tiber till ten centuries after the first De Danann palace had been erected at Aileach. Almost coeval with Grecian Thebes, ancient as Thyatira, it was centuries old before Antioch was founded by Seleucus Nicator, and before Solomon had raised his magnificent temple in the sacred city of Sion. It preceded and survived the rise and fall of many kingdoms and empires; it has seen the strange vicissitudes of fortune in the old world and the new; and whilst the proudest cities of bygone ages have melted away like the snowflake, it still rests on the brow of the mountain, looking out, as of old, on the Swilly and the Foyle, and guarding, like a faithful sentinel, the lands of O'Doherty, from the peaks of the Scalp to the distant shores of Malin.

It has seen countless changes in the religious and political systems of the world. The strange doctrines of Buddha, the more elevated system of the sun and fire

worshippers, the absurd theories of Grecian and Roman philosophers, have passed, in turn, before it, and the mystic rites of the Druids have been celebrated around its very walls. The voice of Ireland's great apostle has echoed here, and in this spot the warlike son of Niall the Great reverently bowed to Patrick's teaching.

Even in the immediate locality around, what astonishing political revolutions, what changes of dynasty, what cruel butcheries, have not been witnessed ! What temples of religion has Aileach not seen rise in its very vicinity, then fall, in the lapse of years, beneath the worse than Vandal power of the enemies of society ! There, beyond the modern ramparts that connect Inch with Inishowen, once arose the cloisters of St. Mura, or Muranus, a famous monastery founded by St. Columbkille, and governed, in the beginning of the seventh century, by the illustrious man whose name it ever afterwards bore. St. Mura wrote the life of the founder of the monastery (St. Columb), and from this life the *Martyrology of Donegal* makes several extracts. Here, too, died, in A.D. 884, a most distinguished scholar and writer, Maelmura, or servant of Mura, abbot of Fahan. In recording the event the *Four Masters* thus write :—

Mæalmura, the learned and truly intelligent poet, the erudite historian of the Scotie language, died. It is of him this testimony was given :—

There trod not the charming earth, there never flourished at affluent
Teamhair,
The great and fertile Ireland never produced a man like the mild, fine
Mælmura.
There sipped not death without sorrow, there mixed not a nobler face with
the dead,
The habitable earth was not closed over a historian more illustrious.

Well was that place named Fathen, or Fahan (which means shelter or enclosure), for the north winds may rave, and the tempests roar, but Fahan heeds not their violence. Nestling at the foot of the semicircular hills that shield it from the north, it for ever woos the sunshine, and smiles in perpetual verdure when all around is wintry gloom and desolation. But the monastic glories of Fahan are gone,

and only a crumbling ruin of the beauteous church now remains to indicate the site of its once famous schools and sacred cloisters.

Across the lake, on the opposite shore of the Swilly, stood the abbey of Kil-o'-Donnell, a Franciscan foundation established by the great Tyrconnel chieftains. It belonged to the Tertiaries, or third Order of St. Francis, and, like its great parent house in Donegal, was both founded and endowed by the O'Donnells. Farther down along the shore was the Carmelite Convent of Rathmullen, opposite to which 'dauntless Red Hugh' was entrapped in his fifteenth year by the wily stratagem of Sir John Perrott, and carried away captive to Dublin Castle, in whose dungeons he languished for four years. He was captured in 1587, and exactly twenty years afterwards another vessel sailed from that same Fanad shore, bearing away for ever, from their native land, the noblest and most skilful generals that Ireland ever produced. These were the 'Earls,' as they were usually styled, and the numerous retinue that accompanied them. Than Hugh O'Neill, who for so many years out-manceuvred all the generals of Elizabeth; and Rory O'Donnell, a man in every way worthy of the princely name he bore, our annals can produce no grander characters. Never did Aileach look down upon a more melancholy scene :—

For it is certain [say the *Four Masters*] that the sea never carried, and that the winds never wafted from the Irish shores, individuals more illustrious or noble in genealogy, or more renowned for deeds of valour, prowess, and high achievements.

Sad though was their fate, it is consoling to know that in this our day justice has at length been done to their memory, and that the glowing and truthful pen of one of our best writers (the late Father Meehan) has pourtrayed their sufferings and their wrongs in his *Fate and Fortunes of Neill and O'Donnell*.

Southwards from Fanad lies Gartan, the birthplace of the most remarkable man in Irish history, St. Columbkille. Remarkable was he in every sense, for, like St. Bernard in a

later age, his word swayed the councils of kings, and gave a direction to the current both of politics and religion. From Greenan can we count the sites of the many religious houses he established, stretching from Derry, his first great foundation, to the distant Tory, amid the waves of the Atlantic. And when the mists ascend, and leave undimmed the blue expanse across the waters, the last scene of his missionary labours—the isles and highlands of Scotland—rise before us like distant cerulean cloudland, flecked with living streaks of golden sunshine.

Immediately below, on this side of the Swilly, and adjoining the base of Greenan, stretch the rich plains of Burt, one vast garden of luxuriance and beauty, and the border fortresses of O'Doherty—like wounded gladiators, now tottering to their fall—lend an indescribable charm to the picture. These are the castles of Burt, Inch, and Elagh, which, with that of Buncrana, were used alternately by the lord of Inishowen as pleasure or convenience suggested. Tradition states that these castles were built in the beginning of the fifteenth century by Neacthan O'Donnell for his father-in-law, O'Doherty. Their last owner was the chivalrous but ill-fated Sir Cahir, who was killed near Kilmacrenan, A.D. 1608. With him passed away the power and the glory of the old sept, and his lordly possessions were seized upon by Sir Arthur Chichester, one of the most cold-blooded and heartless reptiles that ever crawled from the mire of English corruption. Sir Cahir's name and history fill a gloomy page in the history of our country. What he might in time have become is now vain to conjecture, for, with a burning feeling of personal injury rankling in his soul, and with the standard of battle once raised, he probably would have proved a deadly and troublesome enemy to the English power in the North, had his fate not been sealed so early on the Rock of Doon.

To barely enumerate the historical spots visible from Greenan, and to recount the incidents connected with them, would be to compress into an essay the material of a portly volume. There is not a foot of ground on either side the classic Swilly or lovely Foyle that does not bear testimony

equally to the prowess and the piety of the ancient race ; and the crumbling arches of the ruined cloisters, like voices from the dead, remind us that learning and religion flourished here at a time when the tide of barbarism had swept away everything sacred from the rest of Europe.

Greenan, too, is a mute memorial of the cruel legislation of the penal days ; for here, in the last century, were the persecuted Catholics wont to assemble, and to offer to God that homage which their faith dictated. This was not, as Colonel Blacker in his sun-temple theory has stated, by any means 'a certain proof of the traditional sanctity of the spot,' but was rather a proof of the fear and trembling with which the persecuted race regarded the priest-hunters of the time, and which induced them to select a situation from whence their enemies could be seen from a distance, and imprisonment or death be consequently avoided. That such precaution was not unnecessary we must admit, when we bear in mind how these traffickers in human blood were ever following in the wake of their victims, and how

With eye of lynx, and ear of stag,
And footfall like the snow,

they were ever alive to the least movement of the banned and outlawed race, and were only too ready and willing to betray them to the soldiery. We can well remember to hear our venerated grandsires tell, in the days of our childhood, how they attended Mass on Greenan Hill, when Dean O'Donnell (afterwards Bishop of Derry) was the celebrant ; how they arose long hours before day, and accompanied their parents through the dreary hills to the sacred trysting-place ; and how in that temple of nature, whose floor was the damp heather, and whose canopy was the azure sky, they learned practically the truth and sweetness of the doctrine that 'blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice' sake.' But though, happily, those days are gone for ever, yet the impress they made was too deep to be easily obliterated, and the emancipated children of shackled parents can scarcely yet realize their freedom.

We cannot close this little sketch without referring to

an effort made a few years since to restore what remains of Aileach to its pristine form. The palace itself, as we already saw, was destroyed by O'Brien in 1101, but what Dr. Petrie calls the 'cashel' was apparently not interfered with. In the lapse of years it gradually fell, and having been constructed originally of uncemented stones, it presented at the time of the Ordnance Survey the appearance of a cairn. As, however, the walls still remained standing to the height of five or six feet, Petrie and his *collaborateurs* were able to take measurements, and to sketch out with wonderful accuracy the plan of the building. The surrounding wall was circular, enclosing a space 77 feet 6 inches in diameter, and the breadth of the wall at its base varied from 15 feet to 11 feet 6 inches. There was one doorway on the eastern side, there were stairs inside in the walls, which led to galleries, and brought one to the top gallery or platform. Petrie conjectured the height of the external wall had been twice or even four times the height of the portion of the wall then standing, *i.e.*, that it might have been 12 or even 24 feet high. It was evidently intended for a watch-tower, and as a place of defence from which assailing enemies could be advantageously repelled. It would serve, moreover, as a store-house for the military weapons used at the period.

Dr. Bernard, a medical gentleman residing in the city of Derry, undertook the work of restoration some years ago, and having enlisted the sympathies of the farmers of the locality, he secured valuable assistance from them in carrying out the work. He followed the plans sketched out in the Ordnance Memoir, and after earnest and persevering labours he completed his self-imposed task. To him it was a labour of love, for he is a most devoted antiquarian, and his labour has been the means of reviving the interest in the place, and of attracting numbers of tourists in the summer months. He well deserves the gratitude of all who take an interest in the bygone glories and in the ruins of their native land.

Silence and desolation now brood over this ancient seat of royalty; the music of the harp and the sigh of the

captive alike are stilled within its walls ; decay, with footsteps as noiseless as the summer mist, has pressed upon it ; and the green grass grows in its kingly courts, and the tempests of the North howl over its fallen battlements. Yet, though all its grandeur and greatness are no more ; though its kings and warriors have long since mouldered into dust ; it has still a charm for us in its past, and we love to hear—as Ossian expresses it—‘ a tale of the times of old—the deeds of days of other years.’ When the future antiquarian shall investigate the history of our neglected ruins ; when the golden dawn of a genuine patriotism shall light our countrymen in the study of bygone ages, then shall we find that not the least interesting memorial of Ireland’s forgotten glories is the mouldering palace of the Daghdá—the time-honoured halls of ‘ Aileach of the Kings.’

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

OLIVER KELLY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM

VERY little is now known, or has been ever published in any connected form, concerning the distinguished career and the arduous life and labours of Dr. Oliver Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam. In the *Lives of the Archbishops of Tuam*, written by the late Sir Oliver J. Burke, for which the learned author received the order of the Papal knighthood, but very scant notice is taken of the personal character of this prelate, and a short account only given of his public action. This poverty of material seemed unavoidable, as Dr. Kelly lived in a period of stress and storm in Ireland, when there was little time or thought to record the passing events of his day; and, consequently, there remain but scattered and incomplete memorials of that eminent ecclesiastic. That Dr. Kelly was a distinguished and a remarkable man is evident from several facts. It is recorded of him that when intelligence of his death reached Rome, whither he was bound at the time, the Pope (Gregory XVI.) 'wept as for the loss of an old and valued friend;' and we find that when the assembled bishops of Ireland met, in 1834, to make a pronouncement upon the Veto, Dr. Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam, was chosen as their presiding chairman; and his name, as such, appears appended to the patriotic resolutions they issued, showing the high position of prominence he must have attained in the Irish Church.

With the aid of some material lately discovered in old newspapers and from other sources, as well as local tradition, I am enabled to put on paper some few connected facts respecting the deceased prelate which, seeing the light after being so many years immured in these old, dusty records, may be of interest not alone to the wide-scattered sons of the see of Tuam, which he so worthily filled, but also to the ecclesiastics generally of our Church.

Oliver Kelly was born at Crumore, or Curraghmore, in the county of Galway, in the year 1777, of pious and

respectable parents, members of the old Catholic families of Connaught, who clung to the faith with the well-known tenacity of the Celt. A writer in the *Catholic Magazine* of 1834, says :—

At the age of fourteen he was obliged to seek in a foreign country that education which, by the barbarous penal laws, it was deemed a crime to receive in his native land—that land so famed in days of yore for communicating religion, arts, and civilization, not only to persecuting England, but to various other nations more grateful for the blessings they thus received.

Under the learned priest, who was subsequently Primate of Ireland (Most Rev. Dr. Curtis), at Salamanca, Oliver Kelly received that sound education he used so admirably for the promotion of religion. About 1802 he returned to Ireland ordained a priest, and being then twenty-five years of age, was appointed by Dr. Dillon, Archbishop of Tuam, as Administrator of the parish of Tuam. At that time, when the sound of a bell for worship could not be heard in that Catholic town, and when, instead of the proud commanding prominence it now occupies, verily situated on a mountain top, as it were, their church, of unpretending size and style, was hidden away in an obscure quarter known as Chapel-lane. The bishop and priests lived together in a small thatched house on the Tullinadally-road. It was destined for Oliver Kelly to build, not only the present Cathedral, but the bishop's house and the presbytery, and it was left for the present eminently public-spirited and careful prelate to secure, out of his own resources, all these places for the use of the church, free from the restrictions of tenancy, and the responsibilities of rent. Working assiduously in Tuam for some years, Father Kelly was appointed parish priest of Westport. There he commenced that wonderful career of church building, for which he was so distinguished. While in Westport he built the present Catholic chapel upon the Mall, a very pretty edifice in the Grecian style of architecture, and having inscribed outside the words of Holy Writ: 'This is an awful place.' Upon the death of Dr. Dillon, in 1809, Fr. Kelly was appointed Vicar Capitular of the Archdiocese by his brother priests.

These were troublous times for the Church, and the Pope, a prisoner of the French Emperor, was unable to discharge his high functions. Consequently, Tuam remained without a bishop, and there was an interregnum for five years in the see of Jarlath. It was only on the 4th of October, 1814, that Pope Pius VII. was able to issue his rescript, and that Dr. Kelly received his appointment. On the 12th of March, 1815, he was consecrated in the old Church at Chapel lane. In 1829 he received the Pallium from the Holy See. In Sir Oliver Burke's brief account of Dr. Kelly, 1814 is given as the date of his appointment, but the above are the exact dates. In the *Catholic Magazine* for June, 1834, we read of Dr. Kelly:—

His unalterable attachment to the purity of the Catholic faith, and his desire to preserve it in Ireland against the wily machinations of State tricks, were unequivocally manifested in his opposition to the rescript of Quarrantotti, in 1814, to the Vote under every shape, and to the pensioning project of 1825. He not only headed his own immediate bishops and clergy in denouncing those measures but on account of his peculiar firmness was chosen President of the assembled bishops of Ireland, in Synod, in 1815, when in the spirit of that great national apostle they declared that the giving of any direct or indirect influence to the Government of this country by veto, nomination boards, or pension, over the Catholic clergy, would be as destructive to the peace of the country as it would be subversive of the Catholic religion in Ireland.

Upon his appointment to Tuam, Dr. Kelly appointed Dean Burke his successor in Westport, and he was its last parish priest, as upon that good priest's death it was attached to Tuam by Dr. MacHale as a mensal parish, and it so continues. Dean Burke was an intimate friend of the bishop, and was regarded by priests and people as his probable successor, for the translation of Dr. MacHale from Killala by Rome was at the time somewhat of a surprise in Tuam. In 1822 famine stalked the land, and the labours at that time of Dr. Kelly were so untiring, so anxious and arduous, that they undermined his health, and he was never the same afterwards. Even so did the rigours of black '47 make such an impression on the late Bishop of Clonfert,

then parish priest of Cummer, that he never could shake off its effects upon his spirits and strength. A Relief Committee was formed in Tuam consisting of the two Archbishops, Dr. Kelly and Dr. Trench (the last Protestant Archbishop of Tuam). It may be incidentally mentioned that it was the abolition of the Archbishopric of Tuam, after Dr. Trench's death, by the Derby Ministry, that first made Dr. Newman consider the Erastian character of the Protestant establishment, and which made him doubt its divine origin. A contemporary writer says of Dr. Kelly during this trying time :—

This illustrious bishop was to be seen on the wilds of Connemara, or upon the remote mountains of the West, relieving the starving portion of his flock, and, like his Divine Master, administering to the wants of the poor and afflicted.

In 1825 Dr. Kelly, with Dr. Curtis, Dr. Murray, Dr. Doyle, and Dr. Magauran, were summoned to give evidence before a Committee elected by Parliament to examine into and report upon the tenets, morals, and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, and upon the state of Ireland in general. The evidence of these prelates had a powerful effect in opening the minds of the English people ; but that of Dr. Kelly, 'if possible,' says the same writer, 'exceeded the evidence of the others in opposing the then contemplated pensioning and vetoistical arrangements.'

In 1827 Dr. Kelly commenced the erection of the magnificent Cathedral of Tuam, 'the ornament and glory of town and diocese.' As was then said of it, 'for beauty of architecture, unity of parts, and chasteness of design, it is superior to any modern temple in the empire.' It may have some compeers to-day in Ireland, but it must be remembered it was the first of its size and style that was attempted after the dark night of persecution had to give way to the opening dawn of religious liberty. At this period Dr. Kelly threw himself with all his characteristic energy into the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, and from the first was one of the staunchest friends and ablest advisers of O'Connell. In a letter dated from Merrion-

square, the 30th December, 1827, Daniel O'Connell thus addressed Dr. Kelly :—

The public papers will already have informed your Lordship of the resolution to hold a meeting for petitions in every parish in Ireland on Monday, 31st January. I would not presume to call your Lordship's particular attention to this measure, or respectfully solicit your countenance and support in your diocese, if I was not deeply convinced of its extreme importance and utility. The combination of national action—all Catholic Ireland acting as one man—must necessarily have a powerful effect on the minds of the ministry and the entire British nation. A people who can thus be brought to act together and on one impulse are too powerful to be long opposed.

We know the results of that splendid combination, even if we are not, by reason of our own apathy and want of co-operation, yet reaping the full fruits of O'Connell's victory.

Towards the end of 1833 Dr. Kelly's health declined. He visited the Continent, under medical advice, in the hope of recovery in that more genial clime, and away from the cares of his diocese. He spent some months in the South of Europe; and returning to Rome from Naples, he was taken ill at Albano, near the Holy City, and, at the early age of fifty-seven, there breathed his last on the 18th of April, 1834. The account of his death is thus given in the *Catholic Magazine* of August 2, 1834 :—

After struggling with various attacks he left Rome for Albano on the 13th of April, 1834, and early on the morning of the 18th he calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of his Creator, after receiving the consolations of religion from the pastor of that district. On that day a splendid funeral service was performed in the Cathedral of Albano, and the Pope having heard of his death [letters from Rome acquaint us] shed many tears and ordered every respect to be paid to his remains, and that they should be conveyed to Rome, where his Holiness, attended by the Cardinals, the Superiors and the Students of the Irish, English, and Roman Colleges, formed the awful [*sic*] procession to the Church of the Propaganda. After the funeral service prescribed by Roman ritual had been performed, his body was placed in the vaults attached to the Church. On the 22nd of April another Office and High Mass were celebrated, attended by nearly the same persons. The church, magnificently hung with

black, and illumined by the numerous wax candles which usually adorn the churches on the Continent on such solemn occasions. The Right Rev. Dr. Baines, Vicar Apostolic, officiated as High Priest. Dr. Kelly was the intimate friend and favourite of Leo XII., Pius VIII., and Gregory XVI., the present Pontiff, who, during his stay in Rome, paid him marked attention, and lamented in his death the demise of one of the first prelates of the Irish Church. What a gratifying account for his friends—what an example for his successor to follow!

Such is the writer's account of Dr. Kelly, and such was Tuam's bishop, whose merits and fame are so little known even in the place adorned by his virtues, and where an enduring monument to his memory, the magnificent Cathedral of Tuam, stands to attest his zeal and love for religion. To Dr. Kelly Tuam's archdiocese is indebted, also for the foundation of the classic College of St. Jarlath (so called by Dr. Kelly in commemoration of the patron saint of the archdiocese), that school of learning as famous in its day as was its predecessor at Cloonfush (Cluamfois) in the years before the English invasion which, three miles from Tuam's town was founded by St. Jarlath—that place which has been for over sixty years the training ground for all the priests, not alone of Tuam's large diocese, but of so many scattered over the United States and the Colonies. In the *Catholic Magazine* of June, 1834, we read:—

The Tuam Cathedral, now nearly completed, has received, per the late Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, donations from Lady Elizabeth Russell of £15, and £5 from James Daly of Great Charles-street. St. Jarlath's College is receiving that degree of public support it so justly merits. The Rev. Mr. Brown, Principal, and the Professors, show extraordinary care and attention to its interests. Mr. Stack, the gifted Professor of Elocution, is employed in giving a series of lectures to the students there.

Dr. Kelly's successor in the see was Dr. MacHale, who completed and consecrated the Cathedral, and dying full of years and honour was succeeded by the present illustrious prelate, Dr. MacEvilly, who has laid out upon necessary repairs of Dr. Kelly's church over £10,000, making it exteriorly and interiorly one of the finest places of Catholic worship in the country.

RICHARD J. KELLY.

THE 'MULS' AND THE 'GILS': SOME IRISH SURNAMES.

I.

IT is not generally known that at least one hundred thousand people of Irish birth or descent bear, in their every-day surnames, a record of the zeal for piety and learning which distinguished early Christian Ireland. According to the last census, there are in Ireland alone eight thousand three hundred persons called (in Irish, of course) 'descendant of the servant of the Church.' Then there are thousands of 'descendants of the servants of God,' of Christ, of Mary, of John, of Brigid, of Finian, of Brendan, of Aidan. I am confident that many will read these phrases without at all recognising in them their own family names. So far as I know, the subject is wholly untouched; but now that the Irish people are at last beginning to learn their own language, they will find that their surnames, and many other things which, so far, must have appeared meaningless, have really a striking and often beautiful signification.

In the present paper, I propose to discuss some surnames formed from the names of twenty-six patrons, chiefly Irish saints. The surnames, in their English garb, amount to about seventy. I have thought it necessary to say, first of all, something about Irish names in general.

Most Irish surnames, although grievously disfigured in passing into their present English forms, are easily recognisable as such. It is to be hoped that, by this time, everyone who bears an Irish name knows, at least, that *Mac* and *O*, the two familiar signs of Gaelic descent, are just ordinary nouns, meaning *son* and *grandson*, but now in our surnames standing for *descendant*. So that every Irish name beginning with *Mac* or *O* means 'descendant of' some ancestor whose name, in the genitive case, forms the remainder of the surname. All Irish surnames are derived

from the names of ancestors, and, accordingly, all should have either Mac or O. I speak of names originally Irish, for there are some names of foreign origin, though now, and most deservedly, classed as Irish, such as Burke, Hyde, Walsh, which have neither Mac nor O, but either retain the *de* (in the case of the Norman names), oftened softened to *a*, as *de Búrca* or *a Búrca*, *de h-Ide*, or assume an adjectival form, as *Tomás Breathnach*, Thomas Walsh.¹

In Irish, all names of men have either *Mac* or *O*, and names of women have *Ni*, daughter. Custom has extended the use, in English, of Mac and O to women's names. *Mac* should be written at full length, not M^c. We do not write Johnsⁿ. Many Irish surnames have lost *Mac* or *O*; for this there are various reasons, all discreditable.

The English forms of most of our Irish surnames originated during the last two centuries, many in this century. We must not forget that in 1800, Ireland was to but a slight extent an English-speaking country. Education had been prohibited even in the English tongue. We find the first forms of our surnames, as a rule, in those precious legal documents which declare that Dermot Mac So-and-So or O'So-and-So, being a 'meere Irishman,' is hereby declared to have forfeited the lands, &c. The English forms are but rough and ready phonetic equivalents of the Gaelic names; and as everyone could devise a phonetic system of his own, there were and are often, several forms for the same family name.

To the student of the meanings of Irish surnames the English forms of these names are not only of little or no use, but sometimes are positively misleading. Thus, in names that are now spelled *Twomey*, *Twohill*, *Gilfeather*, *MacAvenue*, we see what strange results come from an attempted equation of parts of these names with certain English words. To study Irish surnames to any effect, we must leave the English forms out of sight for the moment,

¹ From such names, possibly, originated the practice of saying *an Brúnach*, *an Búreach*, corresponding to the modern English titles of *The Magillicuddy*, *The O'Neill*—forms unknown in classical Irish, although they are found in modern Scotch Gaelic. Possibly, however, the usage is of French origin.

and analyze as far as we can the original Gaelic names. Some of these names, coming to us in their present form from prehistoric times, may defy our analysis; but others—and these fortunately happen to be large classes—can be easily resolved into their constituent elements. In the present paper I propose to discuss two classes of surnames. These are the names which begin, or which should begin, in O'Mul- and MacGil- (Gaelic *O'Maoil-* and *MacGiolla-*), but which are found beginning in Mal-, Mel-, Mil-, Mol-, Mul-, and MacEl-, MacIl-, Gil-, Kil-, MacL-, Cl-, L-, and other forms.¹

We take the Mul- names first. Any surnames beginning in O'Mul-,—let us say O'Mulblank,—means 'descendant of Mulblank.' Mulblank is an ancestor from whom the family derives its surname, and as surnames did not come into use generally before the tenth or eleventh century, the ancestral Mulblank must be looked for before that date. In most names of this class, as we shall see, the ancestor belongs to the age of the great Christian schools of Ireland; but some Mul- names originated in prehistoric times.

What, then, was the meaning of the name borne by the original Mulblank? In other words, what is the meaning of the Mul- prefix? In modern Irish the Mul is written *maol*, and this *maol* represents different older Irish words in different names. (a) In most of our present names the Mul stands for 'servant of,' or 'votary of.' And most of these names are of Christian origin, and of very great interest. Thus, many centuries ago, a person devoted to St. John, for example, would assume the name *Maol-Eoin*, 'servant of John' Hence arose the modern surname *O'Maoil-Eoin*, descendant of the servant of John—O'Malone, Malone. (b) In other surnames the Mul stands for an old Gaelic word meaning 'hero, magnate.' (c) In others, Mul probably represents a word for 'head.'

The Gil- names have had a similar origin. Many

¹ There are a few surnames in O'Gil. The Scotch surname, Ogilvy (Ogilvie), which is sometimes quoted as the only O name in Scotland, is probably not Gaelic at all. The accent of the name is on the first syllable, and the name is probably a Lowland, not a Highland, one.

centuries ago there lived persons who answered the name, Gilblank. In some of these names, Gil, Irish *giolla*, older form *gilla*, meant 'servant,' as *Giolla-brighde*, pron. gilla-breedá, servant of St. Brigid. And now we have the surname, *Mac-Giolla-Bhrighde*, descendant of the servant of St. Brigid—in English Gilbride, Kilbride. In others of the Gil- names the Gil- prefix must be translated by 'person, fellow,' as *Mac-Giolla-bháin*, descendant of the white (haired) person, now MacIlvaine.

The Mul- names originated much earlier than those in Gil. In fact, we find no record of Gil- names until after the Danish invasion; and some maintain that the word *gilla* is of Danish origin. On the other hand, we find Mul- names of pre-Christian, and even of prehistoric origin. As far as can be ascertained, the original form of the prefix was a word *maglos*, connected in meaning with the Latin *magnus*, and meaning 'magnate,' 'hero,' or something similar. There is a Gaulish inscription, of course of the prehistoric period, mentioning a certain *magalomarus*, or 'great hero.' When Irish came to be written in the Roman alphabet, the word had become *mael*, and we have record of great numbers of *mael* names of the pre-Christian period. Thus we have *Mael-Midhe*, hero of Meath; *Mael-Caisil*, hero of Cashel. Then we find the prefix assuming the secondary meaning of 'one devoted to a servant of,' as *Mael-Bresail*, servant of Bresal; *Mael-cluiche*, addicted to play, gambling; and *Mael-bracha*, devoted to malt! We see, therefore, that the *mael* prefix had the meaning of 'servant' even in pre-Christian times, and we may assume that it is the same word, originally *maglos*, which we find in names like Malone, and all names meaning servant of a saint.¹

No doubt, people already accustomed to such names as 'servant of Bresal' found it very appropriate, when they fell under strong religious influences, to assume such names as 'servant of Patrick,' 'servant of (St.) Michael,' 'servant

¹ Some writers, however, think that the prefix, in the surnames formed from the name of a saint, is the adjective *mael*, bald, applied by the Irish to the first Christian missionaries on account of their remarkable tonsure. We find in a mediæval poem the phrase *Melcisedec mael*. M., the priest; and St. Patrick himself is often called 'adze-head.'

of Mary.' Accordingly, we find that such names were used very soon after the conversion of Ireland to the Christian faith. In an old life of St. Cellach of Killala, himself one of the early Irish saints, we find mention of persons called 'servant of St. Ibar' (one of the most ancient Christian missionaries in Ireland), and 'servant of Senach' (another early Irish saint). The bulk of these saint-names, however, do not occur so early; they are found chiefly in the annals of the seventh to the tenth century, the earliest entry in the *Four Masters* being that of 'servant of Brigid,' at the year 645. As we have seen, the Gil-names do not occur so early, the first such record made by the *Four Masters* being that of a 'servant of Kevin,' at the year 981.

Reserving the other names in Mul and Gil, we shall find it convenient to discuss, in the first place, the large, and, from the Catholic standpoint, most interesting class of surnames which contain the name of a patron saint.

II.

It was in the golden age of the early Irish schools, when Ireland was a lodestar that attracted students, scholars, and pilgrims from Britain, France, and Germany—from Rome itself, and even from the distant East—that the names which we shall now examine had their origin. Around the great schools grew up towns filled with native and foreign students, in some cases amounting to thousands. Then even the surrounding peasantry, with that admiration for learning which is characteristic of even the humblest class in Ireland, gloried in the fame for learning and sanctity of the great doctors and teachers of the colleges. What wonder if, in the lecture-rooms of Clonard, and through the neighbouring country, should be found many who bore the name of 'servant of Finian;' if Derry, Kells, Durrow, Iona, and many other shrines should shelter 'servants of Columba;' or if the innumerable places connected with the names of Patrick and Brigid should be visited by pilgrims who would take, and bear ever afterward, the names of those national patrons? Probably the first to adopt this practice were the clerics attached to the church or college founded by the

saint.¹ The adoption of such names would have been facilitated by the custom of changing the names of religious on their entrance of the service of the altar. The national apostle, we know, was in early life called Succat, a name which, could we but explain it, would solve for us the vexed question of St. Patrick's birthplace. St. Columba, too, changed his ancestral name of Criomhthann, 'fox,' for Colum, 'dove.' There are many later examples. Many of the clerics, in all probability, already bore such names as Maelbresail, servant of Bresal, &c., and would find it very easy and very appropriate to substitute a patron saint for the Bresal or other prehistoric ancestor. The practice, if it began with religious, soon extended to all classes, and to both sexes. If we find the names of women recorded but seldom, we must remember that the early annals deal, as a rule, with transactions in which men are generally the actors.

In the tenth century there must have been a large number of persons bearing Mul- names; and a little later, when surnames began to be formed, there were evidently plenty of 'descendants of servants of Patrick' and of other patrons. Hence, though many such surnames became obsolete, and have not reached our days, we have still, in English garb, about one hundred and fifty such surnames.

Let us now see them in detail. From *Dia*, God, came the name Gilla-de, 'servant of God,' often recorded in mediæval annals, and giving us in later times the surname Mac-Giolla-de, 'descendant of the servant of God,' in English dress Gildea, Gilday, Kilday (United States). O'Dea, O'Day (U.S.), is an old Gaelic name of pre-Christian origin, but the rage for anglicization has led some persons of the name to change it for Goodwin—*Dia*-God-Good.

Coimhde, Lord, gave the personal name *Giolla-coimhde*, 'servant of the Lord,' and thus arose the surname *MacG. coimhde*, 'descendant of the servant of the Lord.' O'Donovan gives the English form as MacGilcarry, which I have not met in use; but we have MacIlharry, hence an

¹ On the theory that the Mul- prefix stands for *maol*, a tonsured cleric, this would, of course, be the case always.

unwarranted form MacIlhenry (U. S.). It is possible that MacIlhargy and MacIlhagga are the same name, although the former would seem to come from St. Forga, as noted below. 'Descendant of the servant of Christ' has survived in the two forms; the Mul- form is Mylechrist, now used only in the Isle of Man, and the Gil- form is Gilchrist, Gilchreest, Kilchrist. In all these names the initial K represents the final consonant of the Mac- prefix. The name *Iosa*, Jesus, gave *Maol-Iosa* and *Giolla-Iosa*, both of frequent occurrence in the old annals. We read of one 'servant of Jesus,' who was Archbishop of Armagh, or, as the annalist puts it, 'successor of Patrick;' another was Maelisa O'Daly, poet-in-chief of Scotland and Ireland, who died in 1185. Walter Scott, who has so much of the mediæval spirit, has quoted the name in the *Lady of the Lake* :—

'Hail, Malise, hail! his henchman came.
Give our safe-conduct to the Graeme.'

From the Gil- form comes 'descendant of Jesus' in the various forms MacAleese, Maclise, McLeish, Gilleece, Gillies.

The name of Mary was particularly honoured by the early Christian Irish, and we find record of numbers of people, of all ranks of life, who bore the name of 'servant of Mary.' In the *Four Masters* we note, among others, 'a daughter of Nial,' an 'abbot of Ardbraccan,' a 'tanist of Leix,' a 'priest of Clonard,' a 'successor of Patrick,' or Bishop of Armagh, who bore this name, in either of its forms *Maelmhuire* or *Gillamhuire*. The scribe of the *Lebhar Brec*, one of the greatest Irish manuscripts that has come down to us, was a 'servant of Mary,' whose father was Conn, 'friend of the poor.' One of the most striking characteristics of our native Christian literature, from its earliest period down to the present day, is its constant and tender reference to the name of Mary. In Scotland, where the Christian faith was carried by Irish missionaries, we find that even in the districts now for three centuries non-Catholic, the cry of suffering in the old tongue is still

*a Mhoire, Mhoire ! O Mary, Mary !*¹ Both in Scotland and Ireland *Maolmhuire* is in common use as a baptismal name, and in Ireland it has given the surname *O'Maoilmhuire*, 'descendant of the servant of Mary, in English Mullery, Mulry.' As a baptismal name, the English translation was first Meyler, and later Miles, a name which really has no more connection with the Gaelic form than has Ned with Nebuchadnezzar. From the Gil-form came the surnames MacElmurry, Kilmurray, Kilmary, Gilmary, Gilmore—all intended equivalents for *Mac-Giolla-Mhuire*.

To the lively faith of the Gael, the angels were very real. We have a striking poem of early date (if not, as tradition would have it, the composition of Columcille himself) describing the angelic patrons of Arran. To St. Michael, in particular, there was a peculiar devotion, and to the present day his name is of frequent recurrence in those household hymns of great antiquity, which, in the Gaelic-speaking districts, have never been superseded by the forms of prayer we are accustomed to in modern times. On the *Sceilg mhor*, the great lonely Skelligs rock that rises precipitously out of the Atlantic to the west of the Kerry coast, is buried, according to the old legends, the warrior Ir, one of the great ancestors of the Irish. These, too, for many centuries, have been a favourite shrine of St. Michael, and on the adjoining mainland the surname Mulvihil (Mulville, Mulverhill, U.S.), or descendant of s. of Michael—*O'Maoilmhichil* is most abundant. MacGil michael, with the same meaning, was formerly an Ulster name, which is possibly now represented by MacElmeel, although that name may be from the adjective *maol*, as noted further down.

'Servant of the saints' is now obsolete as a first name, but has left us the surname *Mac-Giolla-na-naomh*, d.s.—descendant of the servant—of the saints, in English spelling MacElnea, MacAneave. *Eoin Bruinne*, or 'John of the Bosom,' is a usual, and, as all will admit, a most appropriate name in Gaelic for St. John. As we might expect, we find

¹ In Irish-Gaelic *a Mhuire, Mhuire* (a wirra wirra). So also, *a Mhuire is truagh* (a wirra iss throoa), *O Mary, pity*.

that s. (servant) of John was a popular name: one of this title, Maeleoin, or Malone, was Bishop of Trim in 929. The surname O'Malone, 'd.s. of St. John,' is well known, and the Gilla-Eoin form survives in Maglone, MacAloone, MacLoone, Gilloon. In Scotland the word Eoin is pronounced Eain; Highland scholars now spell it Iain; the more English form, Ian, is familiar to readers of nowadays literature. The Highland 'd.s. of John' is, accordingly, Mac-Giolla-Eain—or, as they misspell it, Mac-Illeathan—and is anglicized MacLane, McLean.¹ Maelpedair, Maelpoil, two names we find in the old books, have left us only Mullpeters (U. S.); from the other forms we have Gilfedder, Gilfidder, Gilfeather, and Gilfoyle, Kilfoyle—d.s. of SS. Peter and Paul respectively.

The teacher of St. Patrick, St. Martin of Tours, has always been honoured in Ireland, and Martin as a baptismal name, is very common at the present day. The feast of St. Martin is still observed with curious ceremonies in some places. Maelmartin, s. of Martin, is recorded as having been used by various individuals in Clonard, Clonmacnoise, Kells, and Connor. It is now obsolete, but Gilmartin, Kilmartin are to the fore—d.s. of St. Martin. Churches, cells, and holy places without number recall St. Patrick, our great national apostle. Templepatrick, Donaghpatrick, Kilpatrick, Toberpatrick mark, in many places, the lines of his progress through Ireland. The annals of the middle ages are filled with the names of princes, priests, abbots, and bishops who bore the title of *Maelpatraic*, s. of Patrick, now obsolete, and *Giolla-patraic*, which has left us the surnames Kilpatrick, Gilpatrick, MacElpatrick, MacElfederick. These two last names occur only in north-east Ulster. The MacGillapatricks, most notable, were the princes of Ossory, and their descendants, as well as many other families of the name, have translated themselves to Fitzpatrick, although

¹ On account of some similarity of sound between *Luan*, the word for Monday, and the last syllable of 'd.s. of John,' this name is in parts of Donegal translated Munday! To my own knowledge, a young man named MacKeane (MacTain) was advised, by one who should have known better, to transform himself to Piggott—MacKeane=*muicin*=pigotte! He refused, and kept to the grand old Gaelic name, nor did he regret it a few years later.

the prefix Fitz is wholly out of place here. The name of our saint is offered by some modern lights of philosophy to explain the legend of the banishment of the snakes from Ireland, and the subject deserves a passing reference. Scientific men are nothing if not iconoclasts, and, according to the latest theory, St. Patrick had nothing to do with banishing snakes. Snakes had disappeared from Ireland at least by the time of the Danish invasion, and the Danes, noticing the absence of the reptiles, and hearing much of the name of St. Patrick, interpreted this name as an Irish attempt at *padrekr*, from the Scandinavian *paddarekr*, toad-expeller. And so, according to this theory, the legend arose at first among the Danish-speaking invaders, and afterwards was adopted by the Irish.¹

St. Brigid, 'the Mary of the Gael,' had many mediæval clients named *Maelbrihte* and *Gillabrihte*. The famous scholar of Mayence, who is known in Latin as Marianus Scotus, was, in Gaelic, a 'servant of Brigid.' We have now Mulbride, MacGillbride, MacBride, Kilbride, and—*horresco referens*—Mucklebreed; all meaning d.s. of St. Brigid.²

There are, of course, many places named Kilbride, or church of Brigid, and Tubberbride, or holy well of Brigid. A 'Bride's Well' existed in London until Reformation times. Whether the Irish or the Swedish saint was the patron, I do not know; probably the Irish saint, as the Swedish name is properly Birgitta. Anyhow, when the Reformation came there was no further use for the holy well, but somehow jails were in great demand, and so even the buildings surrounding 'St. Bride's Well' were 'converted,' and henceforth rendered service as a prison, and the name 'bridewell' became synonymous with 'prison.' To such base uses do even words descend!³

¹ See *Folk-lore*, December, 1894.

² Readers may, perhaps, question the actual use of some of our less common surnames, but I give only names I have heard myself or taken from the daily papers (especially reports of local meetings), or others whose use is guaranteed by the Secretary of the General Registry Office in Dublin, Mr. Mathieson, to whose reports and personal letters I am much indebted.

³ Although Birgitta and Brigid are now different names, the former may possibly have been of Irish origin. At the time of the Danish invasion some

'In the east and the west,' as the old phrase ran, or in Scotland and in Ireland, St. Columcille is venerated as the one in whom all the highest ideals of the Gaelic mind are found united. Tradition has it that his name in childhood was Criomthann, 'fox,' and that his late name, Colum, 'dove,' was assumed on his entrance into religious life. Out of Ireland he is better known by the Latin Columba, 'dove.' The name 'servant of Colum' has descended in the form *Maolcoluim*, Malcolm, used only by Scotch families, although a more suitable Irish and Catholic name it would be hard to find. From it come the rather rare surnames Mulholm, Maholm, and from the Gil- form comes MacElholm, descendant of Colum. At a baptismal name, Colum is still used in the Gaelic-speaking districts of both Ireland and Scotland (in the latter country in the form Calum), giving the surnames MacColum (Scotch MacCallum), Colum, descendant of a person named Colum. The rage for anglicization has led to the fearsome form 'Pidgeon,' used as a surname by some benighted individuals.

In his student days Columba had been a pupil of both the Finians, of Clonard, and Moville. Of him of Clonard says the *Donegal Martyrology*: 'Finian of Clonard, in wisdom a sage; tutor of the saints of Erin in his time. . . . In life and ethics he resembled Paul the Apostle.' The same ancient record likens Finian of Moville to James the Apostle. There are several saints now named in English Finian, in Latin Finianis. The older form Finan, used by Bede, was much nearer to the original Gaelic Finnán,¹ a very common name in ancient Ireland.

'Servant of Finian' has left us the surname *Macgiolla-Fhionnáin*; in English, MacAleenan, MacAlinnion,

Scandinavian names were adopted in Ireland, such as Auliff, Ivar, Otter, Sitrice, which have given us modern MacAuliffe, MacIvor, MacKeever, Ivers, MacCotter, Cotter, MacKittrick; and some Irish names, such as Oscar, Niall, Fergus, were adopted by the Scandinavians, who use them to the present day.

¹ It is a diminutive of the adjective *finn*, now *fionn*, fair-haired; but a recent and not unplausible theory takes the word, in these saint-names, to mean fair, pure, holy. The names of Finnán of Clonard, Fianan, also Barr-fhinn, of Moville, and Finn Barre of Cork, are all Latinized Finnianus (also Vennianus and Vennio, Venionem). There is also a modern form Finghin, translated by 'Florence,' although there is no apparent connection.

MacLennon, McClennan, Lennon, Glennon, Gleenan, Gilfinnen, Finnan, and the translated form Leonard; that is to say, some d.s. of Finian have assumed the foreign name Leonard, because it had a certain resemblance, in the first syllable, to Lennon. I once spent a very pleasant couple of weeks at the house of one Pádraig Mac-Giolla-Fhionnáin in Southern Connemara. In English he was known as Paddy Leonard; and this particular servant of Finian would have made the fortune of a dozen folk-lore societies, as his memory was a regular treasure-house of Gaelic tradition.

Some of the Irish Gilfillans, I am inclined to think, are rather Gilfinnens, and take their name from Finian, and not from St. Fillan, who is more identified with Scotland, and is alluded to in Scott's well-known lines :—

Harp of the North ! that moldering long hast hung
On the witch-elm that shades St. Fillan's spring.

His name is preserved also by Glenfillan, one of the most beautiful spots in the Highlands, where, at the head of Lough Shiel, lies the little island of St. Fillan, with its ancient bells of the saint, a short distance from Glenaladale, the home of the MacDonalds, from where come Archbishop Angus MacDonald and Bishop Hugh MacDonald, both good Gaelic scholars and lovers of the old tongue. 'Servant of Fillan,' is represented now by the names Gilfillan, Gilliland, MacClellan, MacLeland, Leland. As a baptismal name Finian is still used in Kerry, but in Cork the 'translated' form Florence has taken its place in English. Derrynane, the home of O'Connell, is the 'wood of Finian.' *Doire Fhionnain*—this is not Finian of Clonard or Moville, but Finian of Inisfallen.

One of the ancestors of Finian of Clonard was the famous pagan warrior Celtchar, who was destined to have among his descendants not only such a pillar of the Christian Church as Finian, but also a most bitter enemy of the new faith in Ronan, who had two girls tied to stakes on the beach, to be drowned by the incoming tide, for refusing to abjure Christianity. Ronan had a son to whom he gave the name

of Maelcelchair, or servant, admirer of the great pagan ancestor already mentioned. Such, however, is the irony of fate, that this same Maelcelchair became the apostle of south-west Kerry, where his beautiful stone oratory, Kilmalhedar, still stands in perfect preservation, one of the chief glories of Irish archæologists.

Bishop Erc, of Slane, in Meath, was one of the early nomadic missionaries who travelled from place to place preaching the Gospel. From his name comes the surname Mullarkey, d.s. of St. Erc.

Dunshaughlin takes its name from St. Seachnall—in Latin, *Secundinus*—whom tradition represents as nephew of St. Patrick. For many centuries, 'servant of Seachlann' (the metathesized form of Seachnall) was a popular baptismal name, and is represented in English history books by Melaghan, and often by the foreign name Malachy, with which it has no further connection than some phonetic resemblance of the first syllables. One of the name was the Malachy that—

wore the collar of gold

Which he won from the proud invader.

This is the Malachy who is buried in an island in the beautiful Lough Ennell, now, I regret to say, more usually called Belvedere, in Westmeath. The name is still in popular use as a given name in the forms Loughlin (more informally 'Lack,' 'Loughie') and Malachy ('Mal'), the latter form being usual in the south-west, where the other Biblical forms, Jeremiah and Timothy, are also mistakenly used. The surname O'Melaghan, d.s. of St. Secundinus, has become merged in that of MacLoughlin; and this probably accounts for the abundance of folk of this name in Ireland—17,500, according to the census of 1891. The forms Loughlin, Laffin, Claffin (U.S.), are also met with.

A great body of Gaelic literature centres around the two St. Kierans, of Saighir, now called Serkieran, and of Clonmacnoise, by the Shannon. From him of Clonmacnoise, probably come the names *O'Maoilchiarain*, *MacGiollachiarain*, Mulhern, Mulheerin, MacIlherron, d.s. of St. Kieran.

Kilalla takes its name from St. Alladh—hence the Latin form of the name of the diocese, Alladensis. From him the surnames Mulally, Lally, d.s. of St. Alladh. Another bishop of the same see was St. Cellach, from whom the place name Kilkelly, or church of Cellach, and also the surname Kilkelly, *MacGiolla-Ceallaigh*, d.s. of St. Cellach. This St. Cellach had a very chequered career. Born of a royal house, he was destined for the service of the altar, and became a student at Clonmacnoise. The student was called, by the death of his father in battle, to be the reigning prince, and afterwards was, in turn, a fugitive, again a cleric, Bishop of Kilalla, a hermit on an island of Lough Con, and finally victim to the jealousy of his enemies. Something of a poet, too, was this western hermit. Awaiting his death the morning of his murder, and seeing, as he thought, all those dark omens to which Gaelic tradition attached deep meaning, he sang a lay, of part of which this is a translation:—

Hail to the morning fair, that, as a flame, falls upon the earth! Hail to Him, too, who sends it—the many-virtued morning, ever new! O morning fair, so full of pride—sister of the brilliant sun—hail to thee, beauteous morning, that lightest my little book for me! Thou seest the just in every dwelling, thou shinest on every tribe and race, hail! O thou white-necked, beautiful one, here with us now—O golden-fair and wonderful!

My little book, with chequered page [Scripture] tells me my life has not been aright. Maelcroin [one of the assassins], 'tis he whom I do well to fear; he comes to smite me at the last. O scaldcrow, and O scaldcrow! gray-cated, sharp-beaked, wretched bird; thy desire is apparent to me; no friend art thou to Cellach. O raven! thou that makest croaking, if hungry thou be, O bird, depart not from this rath until thou hast a feast of my flesh. Fiercely the kite of Chuan-Eo's yew-tree will take part in the scramble; his horn-hued talons he will bear away filled; he will not part from me in kindness. To the blow that kills me the fox in the darkened wood will answer at speed; in wild and trackless places he, too, shall devour a portion of my flesh and blood. The wolf in the rath on the eastern side of the hill will come to rank as chieftain of the meaner pack. On Wednesday night last I saw a dream, I saw a dream: the wild dogs dragged me east and west through the russet ferns. I saw a dream: into a green glen men took me. Four were they that brought

me thither, but (so meseemed) ne'er brought me back again. I saw a dream : to a house my fellow-students led me ; for me they poured out a draught ; a draught they quaffed off for me. O tiny wren ! most scant of tail, dolefully thou hast piped a prophetic lay ; surely thou, too, art come to betray me, and to curtail my gift of life.

O Maelcroin, and O Maelcroin ! pelf it is that thou hast taken to betray me ; for this world's sake hast thou accepted it, accepted it for sake of hell. All precious things whatsoever I had, on Maelcroin I would have bestowed them, that he should not do me this treason. But Mary's great Son above thus addresses speech to me : 'Thou must have earth, thou shalt have heaven. Welcome awaits thee, O Cellach ! ' ¹

As Kilkelly comes from Cellach, so Kilkenny, both the names of the city best known outside Ireland as the residence of the famous legendary cats, and the surname of the same form, comes from the name of St. Canice. Kilkenny, accordingly, means d.s. of St. Canice. There were at least four early missionaries of the name, one of whom is venerated at St. Andrew's in Scotland. The Gaelic form of the name Canice is *Coinneach*, and gives the surnames Kenny in Ireland and MacKenzie in Scotland.

Mulholland, Maholland are d.s. of St. Callan, from whom comes also Tyrholland, or the House of Callan, in the diocese of Clogher.

Senanus is known to general readers better than the majority of our early saints, on account of Moore's poem of the Holy Isle, as the saint had

Sworn that sainted sod
Should ne'er by woman's foot be trod.

Kiltannanlea, or Church of Grey Senan, still preserves his name, and also the surname Gilsenan, Giltenan, d.s. of Senan. Not improbably, however, some of the older name, MacUinnsionain, have been absorbed by the more familiar name, Gilsenan. Some of the names have 'translated' themselves to 'Shannon.'

Gilvarry, a western surname, comes from St. Berach, abbot, of Cluaincoirpthe, in Connaught. Mulrennin, in

¹ See *Silva Gadelica*, i. 56 ; ii. 59. This is the best book procurable to give a general idea of the character of Irish literature.

Gaelic *O'Maoilbhrenainn*, means d.s. of St. Brendan, the navigator whose name marks the map of Ireland and Scotland from Mount Brandon to St. Kilda, and whose *Voyages* are a curious medley of Pagan tradition blended with actual experience of explorations of the Atlantic.

This brings us to a second class of saint-names in Mul and Gil, which deserve to be treated separately.

E. O'GROWNEY.

THE YELLOW STEEPLE OF TRIM

ON the left, or northern, bank of the River Boyne, not more than thirty perches from the old Church of St. Patrick's, Trim, stands the stately tower known as the Yellow Steeple. Competent authorities regard it as one of the finest specimens of Anglo-Norman architecture in Ireland. It is built on a portion of the ground granted to Patrick and Loman by Feidilmid 'together with his son Fortchern till the day of judgment.' From whatever side the traveller approaches Trim, the first object that catches his eye is the tall commanding form of this ancient ruin. Sir William Wilde, on the occasion of his visit to Trim, in 1849, looking at it from a point of vantage, on the Dublin-road, near Newtown, admiring its grim sentinel-like appearance, and contrasting it with the other remarkable remnants of antiquity extending for the space of above a mile, styles it, in his own poetical language, 'the guardian genius of the surrounding ruins.'

Anyone looking at the building, even now, can see it was evidently a square tower of Gothic architecture, and, like most towers of that period, used as a place of refuge and defence in time of danger. Ireland, at the time, and indeed ever since the Norman invasion, was in a very unsettled state. Feeling ran so very high amongst the Anglo-Irish and the native Celts that the slightest breath of provocation was sufficient to set ablaze the smouldering embers of dis-

content. As an evidence of the strained relations that subsisted, I may mention a little incident that took place in the court-house at Trim. The son of Barnewall, a local lord, and the then treasurer of Meath, beat a Caimen (a stroke of his finger) upon the nose of Mac-Mec-Feorais (Bermingham's son), which deed he was not worthy of, and he entering on the Earl of Ormonde's safeguard, Mac-Feoarais felt so indignant at the slight put upon him, that he stole out of the town that night, went straight to O'Connor Offaly, and entered into an alliance with him. The result was a confederacy of war, made by the Berminghams and Calvagh O'Connor against the English. With their united forces they came into Meath, and preyed and burned a great part of the royal county; so it is hard to know, the old chronicles add, if ever was such abuse better revenged than the said Caimen; and thence came the notable word 'Cogadh au Caimen.'¹ Such was the state of feeling that prevailed when Richard Duke of York was sent into Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and, by letters patent, invested with almost royal authority. The King, Henry VI., was of weak mind, so weak that the real power of governing may be said to have fallen practically into the hands of his wife, Queen Margaret of Anjou, aided by her favourite minister, the Earl of Somerset. On more than one occasion, when the unfortunate king was wholly out of his mind, the Duke of York was appointed Protector.

It may be well, also, to bear in mind that the Duke was Henry's nearest relative, and even when the King's son Edward was born, he had still a strong, if not the strongest, claim to the crown, as his mother belonged to the elder branch of the Mortimers descended from the Duke of Clarence. It was the assertion of his claim that afterwards gave rise to the disastrous and prolonged struggle for supremacy between two rival houses, known as the War of the Roses. Margaret, the Queen, a far-seeing and ambitious woman, took in the situation, and was anxious to have the Duke, whom she feared as a formidable rival, put out of the

¹ *Arch. Misc.*, v, i., p. 202.

way. Hence, he was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, in the hope that he would either perish in the attempt to rule the rebellious Irish, or at least that he would, by his drastic measures of repression, lose his reputation. But the queen and her wily advisers were wrong in their calculations. Contrary to their expectations, by his mild and gentle behaviour he won the haughty feudal lords and the native Irish, and secured their obedience without being obliged to use force; and, in fact, so endeared himself to them, that, with the exception of the family of Ormonde, they were afterwards loyal to himself and his connections, even in their greatest misfortunes. In 1449, the first year of his lieutenancy, he held his court in his hereditary castle at Trim, and not only repaired the castle, but built in a style of great magnificence the tower known since as the Yellow Steeple, the subject of our present sketch. The portion that is still standing, the eastern wall, 125 feet high, with its fine geometrical window and delicate tracery, parts of the side walls, with the various port-holes, into which the joists were inserted, indicating the several landings, are sufficient to give us an idea of the colossal size and splendour of the building in its original shape. From a rude engraving that is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1786, it would seem that three sides of the tower were then standing. The following letter, that appeared in the same magazine, may not be without interest at the present time :—

MR. URBAN,—I herewith send you an inelegant yet tolerably just representation of an old tower called the Yellow Steeple, at Trim, in Ireland. Above one-fourth of it is now ruined, having been blown up by Cromwell. The principal curiosity in the present state is the part marked almost at the top of the building, which overhangs several feet, and has done so long before any person now living remembers this edifice. Dangerous as the attempt may be, the boys often mount unto the top of this tower by ladders to the place where the stairs begin, and which is about the place marked. The tower is now undermined just at one of the angles, and probably will soon fall. But as the inhabitants of the town, as well as those of the adjacent country, give themselves no trouble to repair or preserve this elegant piece of antiquity, I was tempted to trouble you with this coarse view of it, should you please to preserve any appearance of so venerable a monument of our ancestors' piety.

A. M. T.

A beautiful lithograph of it in its present shape is given in Wilkinson's *Irish Architecture*. The staircase alluded to in the above letter is now gone, but was in existence in the memory of the present inhabitants of the town. Amongst the boys credited with the dangerous feat of climbing to the top was Edward Crosbie, afterwards Sir Edward of balloon notoriety, who used to attend the Diocesan School of Meath situated close by the Yellow Steeple. Amongst the boys attending the same school was the celebrated Duke of Wellington. When young Crosbie had reached the summit of the tower in his youthful freak, he took out a pencil, and made what he called his will, disposing therein of his game cocks and other boyish valuables, in case he should be killed in coming down. He threw down the paper, which was eagerly seized on by his playmates on the ground. Arthur Wellesley must have been a very small boy at the time, for when he saw nothing was left to him, the future Iron Duke forthwith began to cry.

Time is telling its tale upon this old historic tower. But its present dilapidated condition is due not so much to the effacing finger of time as to the disastrous effects of Cromwell's cannon. Gough, in his additions to Camden, states that the greater part of the tower was demolished by Oliver Cromwell, against whom it held out for a considerable time as a garrison. There is, however, hardly sufficient historical evidence for the statement that it held out as a garrison, or that Cromwell himself ever appeared in Trim. This much only is certain. The day after the siege of Drogheda, Cromwell, with a chosen company of his veterans, and a number of his heavy guns, marched along the Boyne by the Bective road, and put up for the night at a house since identified as Trubly Castle, the ruins of which are still standing three short miles to the east of Trim. Next morning, coming along with his foot, horse, and artillery, he reached the corner of the main road leading to Dublin. There the Constable of Scurlogstown Castle had the hardihood to challenge his approach. The Protector forthwith ordered his men to charge, and turning against the castle one of his heavy guns, by the first volley he split the building from top

to bottom, and the huge fissure on the eastern side of the castle was distinctly visible up to the year 1858, when the castle itself toppled to the ground. Cromwell found there was no need to proceed to Trim, for the castle there and the Yellow Steeple were both abandoned by O'Neill and the men under him; but lest any of the supporters of the royal cause should return and resume possession, from a fort close by, since called 'Cromwell's Fort,' he dismantled the Castle of Trim and demolished more than one-half of the Yellow Steeple, and next day wrote a letter from Dublin to the Parliament in England, thanking the Lord in his own puritanical fashion for all His crowning mercies vouchsafed to His unworthy servant.

But there are other associations clustering around the venerable walls of this ancient ruin of far more than historic or antiquarian interest. The Yellow Steeple is all that remains of the renowned Abbey of St. Mary's. It is the one solitary link connecting us with the past, and marking the hallowed spot where stood for ages the far-famed statue of our 'Ladye of Trymme.' The history of that statue, the wonders wrought through its agency from time immemorial, the circumstances that led to the demolition of the shrine, are matters of such absorbing interest, that I offer no apology for presenting a short summary of them to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. The abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, whose conventual chapel contained the shrine, was founded by St. Patrick, the first year of his arrival in Ireland, and was built upon a site given for that purpose by Felimid, son of Laighaire, and grandson of Niall. A list of the several abbots who lived and died in this monastery, with other interesting information, is given by Colgan and other historians down to the year 1402, when Henry IV., in the third year of his reign, at the supplication of the abbot of St. Mary of Trim, 'took under his protection all pilgrims, whether liege men, Irish or rebels, going on pilgrimage to said abbey, according to immemorial privilege.'¹

¹ Rot. Pat. 3 Henry IV.

Thirteen years later his successor, Henry V., confirmed the same privilege, and enacted that 'all Irish rebels and liege men, of whatever condition, wishing to come to said place for the sake of pilgrimage in honour of the Blessed Mary, could go there and return from thence without impediment of the king, of the lords of Meath, or of any other person whatsoever.'¹ In 1472, the twelfth year of Edward IV., a certain amount of property around Trim was granted by a Parliament, held at Naas, to the Abbey of St. Mary, 'for the purpose of erecting and supporting a perpetual wax-light before the image of the Virgin (in said house), and for supporting four other wax-lights before the said image on the Mass of St. Mary.' It was also enacted that 'if any person should attempt to rob or assault any pilgrim on his way to or from this abbey, the person or persons so offending should be attainted of felony, and totally excluded from the royal protection; and no charter of pardon whatever should be available, except by the express order of Parliament.'

Statutes such as these, passed through Parliament, and stamped with the seal of successive kings, are quite enough to show the vast amount of attention which the celebrated shrine of our 'Ladye of Trymme' commanded in olden times, and the position of prominence it had attained even in the minds of the civil rulers of the country. If one were inclined to moralize, he would have here a rich field for reflection, a veritable Klondyke, where he could sink his shaft, and draw up treasures of priceless value. He could picture to himself Celt and Saxon, lord and vassal, liege men and rebel, rich and poor, all sinking their social, economic, and political differences, kneeling before the same altar, and offering their homage before the same shrine, thereby giving striking proof of the unity of their faith, and of the benign, harmonizing influence of religion. The protection extended by Parliament to the various classes of pilgrims, journeying from afar, is also very suggestive; for it affords a practical proof of the beneficial results that, in

¹ Rot. Pat. 2 Henry V.

the mind of the legislators, were likely to flow from a visit to the consecrated shrine of our Blessed Lady. Surely those responsible for the government of the country would never have allowed a free pass to rebels and persons labouring under other disabilities, unless they were convinced that the homage offered at the hallowed shrine would have a humanizing effect, and would contribute more to the suppression of crime and the reformation of morals, than the most stringent measures that could be adopted by the law.

That numberless favours were granted, and miracles wrought, in favour of those who knelt in reality or spirit at this hallowed shrine of our Lady, is one of the best authenticated facts recorded in history. In confirmation of this statement I refer the reader to that great standard work, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by O'Donovan. At the year 1397, we read that Hugh McMahon received his sight by fasting in honour of the Cross of Raphoe and the image of the Blessed Mary at Ath-Trim.¹ Again, we find it recorded that in the year 1412, the image of Mary of Ath-Trim wrought many miracles. O'Donovan, in a note, quotes also from *The Annals of Ulster*, 1412, 'The image of Mary at Ath-Trim wrought great miracles this year.'² Finally, at the year 1444, it is narrated that great miracles were wrought by the image of Mary at Trim—viz., it restored sight to a blind man, speech to a dumb man, and the use of his feet to a cripple, stretched out the hand of a person to whose side it had been fastened; and then follow other particulars about a striking case, which can be read with interest by those who consult page 937 of the same volume. I might multiply quotations, but the passages cited are sufficient to show that it would be hardly any exaggeration to call the Trim of those days the Lourdes of Ireland.

But, it may be asked, is this miraculous statue, that for centuries attracted so many thousands of pilgrims, and shed such a halo of splendour on the ancient town of Trim, still in existence, or is there any evidence to show what became of it? On this particular point our ancient annals give

¹ Vol. iv., p. 751.

² *Ibid.*, p. 809.

some very important and interesting information. A valuable manuscript volume of annals preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, gives the following account at the year 1538. The Irish text is given with the following translation:—

The most miraculous image of Mary, which was at Baile-Atha-Truim, and which the Irish people all honoured for a long time before that, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and every disease in like manner, was burned by the Saxons.

This event is also thus recorded by Sir James Ware, in his *Annals of the Reign of King Henry VIII.*, p. 96:—

Also about the same time, among the famous images whereunto pilgrimages were designed, the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary was burned, then kept at Trim, in the abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Austin, and the gifts of the pilgrims were taken away from thence.

The *Four Masters* have also on record how this remarkable relic, that was held in such veneration from time immemorial up to the period of the Reformation, was publicly burned as an instrument of superstition:—

A heresy and a new error broke out in England, the effects of pride, vain-glory, avarice, and sensual desire, so that the people of England went into opposition to the Pope and to Rome. They gave the title of Head of the Church of God during his reign to the King. There were enacted by the King and Council new laws and statutes after their own will. They ruined the orders who were permitted to hold property—viz., monks, canons, nuns, Brethren of the Cross, and the four Mendicant Orders, and their possessions and livings were taken up for the King. They broke up the monasteries, and the roofs and bells, and the sacred furniture and vessels were sold for the King. They further burned and broke the famous images and shrines of Ireland and England. After that they burned in like manner the celebrated image of Mary which was at Ath-Trim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and the sufferers from all diseases; and so great was the persecution that it is impossible to tell or narrate it, unless it should be told by him who saw it.

According to all these authorities, the statue of our Lady of Trymme was publicly burned by the Saxons who went into heresy, and were fired with a fanatical hatred for every emblem of Catholicity. The date of the burning is set down by the *Four Masters*, at 1537; by Ware and the other historians, at 1538. The latter date is the correct

one. Dr. O'Donovan proves clearly that the statue was in existence in 1538.

For, on the 10th of August, in that year, a letter from Thomas Allen to Thomas Cromwell (Earl of Essex), and Vicar-General to Henry VIII., has the following passage :—¹

The thre, viz., Archbishop Browne, Mr. Treasurer, and Master of the Rolls, wold not come in the Chapell *where the Idoll of Trym stode*, to the intent, they wold not occasion the people ; notwithstanding my Lord Deputie veray devoutley kneling before hir hard thre or fower masses.

The Lord Deputy, in 1538, was Lord Grey.

But though this famous statue was cast into the fire, it must have been rescued from the flames. For, more than a century later, we find that this precious relic, all charred and blackened as it was, and called, therefore, the 'black statue,' was kept religiously in the house of Laurence Hammon or Hammond, the leading Catholic family in Trim in those days. This statement may seem strange and novel to most readers, and yet it is not a mere conjecture or surmise. It rests upon a solid basis, and has strong documentary evidence to support it :—

In the year 1641, the Irish [the Celts] bethought to garrison Trim. Pursuant thereto all Westmeath forces, and the Reyllies from the County of Cavan, marched thither. Those had some inklinge that Coote was thither cominge, and though making the best speed they could, Sir Charles Coote arrived first, and had the towne without one blowe. The weather being somewhat could, whereof Sir Charles complained, and commanded a fire to be made (he lodged in Mr. Laurence Hamon's house). Fuell being verie scarce there ; his son Ricc Coote (*qualis arbor talis fructus*) hitted upon a great ancient portraiture or image of our Blessed Ladye engraven in wood ; kept with great veneration in said house since the Suppression of Holy Church in Henry the 8th his time which young Coot caused to be cutt and cloven in sunder to make fire thereof, for his father against his cominge in.

But God Almighty, the righteous judge, did not prolonge the punishment of this impietie, for as soon as Sir Charles thought to enjoy the benefit of that transformed divine fire, worde came that the Irish had already entered the town. Starting forth, trumpett sounded and drum beaten, all ran to the alarum, being very late in the evening, Sir Charles was shott or otherwise wounded, and making as much examination in this behalf as reasonable I

¹ *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 103.

might, could never learne how or by whom wounded, however, it being mortall, was conveyed to his lodging dead. Next day, Sir Charles his corps was carried to Dublin bemoaned by all the Parliamentarians, and interred with the ensuing epitaph :—

England's honour, Scotland's wonder,
Ireland's terror here lies under.

The above graphic description is given *verbatim* in that highly-interesting book, the *Aphorismical Discovery*,¹ edited by Sir J. Gilbert, in two volumes; and from it, it is clear that the statue of our Lady of Trim was in existence more than a century after the Reformation, when so many shrines and sacred images were burnt as objects of superstition. And there are many holy souls around Trim who cannot be induced to believe but it is in existence still. The town of Trim, they say, was burnt more than once. The very church in which the statue stood was burned, and two hundred persons who fled there for refuge perished in the flames, and yet God preserved this sacred relic.

When the Reformers came, and ruined everything, the sacred image again escaped; and though cloven in two to make fire for old Coote, see how he paid for his firing! They even point out, with a feeling of pride, the garden, close by St. Mary's Abbey, where the statue is hidden away, and show you a large stone that formed part of the pedestal on which the statue once stood. Be this as it may, one thing is unquestionable—the deep-rooted reverence of the people for everything connected with the honour of the Mother of God. Even now the people are giving practical proof of their devotion, in the efforts they are making to build a church on the bank right opposite old St. Mary's, and their determination to erect therein a special altar dedicated to our Blessed Lady. Some time ago, in replying to an address from the people of Trim, the venerated bishop of the diocese Dr. Nulty, made special allusion to this point; and with his Lordship's feeling words I will conclude this paper :—

There is one feature that touches my heart very deeply. In my early life, when a curate here, I made the history of this ancient town a subject of study. The history of it is very interesting and very exceptional. The town did not spring into existence in the usual way, and was not built for the natural

¹ From Sir J. Gilbert's *Aph. Discovery*, vol. i., p. 32.

advantage of its surroundings. What gave rise to this town is the broad historic fact, viz., the Blessed Virgin having, in her kindness and goodness, chosen this town and invested it with sanctity, like unto that of Lourdes or some shrine equally blessed by her visible presence. Our Blessed Lady selected the site of the Yellow Steeple beyond for the manifestation of her miraculous power and goodness to our forefathers long ago; and her miraculous interposition had the effect of attracting multitudes of pilgrims from every part of the kingdom, who came here to visit the sanctuary of our 'Ladye of Trymme.' Hence arose that most gorgeous church, even the remnant of which impresses with awe the visitor at the present time. That church was not erected by the people of Trim, but it was erected almost exclusively by the generosity of the pilgrims to this hallowed ground. People came here from all quarters, and to provide for their accommodation there sprung up, round the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, this town of Trim. That is how Trim began. That sanctuary was revered and hallowed for centuries, until at last the despoiler, the tyrant came, and laid his unholy hands on the temple of God. He demolished the sacred edifice, and the statue of the Blessed Virgin was burnt in the market-place. This is our history. Gentlemen, I had fondly hoped that the Blessed Virgin Mary would return again to this town of Trim. We are going to invite her. That church which is in course of building outside is nothing like the former church erected to commemorate the special graces bestowed upon Trim; but when complete it will be a very handsome church, indeed. I had fully expected to see it completed and finished. The people of Trim would never be able to complete that church; but I knew that the love of the people of this diocese for the glory of God and the honour of His Virgin Mother, and their regard for your popular parish priest of Trim, will enable you to erect a worthy edifice in your town, and to re-establish the devotion to our Blessed Lady in this place. Who knows but that the Mother of God would give renewed proofs of her presence amongst us? I expect to see that beautiful work consummated in my lifetime, and I had myself intended to have brought over from Rome a statue of our Blessed Lady worthy of the holy place, and to place it in the church, with the inscription that was on the pedestal of the original statue: 'To our Lady of Trymme.'

I shall add nothing to those eloquent and inspiring words of his Lordship, beyond the expression of a wish that our venerable and venerated pastor shall not sing his *Nunc Dimittis* until he sees the fond hopes, so feelingly alluded to in the above speech, realized to the full.

PHILIP CALLARY, P.P., V.F.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CONDEMNED SECRET SOCIETIES

IN reply to our correspondent, 'Anxious,' who desires to have the Documents in which certain secret societies have been expressly condemned, we print the following document, which comes from the Congregation of the Holy Office :—

I. An societas 'Independent Order of Good Templars,' nuncupata excommunicationi subjaceat latae contra societates secretas in constit. Apos. Sedis? Et quatenus negative;

II. An prohibitum sit sub gravi nomen dare isti societati?

Porro Emi. Patres Inquisitores Generales, se mature perpensa, in comitiis habitis die 9 Augusti, 1893, sequens cum approbatione Summi Pontificis ediderunt decretum.

Ad I. Dilata.

Ad II. Affirmative, seu deterrendi fideles a dando nomine huic societati.

As for the other societies about which he inquires, 'The Oddfellows,' 'The Sons of Temperance,' and 'The Knights of Pythias,' were condemned in a letter sent to the bishops of the United States through Mgr. Satolli, 20th August, 1894. The document will be found in full in the I. E. RECORD for June, 1896, page 568. The following extract will suffice here:—

Cunctis per istas regiones Ordinariis esse omnino connitendum, ut fideles a tribus societatibus praedictis et ab unaquaque earum arceantur, eaque de re fideles ipsos esse monendos; et si monitione insuper habita velint adhuc eisdem societatibus adhaerere, nec ab illis cum effectu separari, a perceptione sacramentorum esse arcendos.

It may be of interest to add that subsequently, in answer to a question of Cardinal Satolli, as to whether persons who had already joined these benefit societies were bound forthwith to break off all connection with them, and thereby lose for themselves and their families the right to grants of money on the occasion of illness or death, or whether they

might, avoiding all other communication with the condemned societies, continue to pay their subscriptions in order to maintain their claims against the societies, the following answer was returned by the Holy Office, 19th January, 1896 :—

Generatim non licere et ad mentem. Mens est, quod hoc tolerari possit sequentibus conditionibus et adjunctis simul in casu concurrentibus scil. 1° si bona fide sectae primitus nomen dederint, antequam sibi innotuisset societatem esse damnatam ; 2° si absit scandalum vel opportuna removeatur declaratio, id a se fieri, ne jus ad Emolumenta vel beneficium temporis in agere aliendo solvendo amittat, a quavis interim sectae communione et quovis interventu etiam materiali ut praemittitur, abstinendo ; 3° si grave damnum sibi aut familiae in renuntiatione obveniat ; 4° tandem ut non adsit vel homini illi vel familiae ejus periculum perversionis ex parti sectariorum spectato praecipue vel infirmitatis vel mortis, neve similiter adsit periculum funeris peragenda ritibus catholicis alieni ; 5° demum SSmus D. Leo XIII., haec approbens jussit, ut uniformis regulae servandae casu, in casibus particularibus pro tempore Delegatus Apost. Washingtonopoli provideat.

MASS ON BOARD SHIP

REV. DEAR SIR,—I will ask you to reply to the following questions :—

1st. Is a priest on a voyage from Ireland to America or Australia justified in saying Mass on board, without special permission, in order to give himself and the other Catholic passengers an opportunity of hearing Mass?

2nd. In case special permission is required, from whom should it be obtained?

SACERDOS.

The priest in question would not be justified in celebrating Mass without special permission. He would require a special indult, which, at the present day, at all events, is granted only by the Pope, or, in virtue of special faculties, by the bishop of the place from which the ship sails.¹ The indult is granted subject to the condition that there be no danger of irreverence. It is usually required, moreover, that there be a second priest or a deacon to hold the chalice.

¹ Vid. Putzer, 161, iii. c. ; Edit. Quart.

CUMULATION OF MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS

We would direct the attention of our readers to a reply of the Congregation of the Inquisition printed among the Documents in the present issue.¹ According to the hitherto received teaching, a bishop having *extraordinary* Apostolic faculties to dispense in various matrimonial impediments—diriment or prohibent—could not, without a further special indult, use these extraordinary faculties to dispense in a case in which there are two or more impediments over each of which singly he possesses (*extraordinary*) jurisdiction. Even the most recent writers make no distinction between private and public impediments.² This matter was explained, according to the received teaching in a former number of the I. E. RECORD.³ Now, however, according to a decree reaffirmed and published 18th August, 1897, by the Holy Office, the prohibition against using Apostolic faculties, in the event of cumulation, does not extend to the case in which the cumulation arises from the existence of an *occult* with a public impediment. If the two impediments were public, special faculties are still required to remove them; if one is public, the other occult, no special indult is required. It would seem to follow from the document now published, that even the cumulation of one public impediment with *two* or *more* occult impediments is not a bar to the exercise (without a special indult) of extraordinary Apostolic faculties.

D. MANNIX.

¹ See page 464.

² Vid. Putzer, Ed. 4, 1897. Becker, *De Spons. et Mat.*, 1895, p. 297. Feije, Ed. 4, 1893, n. 631, E. Gasparri, Ed. 2, 1893, n. 428.

³ Vid. I. E. RECORD, February, 1897, p. 171.

DOCUMENTS

METHOD OF FILLING A VACANT BISHOPRIC IN IRELAND¹

DECRETA SACRAE CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE CIRCA
MODUM COMMENDANDI PRESBYTEROS, QUI AD EPISCOPATUM IN
HIBERNIA PROMOVEANTUR

SANCTISSIMO PATRI AC DOMINO NOSTRO LEONI PP. XII.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Constans atque paterna sollicitudo, quam cunctis retroactis seculis expertae sunt Ecclesiae Hiberniae a sanctis et venerabilibus Antecessoribus tuis, successoribus S. Petri, quibus Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, Filius Dei vivi, universos ubique terrarum fideles regendos commisit, nobis addictissimis tuis in Christo filiis, Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Hiberniae, pignus amplissimum ultro suppeditat vigilis illius curae, qua Sanctitas Tua cuncta negotia nostra respicit atque tuetur. Animo autem nobiscum volventibus plurimas eximias dotes a Supremo Numine, in Sponsae suae dilectae beneficium, Sanctitati Tuae collatas, sapientiam illam singularem et fere divinam consiliis tuis moderantem, egregiam illam prudentiam singularum orbis Christiani Ecclesiarum necessitatibus, haud secus ac si unice commissae fuissent, prospicientem, imprimis autem sedula mente reputantibus, quot quantisque beneficiis Ecclesias Hiberniae jam inde ab incepto Pontificatu cumulasti, non solum admiratione, memorisque animi sensibus perfundimur erga Sanctitatem Tuam, verum Deo omnium bonorum largitori, gratias quam maximas pectore ab imo referimus, qui Sanctitati Tuae istam infuderit mentem ad propriam ipsius gloriam redundantem, saluberrimamque Clero Populoque Hiberno, quibus jure quam optimo in Domino gloriari licet, Sedis apostolicae observantissimos, atque verae avitaeque fidei tenacissimos, semper extitisse.

Quae cum ita sint, Beatissime Pater, necessitatumstrarum memores, ac bonitati tuae expertae confisi, votis, humillimis supplicamus, ut dignetur Sanctitas Tua animum advertere ad gravia incommoda, Sedi apostolicae jam bene nota, quae in

¹ These Letters and Decrees, which have never hitherto been published in the I. E. RECORD, may be found useful as well as interesting to the clergy.

Hibernia enascuntur, ex defectu cujusdam fixae ac determinatae formae, juxta quam, sede aliqua vacante, digni habiti qui ad Episcopalem dignitatem promoveantur, Apostolicae Sedi commendarentur.

Ad quem finem, omni qua par est reverentia, liceat Nobis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Hiberniae, frequenti ordine apud Dublinium pridie Nonas Februarii convocatis, ad Sanctitatem Tuam referre quae nobis unanimi consensu circa istud caput disciplinae utilissima visa sunt.

Igitur Sede aliqua Episcopali, sive per Antistitis obitum, translationem, aliamve ob causam in posterum vacante, Vicarius juxta formam a sacris canonibus praescriptam constituatur, qui Dioecesi viduatae, durante vacatione, praesit. Metropolitanus Provinciae ubi vacatio contigerit, simulatque de vacatione et Vicarii electione certior factus fuerit, literis mandatoriis Vicario edicet, ut in diem vigesimum a dato edicto in unum convocet omnes quibus jus competat Summo Pontifici commendandi tres dignos Ecclesiastici ordinis viros, quorum unus a Summo Pontifice Dioecesi vacanti praeficeretur. Quos autem suffragii jure gaudere volumus, formamque in convocando conventu servandam, eodemque post convocationem regendo, sequenti ordine exponemus.

Qui in Hibernia nuncupantur Parochi, scilicet, clerici ad ordinem Sacerdotalem evecti, censurarum immunes, quique Parochiae seu Parochiarum unitarum actuali et pacifica possessione gaudeant, hi soli ad comitia convocandi sunt. Vicarius, edicto Metropolitanis accepto, intra octo dies singulos Presbyteros supra designatos literis scriptis admonebit, ut loco quodam opportuno, in eadem monitione nominatim exprimendo, adsint, die in edicto Metropolitanis statuto, ad tractandum de negotio ibidem descripto. Metropolitanus ipse, vel unus ex suffraganeis ejus Episcopis ab ipso delegatus, comitiis praesidebit, et nulla prorsus et invalida habenda sunt ibidem acta et statuta, non servata forma supra definita, sive in convocando, sive in moderando conventu.

Parochis, die et loco statutis, mane in unum congregatis, Missa solemnis de Spiritu Sancto celebretur, Missaque finita, Praeses super sedile in medio Ecclesiae ascendet, omnibusque quorum nihil interest, exire jussis, foribusque Ecclesiae clausis, Vicarius, catalogum nominum omnium Parochorum Dioecesis vacantis Praesidi tradet, qui eorundem nomina, clara ac distincta

voce, a Secretario suo recitari mandabit, et unicuique Parocho, postquam nomini responderit, sedem propriam assignabit. Si unus aut plures Parochi absint, Praeses a Vicario probationem exquiret, absentibus sine fraude revera edictum fuisse, et tali probatione admissa, absentia cujusvis numeri, modo quarta pars totius Parochorum numeri adsit, nihil obstat quominus rata et valida sint quae in comitiis gerantur. Parochis, qui Vicarii monitione, sive propter adversam valetudinem, aliamve ob causam parere non valeant, liberum erit suffragia sua, propria ipsorum manu scripta, involucro sigillato inclusa, et extrinsecus ad Praesidem directa, cuivis alio Parocho ejusdem Dioecesis confidere, et suffragio sic tradito et probato, eadem inerit vis ac si Parochus ipse praesens adesset: modo literae certificadoriae de adversa ejus valetudine a duobus artis medicinae peritis subscriptae, ad Praesidem transmittantur. Insuper Parochus iste priusquam suffragium modo supra descripto ferat, eandem declarationem emittet, quam caeteris Parochis inter comitia emittere coram Praeside incumbet, ejusque declarationis coram duobus Parochis emissae probatio, in medium proferenda coram Praeside, antequam suffragium admittatur.

Comitiis ita compositis, ac Praeside tractanda proponente, duo Scrutatores juxta consuetas canonum formas eligantur, dein suffragatores ad Urnam supra mensam positam, singuli accedent, et clara altaque voce, tactis simul manu pectoribus, coram Deo, pro se quisque affirmant, se, neque gratia, neque favore inductos, ei suffragaturos quem dignissimum, digniorem, aut dignum, pro diversis candidatorum meritis, judicent, qui Dioecesi vacanti praeficeretur; postea suffragio in Urnam immisso, singuli ad propriam sedem recedent.

Tres suffragiorum series, totidemque scrutinia institui volumus, suffragatoribus unum tantum nomen singulis vicibus in Urnam mittentibus; nempe prima vice unusquisque suffragabitur ei quem dignissimum judicat, et nomen illius qui, facto scrutinio, majorem suffragiorum numerum, ultra medietatem, reportarit, clara altaque voce, a scrutatoribus ad Praesidem, et a Praeside ad conventum, renuntiandum est. Secunda vice, unusquisque suffragabitur ei quem digniorem, et tertia vice, suffragabitur ei quem dignum judicet; eademque forma respectu numeri suffragiorum, et nomina declarandi servanda est, quae prima vice servata est.

Quibus peractis, et nominibus eorum, qui in unaquaque serie majorem suffragiorum numerum ultra medietatem obtinuerint,

cognitis et publicatis, Praeses narrationem authenticam in scriptis redactam, parari coram comitiis, ejusdemque duo exemplaria a seipso et Secretario atque Scrutatoribus subsignanda, exscribi curabit. Ex istis exemplaribus, alterum Vicario tradendum, qui idem ad Sedem Apostolicam transmittat, alterum vero Metropolitano, cujus munus erit idem ad suffraganeos ejus Episcopos in unum congregatos referre. Quaecumque jura, privilegia, et munera supra recensentur, tanquam Praesidi conventus propria, eadem, sede Metropolitana vacante, seniori Provinciae Suffraganeo communicari volumus. Episcopis Provinciae, Praeside Metropolitano, aut ipsius defectu, seniori Provinciae Suffraganeo, in unum convocatis, et narratione authentica supra memorata coram ipsis prolata, de eadem coram Deo judicium sententiamque ferant. Si unanimi consensu, aut majori suffragiorum numero, approbaverint a Parochis commendatos, eodemque ordine, quo in narratione inseruntur nomina, idem propria uniuscujusque Episcopi, necnon et Praesidis manu subscriptum, et sigillo munitum, ad sedem Apostolicam Praeses transmittet. Si consensu unanimi, aut majori suffragiorum numero, commendatos quidem approbent, sed non in eodem ordine istud quoque ad Sanctam Sedem referent, ordine nominum ipsis probato, et motivis quibus eorum judicium innititur, simul expositis. Si concordibus animis, vel majori suffragiorum numero, consenserint unum aut duos ex commendatis parum dignos esse, qui ad ordinem Episcopalem evehantur, summum Pontificem de ea quoque re certiores facient, simulque mentem exponent de dotibus alterius commendati. Si tandem consensu unanimi, aut majori suffragiorum numero, judicaverint, tres commendatos parum dignos esse ex quibus unus ad Episcopatum promoveretur, Summum Pontificem de suo judicio certiores facient, ejusque Sanctitati supplicabunt, suffragatoribus per Metropolitanum edictum mandare, ut tres alios juxta jam descriptam formam de novo commendarent. Si suffragatores animo obstinato pravoque, eosdem iterum commendent, Summus Pontifex accepta relatione Episcoporum Provinciae, et supra, pro sua sapientia Dioecesi viduatae de Pastore providebit. Si agatur de Episcopi Coadjutore, cum jure successionis cuivis Episcopo assignando, eadem quae sede vacante commendandi forma servanda est, cauto tamen varia privilegia, jura, et munera, Metropolitano aut seniori Episcopo suffraganeo jam attributa, ad Archiepiscopum aut Episcopum, cui Coadjutor assignandus est, unice pertinere, illaeso tamen

servato jure Metropolitani, quando suffraganei ejus Episcopi ad ferendum judicium convenerint.

Tandem quicumque Sedis Apostolicae approbationi commendentur, cives sint Indigenae Hiberniae serenissimo Imperii Britannici Regi, fidelitate incorrupta obstricti, morum integritate, pietate, doctrina, caeterisque, quae Episcopum decent, dotibus insigniti.

Haec sunt, Beatissime Pater, quae pro meliore in posterum regimine Ecclesiarum nobis, licet indignis, commissarum, ad Sanctitatem tuam humillime referre muneris nostri esse duximus.

Apostolica benedictione, flexis genibus implorata, Deum O.M precamur, ut Sanctitatem tuam, ad Ecclesiae universalis commodum, diutissime incolumem servet ac sospitet.

Beatitudinis Tuae.

Observantissimi atque Amantissimi Filii.

Datum Dublinii, die 17 Februarii, An. 1829.

Nomine totius Praesulum Coetus rogati subscribimur.

PATRITIUS, Archiepiscopus Armacanus.

DANIEL, Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis.

ROBERTUS, Archiepiscopus Casseliensis.

ILLUSTRISIME AC REVERENDISIME DOMINE

SSmo Domino Nostro Pio PP. VIII. gratissimae fuerunt literae die 17 Februarii, Amplitudinis Tuae et reliquorum Archiepiscoporum ac Episcoporum Hiberniae nomine, Dublino scriptae, de methodo quam tenendam esse censuistis in commendandis Sedi Apostolicae iis quibus aliquis Hiberniae Episcopatus conferendus sit. Sanctitas sua enim accepit eas literas tanquam novum perspicuum argumentum illius studii singularis quo praestatis, ea omnia diligenter procurandi quae ad Religionis Catholicae incrementum et honorem spectare possunt. Laudavit autem praecipue sapientiam vestram, qui intelligentes quam grave sit negotium electionis Episcoporum, et quantopere cum Ecclesiae utilitate conjunctum, ut rite sancteque absolvatur, vestram curam eo praesertim convertendam arbitrati estis, ut methodus ejusmodi in ea re servanda statueretur, qua fieret ut Sedes Apostolica certissimam habere notitiam posset meritorum eorum sacerdotum, pro quibus commendationes afferuntur, ut ad aliquem Hiberniae Episcopatum eligantur.

Amplissimis quoque laudibus, vestram ea de re sollicitudinem,

sacra Congregatio prosequuta est, quae memoratas vestras literas in Generali Conventu, die prima Junii habito, perpendit, una cum supplicis libello ab R. P. D. Oliverio Kelly, Archiepiscopo Tuamensi die 4 Maii allato, quibus vestro etiam nomine exponebat methodum de convocandis conventibus Capitulorum ad commendationes eas faciendas, si alia methodus quae in literis die 17 Februarii, de convocandis, ad eam rem peragendam, Parochorum conventibus, sacrae Congregationi non placuisset.

Itaque Amplitudini Tuae, et per te caeteris Archiepiscopis atque Episcopis Hiberniae significandum habeo, Sacram Congregationem judicasse, expedire methodum aliquam certam statuere, quam sequi oporteat in commendandis iis, qui ad aliquem Hiberniae Episcopatum eligi debeant: aliquibus vero adhibitis modificationibus probavit methodum a vobis, recensitis superius literis, propositam: Eae autem modificationes sunt quae sequuntur: 1. Ubi adest Capitulum convocentur cum Parochis etiam Canonici. 2. In documento ad sanctam Sedem transmittendo, nihil inveniatur quod electionem, nominationem, postulationem innuat, sed simplicem commendationem. 3. In eo omittatur relatio ac mentio trium scrutiniorum, sicuti et iudicium de dignissimo, digniori ac digno, sed tantum requisita proferantur ac merita singulorum. 4. Hujusmundi autem documentum sit in forma supplicis libelli, ita concepti, ut inde pateat nullam in Sanctam Sedem inferri obligationem eligendi unum ex commendatis. 5. Denique semel peracta commendatione, si Episcopi judicaverint tres illos commendatos minus dignos esse quorum unus ad Episcopatum promoveatur, tunc, quin detur novae commendationi locus, summus Pontifex, pro sua sapientia, viduatae Ecclesiae provideat. Haec sunt quae in exposita a vobis methodo sacra Congregatio immutanda censuit, atque his ita positis methodum ipsam probavit. Verum eodem tempore Sacra Congregatio declaravit salvam semper atque illaesam manere debere, Apostolicae Sedis libertatem in eligendis Episcopis, ita ut, commendationes lumen tantum et cognitionem, Sacrae Congregationi, nunquam tamen obligationem, sint allaturae.

Amplitudinis Tuae diligentiae et summae in gravibus rebus gerendis peritiae erit, ita agere, ut quae Sacra Congregatio immutanda esse arbitrata est, in methodi a Sacra Congregatione probatae expositione, accurate servantur.

Precor Deum interea, ut te caeterosque Collegas tuos,

Archiepiscopus et Episcopus de religione optime meritos, diu sospitem ac felicem servet.

Romae ex Aedib. Sacrae Congreg. de Propag. Fide, 20 Junii, 1829.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Ad officia paratissimus,

D. M. CARD. CAPPELLARI, *Praefectus*,

C. CASTRACANE, *Secretarius*.

Loco ✠ Sigilli,

R. P. D. PATRITIO CURTIS,

Archiepiscopo Armacano.

DECRETUM SACRAE CONGREGATIONIS GENERALIS DE PROPAGANDA
FIDE, HABITAE DIE PRIMA JUNII, ANNO 1829

Cum ad gravissimum Electionis Hiberniae Episcoporum negotium rite sancteq̃ue absolvendum, certam aliquam methodum ubique in eo regno servandam statuere in primis opportunum esse Sacra Congregatio intellexerit, qua fieret, ut Sedes Apostolica exploratam notitiam habere possit meritorum Sacerdotum pro quibus commendationes afferuntur, ut ad aliquem Hiberniae Episcopatum eligantur, eadem Sacra Congregatio, postquam diu multumque de ea re definienda cogitavit, in generali tandem conventu die prima Junii anno 1829, referente Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo D. D. Mauro S. R. E. Cardinali Cappellari, Sacrae Congregationis Praefecto, censuit ac decrevit, methodum in toto regno Hiberniae super ea re servandam in posterum, esse debere eam quae hic describitur.

Sede aliqua Episcopali, sive per Antistitis obitum translationem, aliamve ob causam in posterum vacante, Vicarius, juxta formam a sacris canonibus praescriptam, constituatur, qui dioecesi viduatae, durante vacatione, praesit. Metropolitanus Provinciae, ubi vacatio contigerit, simul atque de vacatione, et Vicarii electione certior factus fuerit, literis mandatoris Vicario edicat, ut in diem vigesimum a dato edicto in unum convocet omnes, ad quos pertinebit Summo Pontifici commendare tres dignos ecclesiastici ordinis viros, quorum unus a Summo Pontifice Dioecesi vacanti praeficiatur. Qui sint ii qui convocari debent, quae forma in convocando et regendo conventu servanda sit, habetur ex sequenti expositione.

Qui in Hibernia nuncupantur Parochi, scilicet clerici ad ordinem Sacerdotalem evecti, censurarum immunes, qui parochiae, seu parochiarum unitarum, actuali ac pacifica possessione

gaudeant, ad comitia convocandi sunt. Ubi vero adest capitulum, convocabuntur cum parochis etiam Canonici. Vicarius, edicto Metropolitanæ accepto, intra octo dies, singulos Presbyteros supra designatos, literis scriptis, admonebit, ut loco quodam opportuno, in eadem monitione nominatim exprimendo, adsint, die in edicto Metropolitanæ statuto, ad tractandum de negotio ibidem descripto. Metropolitanus ipse, vel unus de Suffraganeis ejus Episcopus ab ipso delegatus, comitiis praesidebit, et nulla prorsus, et invalida habenda sunt ibidem acta, et statuta, non servata forma supra definita, sive in convocando, sive in moderando conventu. Parochis, caeterisque de quibus supra, die et loco statutis, mane in unum congregatis, Missa solemnis de Spiritu Sancto celebretur: Missaque finita, Praeses super sedile in medio ecclesiae ascendet, omnibusque, quorum nihil interest, exire jussis, foribusque ecclesiae clausis, Vicarius catalogum nominum omnium Parochorum et Canonicorum, si adsit ibi capitulum, dioecesis vacantis Praesidi tradet, qui eorumdem nomina, clara ac distincta voce, a Secretario suo recitari mandabit, et unicuique eorum, postquam nomini responderit, sedem propriam assignabit. Si unus aut plures Parochi absint, Praeses a Vicario probationem exquiret, absentibus sine fraude edictum fuisse, et tali probatione admissa, absentia cujusvis numeri, modo quarta pars totius Parochorum numeri adsit, nihil obstabit, quominus rata et valida sint, quae in comitiis gerantur. Idem servandum erit circa Canonicorum numerum, in dioecesi in qua Capitulum adest. Parochis ac Canonicis, qui Vicarii monitioni, sive propter adversam valetudinem, aliamve ob causam parere non valeant, liberum erit, suffragia sua propria ipsorum manu scripta, involuero sigillato inclusa, et extrinsecus ad Presidem directa, cuivis alio Parocho vel Canonico ejusdem Dioecesis confidere; et suffragio sic habito et probato, eadem inerit vis, ac si Parochus aut Canonicus ipse praesens adesset; modo literae certificariae de adversa ejus valetudine, a duobus artis medicinae peritis subscriptae, ad Praesidem transmittantur. Insuper Parochus iste vel Canonicus priusquam suffragium, modo supra descripto ferat, eandem declarationem emittet, quam caeteri Parochi ac Canonici inter comitia emittere coram Praeside debebunt; ejusque declarationis coram duobus Parochis vel Canonicis emissae probatio, in medium erit proferenda coram praeside, antequam suffragium admittatur. Comitiis ita compositis, ac

praeside tractanda proponente, duo Scrutatores juxta consuetas canonum formas, eligantur. Dein Suffragatores tactis simul manu pectoribus, coram Deo pro se quisque affirmant, se neque gratia, neque favore inductos ei suffragaturos, quem dignum judicent, qui Dioecesi vacanti praeficiatur. Postea suffragio in urnam immisso, singuli ad propriam sedem recedent.

His peractis, clara altaque voce a Scrutatoribus ad praesidem, et a praeside ad conventum, renuntianda sunt nomina trium eorum Sacerdotum, in quos major suffragiorum numerus convenerit. Tunc praeses, narrationem authenticam in scriptis redactam parari coram comitiis, ejusdemque duo exemplaria a seipso et secretario atque scrutatoribus subsignanda, exscribi curabit. Ex istis exemplaribus alterum Vicario tradendum, qui idem ad Sedem Apostolicam transmittat; alterum vero ad Metropolitanum, cujus munus erit idem ad suffraganeos suos Episcopos in unum congregatos referre. Quaecumque jura, privilegia, et numera supra recensentur tanquam praesidi conventus propria, eadem, Sede Metropolitana vacante, Seniori Provinciae Suffraganeo communicari volumus.

Episcopis Provinciae, Praeside Metropolitano, aut ipsius defectu Seniori Provinciae Suffraganeo in unum congregatis, et narratione authentica supra memorata coram ipis prolata, de eadem coram Deo iudicium sententiamque ferent. Praeses Episcoporum suffraganeorum sententiam, de meritis trium sacerdotum qui Sedi Apostolicae commendantur, literis consignatam, uniuscujusque Episcopi et Praesidis manu subscriptam, sigilloque munitam, ad Sedem Apostolicam transmittet. Semel peracta commendatione, si Episcopi judicaverint tres illos commendatos minus dignos esse, quorum unus ad Episcopatum promoveatur, tunc quin detur novae commendationi locus, Summus Pontifex, pro sua sapientia, viduatae ecclesiae providebit.

Si agatur de Episcopo Coadjutore, cum jure successionis cuivis Episcopo assignando, eadem, quae, sede vacante, commendandi forma servanda est, cauto tamen varia privilegia, jura et munera Metropolitano, aut Seniori Episcopo suffraganeo jam attributa, ad Archiepiscopum, aut Episcopum, cui coadjutor assignandus est, unice pertinere, illaeso tamen servato jure Metropolitanani, quando suffraganei ejus Episcopi ad ferendum suffragium convenerint. Tandem quicumque Sedis Apostolicae approbationi commendentur, cives sint indigenae Hiberniae,

Serenissimo Imperii Britannici Regi fidelitate incorrupta obstricti morum integritate, pietate, doctrina, caeterisque quae Episcopum decent, dotibus insigniti.

Haec sunt, quae in commendandis Sedi Apostolicae Sacerdotibus pro episcoporum Hiberniae electione, Sacra Congregatio servanda praescripsit. Ea vero decernens, significari omnibus voluit, in documentis de hac re pertractantibus, ad sanctam sedem transmittendis, nihil inveniri debere, quod electionem, postulationem, nominationem innuat, sed simplicem commendationem: memorata praeterea documenta esse debere jussit, in forma supplicis libelli ita concepti, ut inde pateat nullam in sanctam sedem inferri obligationem eligendi unum ex commendatis.

Declaravit denique Sacra Congregatio, salvam semper atque illaesam manere debere Sedis Apostolicae libertatem in eligendis Episcopis, ita ut commendationes, lumen tantum, et cognitionem Sacrae Congregationi, nunquam tamen obligationem, sint allaturae.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus dictae Sac. Congregationis, die 17 Octobris, 1829.

Gratis sine ulla omnino solutione quocumque titulo.

D. M. CARD CAPPELLARI, *Praefectus*.

* C. CASTRACANE, *Secretarius*.

(Verum Exemplar.)

ILLUSTRISSIME AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE

Initum a sacra Congregatione consilium ut certam methodum in regno Hiberniae servandam decerneret circa sacerdotes commendandos Apostolicae Sedi quando agitur de Episcoporum electione in eo totum versatum est, ut memorata methodo accurate servata, Apostolica Sedes exploratam notitiam habere possit, meritorum sacerdotum pro quibus commendationes afferuntur. Quare sacra Congregatio in decreto quod die prima Junii 1829 ea de re factum fuerat ac die 17 Octobris ejusdem anni promulgatum est, declaravit mentem suam esse ut commendationes illae lumen tantum ac cognitionem sibi compararent circa eos inter quos Apostolica Sedes Episcopos est electura. Voluit quidem Dioecesanum Clerum consuli atque ejusdem opinionem circa sacerdotes commendandos per secreta suffragia requiri. Id autem ea tantum de causa factum est, ut

Sanctae Sedi constaret quinam praecipue sacerdotes aestimationem obtineant Cleri Dioecesiani, et tale testimonium consequantur, ex quo intelligi posset eos apud Dioecesanum clerum ad Episcopatum consequendum idoneos censi. Hoc vero unico scrutinio fieri posse manifestum est, et revera decreti superius memorati contextus hic est, ut in uno tantum scrutinio res peragatur, atque ex eo scrutinio constet quinam sint tres sacerdotes in quos major suffragiorum numerus convenerit.

Ad Sacrae Congregationis notitiam nuper pervenit in aliquibus Hiberniae Dioecesibus hoc obtinuisse ut in conventibus qui habentur a Clero Dioecesano ad sacerdotes Sanctae Sedi commendandos ex quibus Episcopus aliquis eligatur, non unum sed tria fiant: intelligens Sacra Congregatio hinc evenire posse ut non tres praestantiores ex clero, sed unus revera commendetur atque ei duo alii veluti ad formam tantum adjungantur, meritis omnino inferiores: cupiens praeterea eadem Sacra Congregatio ubique in Hibernia eandem methodum circa ejusmodi commendationes servari, scribendum judicavit Amplitudini tuae hanc epistolam, caeteris Archiepiscopis communicandam, ut in Dioecesibus omnibus Hiberniae constet unicum scrutinium in conventibus Cleri peragendum esse ad tres sacerdotes Sanctae Sedi commendandos antequam ipsa deveniant ad Episcopi alicujus Hiberniae Dioecesis electionem, et hunc verum decreti diei 1 Junii 1829 sensum esse. Precor Deum interea ut Amplitudinem Tuam diu sospitem ac felicem servet.

Romae ex Aedib. Sacrae Congreg. de Propag. Fide, 25 Aprilis, 1835.

Amplitudinis tuae

Ad officia paratissimus,

J. C. Card. FRANSONIUS, *Praefectus*.

A. MAIUS, *Secretarius*.

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

R. P. DANIELI MURRAY,

Archiepiscopo Dubliniensi.

Concordat cum Originali.

✠ DANIEL MURRAY.

INDULGENCES FOR ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA.

TOT INDULG. PLEN. CONCEDUNTUR CHRISTIFIDELIBUS QUI, SERVATIS SERVANDIS, FER 13 FERIAS TERTIAS, VEL 13 DOMINICAS CONTINUAS INFRA ANNUM, IN HONOREM S. ANTONII PATAVINI, PIE ORAVERINT ETC.

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Iucundo animum Nostrum sensu perfuderunt, Nostrisque plane responderunt optatis supplices litterae, quas modo Dilectus Filius Laurentius Caratelli Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium Minister Generalis ad Nos dedit significans cupere se atque optare, ut S. Antonii Patavina cultus ubique gentium augeatur in dies singulos et provehatur. Verum catholici omnes propriam habent rationem cur Beatum Antonium praecipuo prosequantur honore, excolant obsequio. Ille enim singulari Dei concessu et munere gratias et beneficia quotidiana populo christiano conferre ita solet, ut ipsa Ecclesia cohortetur quemlibet fidelem ad eum confugere, si quaerit miracula. Accedit etiam calamitosis hisce temporibus quod Antonius Patavinus quasi icto caritatis foedere cum S. Vincentio a Paulo quodammodo consocietur, atque ambo amice coniurent ad levandas vel saltem deliniendas aerumnas miseriasque tenuioris plebis, ita ut beneficiis alter panem comparet, alter, diribeat. Et multis quidem in templis ad stipem cogendam in alimentum egenorum posita est suavis imago S. Antonii in ultris gestantis Puerum Deum, et quasi gratias ab Eo implorantis, quae imago invitare quodammodo christifideles ac provocare videtur ad expetenda beneficia, quibus acceptis dant stipem obligatam, quae absumatur in emptionem panis pro pauperibus. Ex quo fit ut Vincentianae Sodalitates, quae proletariorum familiis necessaria vitae cibaria ex instituto dispensant, validum ab Antonio praesidium et columen sibi polliceantur. Quae cum ita sint volenti lubentique animo Nos admotis precibus obsecundamus, et ad augendam fidelium religionem animarumque salutem coelestibus Ecclesiae thesauris pia charitate intenti, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus christifidelibus, qui vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione refecti tredecim feriis tertiis continuis et non interpolatis vel tredecim Dominicis item continuis et non interpolatis, quolibet intra annum tempore, ad cuiusque arbitrium eligendis, piis meditationibus vel supplicationibus vel aliis pietatis exercitationibus ad Dei gloriam et eiusdem Sancti honorem

vacaverint, qua ex his feriis tertiis vel Dominicis id praestiterint Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem vel defunctis applicabilem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. In contrarium facientibus non obstant, quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Volumus autem, ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae; et praecipimus, ut praesentium Litterarum (quod nisi fiat nullas easdem esse volumus) exemplar ad Secretariam S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae deferatur, iuxta Decretum ab eadem S. Congregatione die XIX Ianuarii MDCCLVI latum et a Benedicto XIV Decessore Nostro rec. mem. die XXVIII dicti mensis probatum. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die I Martii MDCCCXCVIII Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo.

Pro Dno CARD. MACCHI.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus*.

FACULTIES FOR ACCUMULATING IMPEDIMENTS

VI FACULTATUM CUMULANDI, DISPENSARE POTEST EPUS CIRCA IMPEDIMENTUM DIRIMENS SECRETUM, CONCURRENTENTE ETIAM ALIO IMP. DIR. PUBLICO ; SI VERO UNUM SIT DIRIMENS, ALIUD VERO IMPEDIENS (CUIUS DISPENSATIO RESERVATUR S. SEDI) INDIGET SPECIALI FACULTATE

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus Mysurien. ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humiliter exponit se interdum ancipitem haerere in usu facultatum cumulandi (ut aiunt) quibus in tribuendis dispensationibus matrimonialibus pollet. Hinc enixe petit insequentium dubiorum resolutionem :

I. Utrum concurrente aliquo impedimento dirimente secreto, seu fori interni, cum alio impedimento item dirimente, sed publico, necessaria sit ad dispensationem specialis cumulandi facultas.

II. Utrum concurrentibus duobus impedimentis, quorum unum sit dirimens et alterum impediens tantum, eo excepto quod

mixtae religionis dicunt, pariter necesse sit ad dispensationem specialis cumulandi facultas.

Fer. IV., 18 Augusti, 1897.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto iidem EEmi ac RRmi DDni responderi mandarunt :

Ad I. Negative ; et detur Decretum diei 31 Martii 1872 in *Coimbaturen.*

Ad II. Affirmative quoad impedimenta impediencia, quorum dispensatio reservatur S. Sedi, ea nempe quae oriuntur ex mixta religione ut aiunt, atque ex sponsalibus et ex voto simplici perpetuae castitatis ; secus in reliquis, circa quae Episcopus uti poterit iure suo.

Feria vero VI., die 20 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII., idem SSmus Dominus resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum in omnibus adprobavit.

Decretum autem die 31 Martii 1872 datum occasione dubii a R. P. D. Vicario Apostolico *Coimbaturen.* propositi, prout constat ex actis S. Congr. de Propag. Fide, sic se habet : ‘SSmus Dominus declaravit generatim prohibitionem concedendi absque speciali facultate dispensationes, quando in una eademque persona concurrunt impedimenta matrimonialia, non extendi ad eos casus, in quibus cum impedimento natura sua publico aliud occurrit impedimentum occultum, seu fori interni.’

I. CAN. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inq. Notarius.

SUCCESSION OF FACULTIES

FACULTATES SPECIALES, HABITUALITER A S. SEDE ORDINARIIS
CONCESSAE, TRANSEUNT AD SUCCESSORES, PRO TEMPORE ET
IN TERMINIS CONCESSIONIS.

Feria IV., 24 Novembris 1897.

In Cong. Gen. S. Rom. Univ. Inquis. habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Card. in rebus fidei et morum Gen. Inquisitoribus, iidem Emi Patres, rerum temporumque adiunctis mature perpensis, decernendum censuerunt : Supplicandum SSmo, ut declarare seu statuere dignetur facultates omnes speciales habitualiter a S. Sede Episcopis aliorumque locorum Ordinariis concessas non suspendi

vel desinere ob eorum mortem vel a munere cessationem, sed ad successores Ordinarios transire ad formam et in terminis decreta Sup. hac Cong. editi die 20 Februarii 1888 quoad dispensationes matrimoniales.

Insequenti vero feria VI., die 26 Novembris 1897, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita facta de his omnibus SSmo D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, Sanctitas Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit, atque ita perpetuis futuris temporibus servandum mandavit, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Ios. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I., Notarius.*

L. ✠ S.

CASE OF 'SANATIO IN RADICE'

EX S. CONGR. S. R. U. INQUISITIONIS, EPISCOPI STATUUM FOEDERATORUM AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALIS CONCEDERE VALENT 'SANATIONEM IN RADICE' IN CASU DISPARITATIS CULTUS, EXCEPTO CULTU IUDAICO.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humiliter provolutus expono: Dionysius (non baptizatus) tribus annis elapsis matrimonium contraxit cum Maria Iosepha (catholica) coram magistratu civili. Pars acatholica omnino renuit consentire conditionibus ab Ecclesia requisitis in matrimoniis mixtis, praesertim relate ad baptismum et catholicam proles educationem, quamvis uxori liberum sit facere quid vellet relate ad puellarum educationem. Huic conditioni ante matrimonium Maria Iosepha consensit. Nunc eam poenitet id fecisse; attamen quum vir sit bonus paterfamilias et optimus provisor pro prole, haud sperandum se virum derelicturam. Quare ad validandum matrimonium et prolem legitimandam et pro bono spirituali matris et filiorum rogo cum 'sanatione in radice,' dispensatio 'disparitatis cultus' concedatur, quum vir renuat dare consensum, et mulier sciat suum matrimonium esse invalidum.

✠ GULIELMUS ENRICUS, *Archiepiscopus Cincinnatiensis.*

RESPONSUM.

Feria VI. die 3 Iunii 1892.

Sanctissimus D. N. Leo divina providentia PP. XIII in audientia r. p. d. Assessori S. O. impertita, attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis in casu concurrentibus et indubiis resipiscentiae

signis Oratricis catholicae, Mariae Iosephae, benigne remisit preces prudenti arbitrio et conscientiae r. p. d. Ordinarii Cincinnatiensis, ut, quatenus utraque pars in consensu de praesenti perseveret, sanare valeat in radice matrimonium initum ab ipsa catholica Maria Iosepha cum acatholica non-baptizato, dummodo Oratrix spondeat serio se curaturam totis viribus educationem totius prolis in religione catholica, et dummodo perseveret partium consensus. Ipse vero Ordinarius in hoc sibi commissio munere explendo declaret se agere nomine Sanctitatis Suae et tanquam ab Apostolica Sede specialiter delegatum. Serio moneat Oratricem de gravissimo patrato scelere; 'salutares poenitentias ei imponat,' a censuris absolvat simulque declaret ob praesentem dispensationis gratiam a se acceptatam matrimonium fieri validum, legitimum et indissolubile iure divino, et prolem susceptam et suscipiendam legitimam habendam esse. Oratrici etiam gravissime imponat ac declaret obligationem, qua semper tenetur curandi pro viribus conversionem viri ad catholicam fidem et prolis utriusque sexus tam natae quam nasciturae in catholica religione educationem.—Cum autem de matrimonii validitate in foro externo constare debeat, idem Ordinarius nomen cum consueta personali indicatione tam mulieris quam viri in Regestis describi iubeat, simulque autographum documentum praesentis concessionis communicationis, acceptationis, absolutionis et declarationum Oratricis ut supra facturam, servetur in Curia Cincinnatiensi, et exemplar authenticum eidem Oratrici sedulo custodiendum tradatur. Contrariis non obstantibus.

I. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I. Not.*

ROMAE, 20 Iunii 1892.

ILLUSTRISSE AC REVERENDISSE DOMINE,

Amplitudo Tua literis datis die 24 superioris mensis aprilis sanationem in radice expetebat matrimonii contracti a Maria Iosepha catholica cum Petro Dionysio non baptizato, nec non matrimonii contracti a Maria N. cum quodam Henrico M. pariter non baptizato. Rescriptum S. Officii quoad sanationem matrimonii Mariae Iosephae iam paucos ante dies ad te misi, nunc vero heic adnexum mitto rescriptum eiusdem Supremi Tribunalis circa sanationem alterius matrimonii supra memoratii. Tibi autem ex parte eiusdem S. Officii summopere commendandum habeo ut velis omni sollicitudine adniti quo proles in catholica religione educetur. Iisdem vero literis Amplitudo Tua duo

proponere dubia : primum erat utrum recta fuerit dispensatio a te aliquando concessa cum 'sanatione in radice' circa matrimonia nulla ex impedimento 'disparitatis cultus' cum pars non baptizata renueret satisfacere conditionibus de educatione prolis etc., dum pars catholica promitteret se, in quantum fieri posset, curaturam ut filii filiaeque baptizarentur et in religione catholica educarentur.

Alterum dubium erat num non obstante speciali clausula de iudaeis in facultatibus quas habes, recte dispensaveris nonnunquam cum mulieribus catholicis ut inira possent matrimonium cum iudaeis, qui cupientes huiusmodi nuptias contrahere in scriptis Iudaismo renuntiaverint.

Haec dubia delata pariter fuerunt solvenda ad Supremum Tribunal Sancti Officii, et illi Eminentissimi Patres Inquisitores Generales in Congregatione feriae V, loco IV, die 2 vertentis mensis Iunii, sequentes dederunt resolutiones a Summo Pontifice adprobatae :

Ad I. 'Quatenus urgeret necessitas, consensus perseveraret, et impositum fuerit matri onus baptismi et educationis prolis totis viribus curandae, potuisse uti facultatibus.'

Ad II. Quod ad praeteritum, 'supplicandum Sanctissimo pro sanatione in radice,' quatenus opus sit (quibus precibus Summus Pontifex annuit). Quod ad futurum, recurrat (Ordinarius) in singulis casibus, expositis omnibus circumstantiis.

Haec tibi erant per me significanda : interim omnia fausta felicia Tibi a Domino precor.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Addictissimus Servus,

M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

IGNATIUS *Archiep.* TAMIATHEN, *Secret.*

DOMINO GULIELMO ELDER,

Achiepiscopo Cincinnatiensi.

BOOKS PROHIBITED BY THE ORDINARY

EX S. CONGREGATIONE INDICIS, QUOAD LIBROS AB ORDINARIIS
LOCORUM PROHIBITOS

Feria VI, die 6 Decembris 1895.

Proposito dubio : utrum qui habent generalem facultatem legendi libros in Indice librorum prohibitorum contentos, legere licite possint etiam libros ab Ordinario proscriptos, sine speciali eiusdem Ordinarii licentia? Eminentissimi Patres responderi mandarunt : *Negative.*

**ST. PASCHAL BAYLON, PATRON OF EUCHARISTIC
CONGRESSES**

E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

S. PASCHALIS BAYLON DECLARATUR PATRONUS COETUUM, EUCHARISTICORUM, OMNIUMQUE SOCIETATEM A SSMA EUCHARISTIA

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Providentissimus Deus fortiter sauviterque disponens omnia, singulari quadam cura Ecclesiae suae ita prospexit, ut quum inclinatae maxime res viderentur, ex ipsa temporum acerbitate insperita eidem solatia suscicaret. Id, quum saepe alias, tum potissimum videre licet his rei christianae ac civilis temporibus. Quum enim communis tranquillitatis osores, insolentius se in dies efferentes, quotidiano impetu eoque validissimo adnitantur Christi fidem omnemque poene societatem evertere, placuit divinae bonitati his rerum fluctibus praeclara studia pietatis obiiicere. Quod quidem plane declarant, et sanctissimi Cordis Iesu longe lateque propagata religio, et excitatus ardor ubique terrarum provehendi cultus Marialis, et inclyti eiusdem Deiparae Sponsi adaucti honores, et catholicorum coetus in vario rerum genere ad omnemque fidei defensionem parati, aliaque complura, promovendo divino honori et mutae caritati fovendae, sive amplificata, sive primum invecta. Quae quidem omnia etsi animum Nostrum suavissime afficiunt, nihilominus divinorum munerum summam hanc esse putamus, auctam in populis in Eucharistiae sacramentum religionem post habitos in eam rem coetus per haec tempora celeberrimos. Nihil enim efficacius videtur Nobis, quod alias significavimus, catholicorum animis excitandis tum ad fidem strenue profitendam, tum ad virtutes christiano nomine dignas exercendas, quam ut alantur et acuantur studia populi in admirabile illud amoris pignus, quod pacis vinculum est atque unitatis.

Quum igitur tanta res maxime Nobis curae sit, quemadmodum coetus eucharisticos saepe laudavimus, ita nunc uberiorum spe fructuum permoti, faciendum ducimus ut iis patronus coelestis assignetur ex sanctis coelitibus qui in augustissimum Corporis Christi sacramentum vehementiore affectu flagarunt. Inter eos vero, quorum ardor pietatis in praeaelsum hoc fidei mysterium efferbuisse magis visus est, locum obtinet dignissimum Paschalis

Baylon. Qui animum sortitus rerum coelestium apprime studiosum, postquam adolescentiam in custodia gregis transegit innocentissime, severioris vitae institutum amplexus in Ordine Minorum strictioris observantiae, eam ex contemplatione divina convivii meruit haurire scientiam, ut rudus ac litterarum expertus potuerit et de rebus fidei difficillimus respondere et pios etiam libros conscribere. Idem Eucharistiae veritatem publice palamque professus inter haereticos multa et gravia perpressus est, ac Tharsicii martyris aemulus, ad necem quoque crebro petitus. Eum denique pietatis affectum defunctus etiam retinere visus est: quippe iacens in feretro, ad duplicem sacrarum specierum elevationem, bis oculos dicitur reserasse.

Igitur apparet, coetus catholicorum, de quibus loquimur, nullius in tutela melius esse posse. Propterea qua ratione Thomae Aquinati cupidam litterarum iuventutem; Vincentio a Paulo consociationes caritatis causa initas; Camillo de Lellis et Ioanni de Deo aegrotos et quotquot aegrotis adiutandis dant operam, opportune commendavimus, ita, quod bonum faustumque sit et rei christianae benevertat, suprema auctoritate Nostra, praesentium vi, sanctum Paschalem Baylon peculiarem coetuum eucharisticorum, item societatum omnium a sanctissima Eucharistia, sive quae hactenus institutae, sive quae in posterum futurae sunt, Patronum coelestem declaramus et constituimus. Atque ab eiusdem Sancti exemplis patrocinioque hunc fructum fidenter petimus, ut e populo christiano quotidie plures animum, consilia, amorem ad Iesum Christum servatorem referant, omnis salutio summum augustissimumque principium. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque. Volumus autem, ut praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die XXVIII. Novembris MDCCCXCVII., Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimo.

A. CARD. MACCHI.

FORM OF BAPTISM UP TO FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE

E. S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

IN BAPTISMO CONFERENDO, SERVATUR ORDO BAPTISMI PARVULORUM,
ETSI BAPTIZANDI ATTIGERINT AETATEM 14 ANNORUM

EME AC RME DNE OBLME.

A Sacra Rituum Congregatione remissum est Supremae huic Congregationi dubium expositum ab Em. Tua, utrum scilicet baptizari possint, servato ordine Baptismi parvulorum, ii pueri neophyti qui scholis catholicis admissi baptizantur ante primam Communionem.

Porro Emi Patres una mecum Inquisitores generales, mature perpenso proposito dubio, respondendum esse duxerunt 'Affirmative;' responsiones autem praescriptae dentur a pueris baptizandis insimul cum eorum patrinis. Haec autem Emorum Patrum responsio a SS. D. N. rata ac confirmata est.

Attamen mens est eiusdem S. O. ut Em. Tua qua pollet apostolica charitate, parochorum zelum excitet, qui current ut ii pueri catholicorum scholis recepti opportuno tempore ad baptismum accedant.

Haec autem dum pro mei muneris ratione E. Tuae communico, quo par est obsequio eiusdem manus humillime deosculor.

Emae Tuae

Romae, 10 Maii, 1879.

Humill. Dnus servus verum.

P. CARD. CATERINI.

EMO CARDINALI GUIBERT, *Archiepo Parisien.*

SOME DEFECTS IN ORDINATION

IMPOSITIO MANUUM OMISSA CERTE FUIT A SACERDOTIBUS ADSISTENTIBUS, ET PROBABILITER AB IPSO EPO ORDINANTE: ORDINATIO DENUO FIAT SECRETO ET SUB CONDITIONE

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humiliter exponit quod in ordinatione sacerdotis B. ex mera oblivione, omissa fuit impositio manuum ex parte Sacerdotum adsistentium; insuper non recordatur Episcopus (neque alii adstantes recordantur) utrum tenuerit manus elevatas super caput ordinandi, durante

secunda impositione quando recitabatur oratio 'Oremus fratres carissimi,' etc., quapropter a supremo oraculo petit quid nunc agere debeat.

Feria IV die 17 Martii 1897.

In Congregatione Gen. S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EE. et RR. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto Dubio, iidem EE. ac RR. DDni responderi mandarunt: 'Sacerdos B. ordinetur secreto et sub conditione quacumque die, etiam feriata, obtenta a SSmo facultate.

Sequenti vero fer. V die 18 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia R. P. D. Adessori impertita, facta de his omnibus relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, idem SS. Dominus resolutionem Emorum et Rmorum Patrum in omnibus adprobavit, facultatem concedendo.

I. CAN. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inq. Notarius.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MISSALE ROMANUM, BREVIARIUM ROMANUM, HORÆ DIURNÆ
RITUALE ROMANUM. Tours : Alfred Mame et Fils.

WE have received from the great publishing firm of Mame of Tours several specimens of their missals, breviaries, and other liturgical publications, which they have asked us to bring under the notice of the Irish clergy. We do so with pleasure. The works that have been sent to us deserve the highest encomiums. The large and medium-sized missals, bound in dark-embossed shagreen, with gilt edges, black and red letters, seem to us excellent value, the former for 29 f. 50 c., and the latter for 21 f. 50 c. In most churches and chapels on the Continent two missals are kept, one for every-day use, and one at least for great feast days and special celebrations. Whether such a luxury can be indulged in here in Ireland depends very much on the locality. There is, we know, a general desire that the missal, like all the furniture of the altar, should be neat and becoming. The excellence and cheapness of the missals we have before us will enable all who have care of churches or chapels to have a book on the altar in keeping with its spotless surroundings. Those who require a really splendid missal can have one for about £4, richly bound in Morocco. Those whose means will not allow them to offer such a present to the altar may well be content with the missals at 21 f. 50 c.

As for the breviaries, they are of all shapes and sizes. As an excellent serviceable breviary, we recommend the edition in 18mo (No. 52 in catalogue), which is quite up to date in every respect, and costs 45 or 38 francs, according as the binding is first or second class. A really beautiful breviary, one of the best in existence, is that in 12mo (marked 88 in catalogue), and costing from 41 to 57 francs, according to the binding. The bound copy at 48 francs seems to us a splendid book. There is also a 'Totum,' costing 16 francs, and an edition of the whole breviary in two volumes in 16mo, nicely bound, at 28 francs. There is a handsome ritual for 5 f. 50 c. It is well printed, but the size is a little large, and would be somewhat inconvenient for

'sick calls.' There is also a very serviceable 'Horæ' at 8 f. 25 c. In France the house of Mame has a great and honourable reputation. In a country in which bad literature abounds, the press machines of Mame's great establishment have never been sullied by corrupt or even doubtful work. Their proprietor has built up for himself and his family an immense fortune, and has done so by giving the best value that trade competition would allow him to give. If we must send money out of Ireland, it is, at all events, satisfactory to know that it is going into worthy hands.

J. F. H.

LE COSTUME ET LES USAGES ECCLESIASTIQUES SELON LA TRADITION ROMAINE. Par Mgr. Barbier de Montault. Toure Premier Regles Generales, Le Costume Usuel, le Costume de Chœur. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, Editeurs.

THIS is the first volume of a book which, when completed, will be a unique publication. The subject of the present volume is ecclesiastical dress, taken in its widest sense to include the details of every-day wearing apparel and of choir costume. The author's object has not been to write a history of ecclesiastical costume, but to set forth the practice of the Roman Church as contained 'in law, tradition, and custom,' with a view to set up a standard to which ecclesiastics throughout the world should, as far as possible conform. Rome has been his guide—not France—where, according to himself, 'la regle a disparu et on lui substitue une volonté, absolue et arbitraire.' The volume before us is divided into three books. The first is a collection of the texts of Canon Law, the Pontifical Briefs (arranged in chronological order), and the decrees of the Sacred Congregations which bear on the subject of the work. These are very useful and interesting, as indicating the mind of the Church. The author does not discriminate between what in them is of strict obligation and what is not, and thus, of course, relieves himself of a very onerous undertaking. Reading over those wise regulations of ecclesiastical authority we cannot help noticing the constant anxiety of the Church to keep her ministers from the pursuit of worldly avocations, pastimes, and fashions.

'Clerici officia vel commercia secularia non exerceant . . .

Ad aleas et taxillos non ludant . . . Pannis rubeis aut viridibus, nec non manicis aut secularibus conseuticiis, fraenis, stellis pectoralibus, calcaribus deauratis non utantur.'—Decretals.

The distinction between the long and short dress has long been canonically recognised, but the short soutane or coat (soutanelle) should reach the knees. 'Nous permettons néanmoins à l'occasion d'un voyage que les susdits vêtements soient plus courts, de façon toutefois qu'ils couvrent les genoux et qu'ils soient conformes à la modestie ecclésiastique.'—Edit du Cardinal de Carpegna (1708).

The second book deals with 'Le Costume Usuel,' *i.e.*, everyday dress. The author's treatment of this department is quite exhaustive, beginning with the feet and ending with the crown of the head. 'Le mot costume,' he writes, 's' étend à tout l'ensemble de la toilette; chaussure, habillement de dessus et de dessous, chevelure, coiffure et accessoires. L'examen de ces diverses parties va se faire en détail en commençant par les pieds pour finir par la tête.' In a preliminary dissertation he states that the use of velvet is reserved to the Pope, and that inferior clergy should not affect even velvet trimmings. But he cites no authority for this view. He evinces a prejudice against red shirts. 'Laissons,' he writes, 'les chemises rouges aux Garibaldiens,' and he would have us relinquish pantaloons and laced boots for culotte, long stockings, and buckled shoes. He presumes, however, the soutane is worn over them on ordinary occasions.

'Le Costume de Choeur,' is the heading of the third book; and while here we notice the same attention to minutiae, we meet less of the author's predilections. The material, cut, and use of all the various articles of choir dress are fully described. This book and the preceding are profusely illustrated. Bishops in cappa, mozzetta, mantelletta; prelates in mantellone; canons in cappa; priests in short dress and long dress, in surplice and soutane, are exhibited in different attitudes, and altogether constitute a pictorial collection of ecclesiastics of unexceptionable *tenue*.

We sympathize with the author's desire to secure uniformity according to the Roman usage, and we have no doubt this interesting and learned volume will do something to realize his ideal. It is not too difficult to abolish unrubrical choir costumes, *v.g.*, the wearing of a surplice over a short coat; but local usage,

climate, taste, and convenience, must, we think, be always allowed to exercise a reasonable influence on the every-day dress of the priest.

T. P. G.

VITA JESU CHRISTI. Ex textibus quatuor Evangelorum distinctis. Auctore: L. Méchineau, S.J. Paris: Lethielleux.

THE letters affixed to the author's name are usually a guarantee of soundness and scholarship, and accordingly we opened the volume before us with high expectations. Nor were we disappointed. We venture to say that no more satisfactory life of our Lord has yet been written. For here there is no padding, no speculations, no pious or other exaggerations, no human eloquence. In the first part of the book each page is divided into six columns. In the first are numbers, in the second facts arranged in historical sequence, and in the remaining four references to the four Gospels. So we have a synopsis of the life of Christ in which each individual fact is numbered (for convenience), located, and authenticated. In the second part, under corresponding numbers, the texts referred to in the first part are printed in parallel columns. The reader is thus enabled to see at a glance the inspired records of any individual fact in our Saviour's life. These two parts constitute the main body of the work. A learned '*praeambula de Medio Historico Vitae Christi*,' and a closing exegetical dissertation on selected questions, complete a work which deserves to be widely circulated among ecclesiastics

T. P. G.

OUR LADY OF AMERICA. Liturgically known as 'Holy Mary of Guadalupe.' By Rev. G. Lee, C.S.Sp. Baltimore and New York: John Murphy and Co.

THIS is an attractively written history of the rise, growth, and fruits of the Guadalupan devotion in honour of the Blessed Virgin; which, for well-nigh six centuries, has been a feature of the Catholicity of the New World—as beautiful as it is inspiring. The conquest of Mexico by Spain was accompanied by the introduction of Christianity among the conquered races, and the good work of evangelizing the natives was forwarded by a very special Divine Providence. Our Lady seemed to take a particular joy in bringing about the widespread conversion of the Indians. For, while the Mexican Church was still in its infancy, she appeared

in this land, which formerly had been the scene of so many abominations, 'spoke to its people, and left them a wondrous memorial of her visit.' An humble Indian peasant was the privileged one to whom this heavenly visitant manifested herself. To Juan Diego the Mother of God appeared on the Hill of Tepeyae, near the Mexican capitol. Him she commanded to go to Zumarrago, the devout Bishop of Mexico, with a request that he would cause a temple to be erected to her honour on the spot where she stood. In proof of the authenticity of his commission she painted upon the coarse canvas of the Indian's cloak the picture which ever since has been held in deep veneration by the faithful, and whose miraculous origin is not only attested to by the highest human authority, but also stands revealed in its marvellous beauty, its faultless perfection as a work of art, and in its undecaying freshness. The main facts of this wonderful apparition and picture our author undertakes to prove to be not only morally and historically, but also theologically and ecclesiastically, certain. And, indeed, we cannot read his interesting narrative without being fully convinced of the justice of his contention. In Father Lee the Guadalupan shrine has found an able exponent, a loving client, and a powerful advocate. He shows us that Roman Pontiffs have believed in Guadalupe, enriched the devotion with many privileges, granted a feast in its honour to be celebrated as a double of the first class with an octave, and finally proclaimed Our Lady, under the title of Guadalupe, patroness of New Spain. But, perhaps, he is most interesting when he treats of the extraordinary influence wielded by Guadalupe in stimulating religious fervour and enthusiasm among the simple people of this country, in moulding their lives in habits of virtue, and in fostering among them a deep and tender love for the Mother of God. Guadalupe is to the New World what Lourdes is to the Old. In both God's favours are abundantly bestowed on deserving suppliants, and both, too, seem to bear the stamp of the supernatural. We commend the book to our readers as delightfully interesting, as breathing a spirit of lively faith in God's special revelations, and, above all, as being a tribute of warmest love to our Blessed Lady. We hope, too, with the author that these pages will make this holy Mexican shrine more widely known and still more deeply venerated, and that, before long, our Blessed Lady, under the title of Guadalupe, will be enshrined the patroness, not of New Spain only, but of the whole of Central America.

P. M.

GREGORIAN MUSIC. An Outline of Musical Paleography. Illustrated by Fac-similes of Ancient Manuscripts. By the Benedictines of Stanbrook. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.

HANDBOOK OF RULES FOR SINGING AND PHRASING PLAIN-SONG. By the Benedictines of Stanbrook. Same Publisher.

IN recent times there is a growing conviction that for the proper understanding and satisfactory rendering of the Gregorian melodies, even in the abbreviated form of the *Editio Medicea*, some knowledge of the results of the archæological researches instituted in this subject is necessary. The literature on this matter, while very extensive, is not very accessible for the general reader. There is a particular dearth of books in the English language. The *Elements of Plain-Song*, published by the Plain-Song and Mediæval Music Society, has up to recently been the only publication to be mentioned in this connection. We must be very grateful, therefore, to the Benedictine nuns of Stanbrook Abbey for laying before English readers the principal results of musical paleography, especially of the *Paleographie Musicale*, the quarterly publication of the Benedictine monks of Solesmes, which holds the foremost place amongst the publications on this subject.

Gregorian Music opens with a nicely-written chapter on the aim of Church music. Some general idea on the subject of musical paleography having been given, the origin and development of the neumatic and diastematic notation are clearly set forth. The fifth chapter deals with the important and practical question of liquescence. We are not quite satisfied that the explanation of the reason of liquescence given in this chapter is correct. We certainly should not like to hear the word *confunditur* pronounced anything like con^c-fun^c-den^c-tur. But the subject itself is very important for the rhythm of plain-chant, and without a knowledge of it it will scarcely be possible to do justice to the Gregorian melodies. Unfortunately, liquescent notes are not indicated in the Roman chant books. Recourse must, therefore, be had to the manuscripts, or printed editions reproducing their notation, in order to acquire that refinement of rhythmical feeling which will enable one to determine with accuracy in what cases liquescence should take place. But the hints given in the

present book, together, perhaps, with the suggestions in Dr. Haberl's *Magister Choralis*, chapter 45, under 3, will give some help to the student.

After a fairly exhaustive exposition of the Romanian signs and letters, three chapters are devoted to rhythm, the *cursus*, and the adaptation of texts. These we are inclined to consider as the best part of the work, and we imagine that nothing is better calculated to produce a delicacy of rhythmical feeling than a careful study of these chapters.

A few special remarks on execution bring the body of the work to a conclusion. An appendix deals with the modes and psalmody. The former are dismissed pretty summarily, a proceeding to which we do not object, as the subject is by no means fully investigated, and not very practical. The reproduction of the numerous mediations and endings of mediæval psalmody is of not much use for those following the Roman usage, but the principles of treatment are the same. The management of the additional note required when a dactylic word formation has to be fitted to the cadences of trochaic structure, is very instructive. The method of dealing with such formulas as the mediation of the third tone is particularly interesting, and we should like to see it generally adopted. But, unfortunately, the rules governing this additional note are not expressly stated. The reader has to abstract them for himself from the examples given.

The *Handbook of Rules* is a little pamphlet intended to be put into the hands of singers. It gives simple and plain rules on pronunciation of Latin, accentuation, voice production, plain-song scales, notation, &c. In the chapter on the value of notes, the vexed question whether accent means prolongation, is solved, to our mind satisfactorily, in the following manner:—‘. . . an accent is brought out, not by being lengthened, but by being strongly marked. In practice, however, it will inevitably become a *little* longer; but this is by no means to be aimed at.’ As to the rendering of the neums, the rule now frequently accepted by writers is given that the first note of each neum is the accented one. While freely admitting that at every first note of a neum the voice receives a slight renewal of impulse, we cannot make up our minds that this note in all cases should bear the greatest stress. In a scandicus, for instance, if it stands by itself, not influenced by any modifying exigencies of the text, we should consider as the natural expression an increase of strength towards

the last note, and we believe that is the method adopted by the best choirs. At the same time, we consider that too much importance cannot be attached to the rule given in the same chapter, that the force of the accented syllable must be put on the *first* note of the first group of notes set to it.

In the chapter on pauses, we meet, among other excellent rules, the one that a consonant beginning a new syllable should be pronounced on the last note of the previous syllable. This rule works out most admirably in practice, though it is based rather on an illusion, inasmuch as most consonants cannot be pronounced on any definite pitch.

In conclusion, we congratulate the nuns of Stanbrook Abbey on their excellent publications, and hope that for the benefit of Church music these books will meet with an extensive circulation.

H. B.



VICTOR VITENSIS ON THE VANDAL PERSECUTION

READERS of the I. E. RECORD who remember so well our Irish persecutions, will be interested in a short account of one exactly similar which took place a thousand years before—the Vandal persecution in Africa—of which Victor, to a great extent an eyewitness, has left us an account in a work which Sirmond calls ‘a golden book,’ and again, ‘one of the most illustrious monuments of all antiquity.’ Victor’s identity was a long time disputed, but can be so no longer, since Liron, one of his commentators and biographers, clearly proved that he was a priest of Carthage, who lived there during the reigns of Genseric and Huneric, and then became Bishop of Vita in the province of Byzacene, where he wrote this work about the year 487. No more is known of him with certainty; but all admit that he was a very pious and learned man, and a most judicious historian.

By keeping in mind the following dates we can more easily follow Victor’s narrative of events. The Vandals crossed over to Africa at the beginning of 428, and had completed their conquest at the death of St. Augustine in 430, with the exception of the three cities of Hippo, Cirta, and Carthage. By the treaty of Hippo, in 435, they restored Mauritania and Western Numidia to the Empire, but kept

¹ Migne, tomus lviii., *Patrologiæ Latinæ*.

this treaty only to the death of Valentinian, in 455. They took Carthage in 439. Genseric reigned to 477, and was succeeded by his son Huneric, who died in 484. He was succeeded by his nephew Guntabund, who reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his brother Thrasamund, who died in 525, and was succeeded by Hilderic, who was dethroned in 530 by Gelimer, the last Vandal king. Belisarius, the great general of Justinian, expelled the Vandals in 534, and the country remained subject to the Greek Empire until the Arab conquest in 665.

Having already noticed¹ that part of Victor's narrative which was connected with the conquest, I shall begin the present notice from the taking of Carthage. The savagery we shall often meet with in this narrative is so revolting, that I must ask my readers to remember, for the honour of humanity, that the Vandals were an exceptional race among all those that invaded the tottering Empire in the fifth century. All the other races divided the lands with the old inhabitants, and left the Catholic Church undisturbed; the consequence was that the conquerors gradually imbibed the civilization and religion of the vanquished; and even in Britain this process would probably have taken place only for the obstinacy of the old natives. But the Vandals, like our own Cromwellians, respected nothing; they confiscated all the lands; and, as fanatical Arians, banished, tortured, or murdered every Catholic bishop or priest on whom they could lay their hands. They spared as many of the common people as they needed to cultivate their lands, to exercise the various handicrafts, carry on their trade and commerce, keep the financial and administrative accounts, &c., &c.; for of all these things the Vandals were completely ignorant, and remained so to the end. The only progress they ever made was in the effeminacy engendered by sudden wealth and a delightful climate, and to this, like their predecessors the Africo-Romans, they owed their final downfall.

This Vandal persecution was carried on by means of a penal code and spasmodic outbursts. The Vandal kings

¹ *Life of St. Augustine*, chaps. xvi., xvii.

were absolute, and their edicts were laws. Victor's narrative, in five books, embraces the reigns of Genseric and Huneric; the books will be indicated by Roman numerals, the chapters by ordinary figures.

The first thing Genseric did on entering Carthage was to seize the Bishop, Quodvultdeus, with as many of his clergy as he could lay his hands on, and pack them on board rotten ships without provision of any kind. He then divided the confiscated lands among his soldiers, and issued an edict of banishment against all the bishops and nobles of the country, under the penalty of perpetual slavery in case of the slightest resistance or delay. Victor adds,¹ that he knew many bishops and distinguished laymen who thus became slaves to the Vandals. A number of bishops and nobles from the provinces, who had already lost everything, came to Carthage, and humbly asked for the bare permission to live among the afflicted people to console them; but Genseric answered, 'I have decreed the extermination of your race and name, and you dare to make such a request.' It was only by the entreaties of his own courtiers that he was prevented from having them all cast into the sea. Having seized upon all the churches of Carthage, some for the Arians, he ordered all the churches of the country to be closed or confiscated; and, says Victor,² 'they then celebrated the divine mysteries as they could, and where they could.' But even from this they were terrified by another edict³ forbidding 'all opportunity for prayer or immolation.' The next edict⁴ ordered all the sacred books and vessels to be delivered up; and a veritable fiend named Proculus was sent to the country to see this edict executed. A holy bishop named Valerianus, having refused to submit to this sacrilege, was cast out on the public highway, where no one could even speak to him; 'but,' says Victor, 'unworthy as I am, I had the honour to salute him.' He was over eighty years of age, and was left almost naked to perish.

¹ i. 4.

² i. 5.

³ i. 7.

⁴ i. 12.

The next paragraph vividly depicts the state to which the Catholics were reduced by all these edicts :—¹

In a place called Regia, the faithful forced open their church to celebrate Easter day ; the Arians heard of it, and immediately one of their priests, named Adduit, at the head of an armed mob, rushed upon the innocent multitude. Some rushed in with drawn swords, others mounted the roof, while others discharged their darts through the windows. The people were listening or singing, and the lector in the pulpit chanting *alleluia*, when, pierced in the throat by an arrow, he fell dead, the book having fallen from his hands. Many others were killed on the very steps of the altar, being pierced with arrows and darts ; and those who were not then slain by the sword were nearly all put to death by order of the King, especially those of mature age. Elsewhere, as at Tinuzuda and Ammonia, for example, when the Sacraments of God were being administered to the people, they rushed in breathing vengeance, scattered the body and blood of Christ on the pavement, and trampled it under their polluted feet.

This was the state of things during the whole reign of Genseric, with only a few short respites procured by the Emperors. A few personal facts will help to complete the picture.

Genseric was himself a most able, and, to some extent, an educated man ; but he had among his followers no men capable of filling the high administrative posts in his vast kingdom ; he had therefore to fall back on some of the old imperial officials. One of these was Count Sebastian² ‘a man greatly needed, but also much feared by Genseric ; a man valiant in war and wise in council.’ One day the King sent for him, and in presence of his bishops and courtiers said :—

Sebastian, you have sworn to be faithful to us, and your acts prove your sincerity ; but that your friendship may be more lasting, it is the wish of our priests here present that you should embrace the religion which we and our own people venerate.

Sebastian refused, and gave his reason in a beautiful parable which reduced them to silence. But another pretext was found, and his life was taken by order of the King.

¹ i. 13.

² i. 6.

At this time¹ Genseric, at the instigation of his bishops, issued orders that no one but an Arian should hold office in his own palace or in those of his sons. Armogastes held office in the palace of Theodoric, the King's third son; and when it came to his turn, as Victor expresses it, his legs were bound tight with cords—a torture which was long continued, and often repeated. They also beat and cut his forehead, on which was marked the sign of the cross—an African custom, as St. Augustine often tells us;² the holy man looking up to heaven all the time. The cords burst, but the executioners brought others of hemp, and much stronger. They too burst, the victim only invoking the name of Christ. They then suspended him, head downwards, by one foot; but he looked to the spectators like one reclining on a bed of down. Theodoric then ordered him to be beheaded, but he was dissuaded by his priest, Jocundus. Lest he should be honoured as a martyr, he counselled some slower process. He was then banished to the province of Byzacene, to dig trenches; but, for his greater humiliation, he was afterwards brought back, and placed as a cowherd near Carthage. In this occupation he at last felt his end approaching, and sent for his friend Felix, procurator of the prince's household, and a good Christian. He told him that his hour was at hand, and pointed out the spot where he wished to be buried. 'No,' said Felix; 'you shall be buried with honour in one of the basilicas'—a thought savouring more of zeal than of prudence—for Genseric had strictly forbidden all Catholic burial rites. But Armogastes replied: 'By the faith which we both hold, and as you shall answer to God, bury me here.' A few days later the holy confessor died, and while digging the grave Felix came upon a marble sarcophagus fit for a king. His name occurs in the Roman Martyrology, March 29.

Saturus, procurator in the house of Hunneric, the King's eldest son, was summoned to choose between Arianism and all he held dear in this world. Riches and honours were to reward his compliance; loss of position, substance, home,

¹ i. 4.

² *Serm.* xxvii., &c.

and family was to be the penalty of his refusal ; and, to crown all, his wife was to be made the spouse of a camel-driver before his face. He did not hesitate a moment, but told them to do quickly what they had to do. His wife was then brought upon the scene. She found him alone in prayer. Her garments rent, her hair dishevelled, surrounded by her children, and an infant in her arms, she embraced his knees, and filled the whole place with her lamentations. 'O my beloved husband,' she cried, 'have pity on me, have pity on these children, have pity on yourself. Comply with this order, and God will see that you only do by compulsion what others have done, perhaps, willingly.' But he answered her in the words of Job : 'Thou hast spoken like one of the foolish women.'¹ My spouse, you have made yourself the emissary of Satan, as if there was no other life but this. I hold fast to the promise of my Lord : if anyone will not renounce wife and children,' &c. 'They then deprived him of everything ; but his baptismal robe they could not take away,' says Victor.

Archinimus² was one of those on whose perversion Genseric had set his heart. He even stooped to exert all his personal influence, lavishing on him caresses and promises. But it was all in vain ; and then, without further ceremony, he sent him to the scaffold, with this satanic order to the executioner, that, if he yielded at the last moment, his head was to be struck off ; if he held firm, he was to be brought back alive. He did hold firm ; and, says Victor, 'although cheated of the glory of martyrdom, that of confessor could not be taken from him.' Even Gibbon cannot plead ignorance in this case for Genseric, who was himself an apostate.

To understand the following pathetic story³ we must remember that the southern borderers of Roman Africa, from Tripoly to the Atlantic Ocean, were the pagan Moors and Gestulians. These, from the very first, Genseric adopted as allies, and left them undisturbed in their vast territories. Hence, during the whole Vandal period, one of the

¹ ii. 10.² i. 15.³ i. 10.

most ordinary punishments inflicted on bishops, priests, nobles, &c., was to be sent as slaves to the Moors.

A Vandal millenarian (captain of a thousand) had among his slaves four brothers and a consecrated virgin named Maxima, young, beautiful, and intelligent, and mistress over the entire household. The brothers were ordinary Christians; but from the moment they came under the influence of Maxima they advanced constantly in fervour. The Vandal discovered this by a series of occurrences too long to mention here, and ordered them all to join his sect. They refused, and were subjected to various tortures. Again and again they refused, and were again and again flogged almost to death. They were then cast into prison, manacled, and racked before a great multitude. A curse fell upon the Vandal; his cattle died, his children died, and at last he died himself, leaving only a desolate widow, who gave these slaves to one Sesacni, a cousin of the King, who at once ordered him to continue the persecution; until at last ashamed of his failure with Maxima, he ordered her to be dismissed as an incorrigible. The four brothers he ordered to be given to Capsur, a Moorish chief of an oasis called Caprapicta. By word and example they converted Capsur and his people, built a church, and sent a great distance (*ad civitatem Romanam*) to the nearest bishop for a priest to baptize them, and live among them. When all this came to the ears of Genseric, his rage knew no bounds. He ordered the four brothers to be seized, bound, fastened to the tail of a cart, and dragged by wild horses over briers and thorns, and rocks; and in this way they were crowned with a glorious martyrdom. Miracles were wrought at their tomb, and their names are found in the Roman Martyrology on the 16th October. Maxima was still alive when Victor wrote, and abbess of a large monastery.

When about to give these details, Victor says: 'If, as everyone knows, martyrs were then numerous, confessors were more numerous still.'¹ Gibbon, unable to deny or conceal the facts, is not ashamed² to offer excuses for all this

savagery ; and certainly some of his excuses are a curiosity. Genseric, he says, was an apostate, and could expect no favour from the Catholics ; the Catholics exasperated him by their constancy ; the Arian clergy were few and ignorant, and no match for a clergy so numerous and learned as their adversaries ; the Catholics refused to proclaim the principle that truth and error had equal rights. He also insinuates that Genseric dreaded a Catholic rising, and actually asserts¹ that there was such a rising, but takes care to give neither date nor reference. There is no record of such a rising, and Genseric had no such fear ; he knew that his Catholic subjects were an unwarlike race, and were completely unarmed, as they had always been, even under the Romans. His fears were of a very different kind : he feared the Emperors whose territories he raided in his annual piratical expeditions ; he feared the constant risings and incursions of the Moors ; but above all, he feared the conspiracies of his own people, many of whom despised him as a base-born usurper, while others hated him as the murderer of the legitimate heirs. Gibbon admits in this very chapter, that during his reign more Vandal blood was shed on the scaffold than on the field of battle.

A word now about the respites already alluded to, and which were very short and few. In 439, the Primate arrived at Naples in his rotten ship, and had to remain in exile until his death, in 452. In 454, Genseric, at the request of Valentinian, allowed the churches of Carthage to be reopened and a bishop consecrated ; this bishop was Deogratias, who lived only three years, and was almost entirely occupied in alleviating the miseries occasioned by Genseric's sack of Rome, in 455. We shall allow Victor to describe this in his own words² :—

Were I to attempt a full account of the wonders wrought by God through this holy bishop, words would fail me. For, after his ordination, Rome, that most noble and famous city, was taken by Genseric, and, on his return to Carthage, the multitude of captives was divided as usual among the Moors and Vandals,

¹ Ch. xxxiii.

² i. 8.

husbands being separated from their wives, parents from their children. At once the man of God sold the gold and silver vessels to redeem the captives and restore the husbands to their wives, the children to their parents. And, as no other place could shelter such a multitude, he gave up to them two great churches which he filled with beds and litter, attending daily to the distribution of food &c. And as most of them had suffered from the sea, to which they were unaccustomed, and from the hardships of captivity, there was much sickness among them. The holy bishop attended to them like a tender nurse, went the rounds with the physicians, and saw himself that each was supplied with the nourishment he needed. Nor did he cease from this work of mercy during the night, but went round the beds asking each one how he felt; and this he did without a thought of rest for his weary limbs or his decrepit old age. The Arians were so enraged that some of them plotted against his life; and it is my belief that the Lord called him away so soon only to save his poor sparrow from the hawks. The grief of these poor captives at his death was so great that they felt as if they had been delivered up again to the barbarians. He spent three years in the ministry, and such was the veneration of the people that he had to be buried privately, during the usual prayers, lest they should tear his body in pieces.

His name occurs in the Roman Martyrology on the 22nd of March.

On the death of this bishop the churches of Carthage were again closed and the clergy banished; a special decree was also issued against any attempt to ordain a bishop within the Province of Carthage, usually called *Proconsularis*, and sometimes *Zeugitana*.¹ The next and last respite in Genseric's reign was in 475, when Severus, the ambassador of the Emperor Zeno, obtained the reopening of the churches of Carthage and the return of the clergy.² We do not find any mitigations of the penal laws obtained for the rest of the country during Genseric's reign. He died in January, 477.

We can now form a tolerably clear idea of Genseric's persecution. His plan was to exterminate the clergy and the gentry, and then make what he liked of the common people. This plan succeeded against the gentry, who had only the chance of becoming tenants under exorbitant rents on the worst lands of their former estates, or emigrating to other countries, or being sold into slavery; both the Eastern

and Western empires were crowded with these illustrious exiles. His plan succeeded with the clergy, too, as far as their property, movable and immovable, was concerned ; but in every other respect it was one of the most signal failures recorded in history. Looking at the means employed, anyone would expect to see the African Church completely extinguished ; but, on the contrary, it never before was so illustrious, not even in St. Augustine's time.¹ Having already endeavoured to describe the moral and religious state of Africa at the arrival of the Vandals, I can only say now that it was immeasurably better at the death of Genseric. The proof of this will be more clearly seen at the end of the whole Vandal persecution which has still half a century to run.

How did all this happen ? Well, in the first place, as Liron one of Victor's commentators, remarks, not a single bishop—there were nearly five hundred—deserted his post unless dragged away by violence. Ordinations were forbidden, but the sees were never left vacant,² except in Carthage and its immediate neighbourhood, where the King and his satellites were ever on the watch. Even at Carthage there were always priests to attend to the wants of the faithful. Victor himself lived there all through Genseric's persecution, as Liron clearly proves. In the next place, as Victor tells us,³ 'the people of God held firmly to their faith, and even grew stronger and stronger in it, fulfilling these words' "the more they were oppressed, the more were they multiplied and strengthened." Finally, and above all the rest, extraordinary graces and supernatural favours were freely lavished on these faithful Christians.

Nor must we omit the human means which, in the providence of God, contributed to Genseric's discomfiture.

1. During the first twenty years of Genseric's rule, the western half of the country was subject to the Empire, and was thus able in various ways to help the persecuted Christians in the east.

¹ *Life of St. Augustine*, chap. xvi.

² This was clearly verified in 484, when King Huneric obtained a complete list of the Bishops by pretended clemency and most heartless fraud.

³ i. 7.

⁴ Exod. i. 12.

2. North Africa is entirely mountainous, except a narrow strip on the coast. In the very worst times there were convents and monasteries in these mountains, and, of course, individual bishops and priests could escape notice still more easily.

3. The eastern provinces, where the Vandals chiefly resided, were so very populous, that their presence was hardly perceptible in the daily life of the people. In the other provinces, the only Vandal to be met with, outside the towns, at any time was the new landlord, and, at stated times, the king's tax-gatherer.

4. The extent of the complete kingdom was immense, 1,500 miles from east to west ; and the Vandals were never more than some thousands among millions.¹

5. During his whole life Genseric had many other troubles to attend to beside the persecution of the Catholics.

Victor mentions no apostates in this reign, but it is hard to think there were none. He mentions² spies and informers, and these must have been apostates, for they penetrated into the religious assemblies of the faithful and if the preacher happened to mention such names as Pharaon, Holofernes, &c., he was denounced as having alluded to the king, hunted down by Genseric's satellites, and sent at once into exile or sold into slavery. Victor gives a list of bishops who were seized in this way, among them one named Crescens who was Metropolitan over one hundred and twenty bishops. Ruinart remarks in a note that this word *Metropolitan* was unusual in Africa. Besides the Bishop of Carthage, who

¹ The Vandals were not a numerous race; Salvian (*De Gubernatione Dei*, i. 7.), thinks they were the least of all the barbarian races of the time. Yet, by the mere terror of their name, they made the greatest conquests of all. Genseric ruled over Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, Minorca, and Sicily, which Odoacer held from him as vassal. He had a strong piratical fleet, manned by Moors and desperados of all nations, with which he ravaged annually the coasts of the Mediterranean, bringing back to Carthage slaves and treasure. Like our own Cromwell, he prostituted religion to his designs: when once asked by the pilot, on leaving Carthage, whither he was to steer this time, he answered, *to those with whom God is angry*. But, as Gibbon remarks, he took good care to direct him afterwards to the place which he knew from his spies to be richest in treasure and weakest in protecting force. On land he had always a Bible carried before his standard.

² i. 7.

was Primate of all Africa and also local Primate of Proconsularis, there were five other provincial primates called *Primas*, or *Senex* from the fact that they succeeded by seniority; they had power to ordain the bishops of their province. Victor thus concludes the first book: 'Here ends our persecution under Genseric; so cruel, yet so sublime.'

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

THE 'MULS' AND THE 'GILS': SOME IRISH SURNAMES

III.

ONE of the most striking characteristics of the Irish race has always been a great veneration and affection for those consecrated to the service of religion. As far as we can gather from the native literature, the Druids seem to have held a strong position in the popular favour, even though they spoke of the world beyond with no very certain voice. Celtic Paganism had lost all definiteness of teaching at the time St. Patrick came to Ireland, and the strong contrast between the vague, cheerless generalities of Druidic tradition, and the definite and consoling assurances of the Christian faith was, no doubt, one of the reasons of the wonderfully rapid conversion of Ireland. We are not to be surprised, therefore, that the early Christian teachers who with St. Patrick, or after him, taught the new faith, should hold a warm place in the hearts of the nation. We speak now of but one indication of this, connected with our present subject. It was very usual in early Christian Ireland, in speaking of the early missionaries, to add to the names of many of them the endearing diminutive terminations -án or -óc (modern óg).¹ Thus, St. Columcille is often found with

¹ There is a curious and somewhat analogous usage in English in such expletive phrases as 'by'r lakin' = by our Lady-kin (Shakespeare), 'ods bodkins' = by God's body-kins, and some others which I have not seen in print, though they exist in our Anglo-Irish dialect, such as 'upon me soukins' (*aliter*) 'sukkins' = my soul-kins, and similarly 'fekkins' = faith-kins. These last examples are from Meath; the -kin, -kins, is the diminutive termination as in mannikin.

the name Colmóc; hence Staholmock, or 'house of little Colm.' The Isle of Rona, north of the Hebrides, takes its name from St. Rona, who is also called Ronán and Ronóc (modern Ronóg). The -án form was easily Latinised, and so we usually find these names ending in Latin in *-anus*, and in English (after the Latin) ending in *-an*, as Ronan, Colman, Aidan. There was also the still more curious practice of prefixing to the names the endearing particle *mo*, *my*; thus 'the church of (St.) Rona' is the translation of the name of a ruin at the east end of Loch Lomond; the name itself is Kil-ma-ron-og, 'Church of my little Rona.' It is the same Rona (venerated at Iona and elsewhere on February 7th) that Walter Scott alludes to when he speaks of

A vot'ress in Maronnan's cell

—*mo-ron-án*, my little Rona.

Some of our Irish saints have had their names much disguised, like that of Rona in the line just quoted; such as St. Molua, really *moLua*, or my Lua, possibly one of those from whom *Cill-dá-Lua* or Killaloe (Church of the two Luas) takes its well-known name, just as Timoleague stands for *Tigh-mo-Laga*, house of 'my Laga,' usually called St. Molaga. The patron saint of Kinsale, in English called Multose, is in Gaelic² *mo-Elte-og*, my little Elte, a pupil of St. Barre of Cork. Portmarnock, Kilmarnock, Inchmarnock, contain another well-disguised name, for those places are the 'landing-place,' 'cell,' and 'island,' respectively, of *m' Ern-óc*, my little Erna, the same St. Erna who was with Columba in Clonmacnoise. He is, perhaps, better known by the other diminutive form of his name, Ernan. Hence comes the surnames MacAlearney, MacLerney, MacLarney, Millarney (= *o' Maoil-Erna*, if not merely a rapid pronunciation of MacLarney), MacAlernon, MacLernon, MacClernand, MacLorinan; all meaning d.s. of St. Ernan, whose feast day is August 18th.

We may take it that a name of this class was the origin of the Latin Columbanus, the Irish Colman being a very

² So I am informed by Father Lyons, P.P., Kilmichael.

common name at all times, and used to the present day.¹ Several of these names are given in a quatrain quoted in the old *Martyrology of Donegal*:—

Mo-Lua ba hanamchara do Dabid
Dar muir modh-mall,
Is dom Aedhog, is dom Chaemog,
Is do Chomgall.

‘My-Lua was soul-friend (=spiritual director) to David over the slow-rolling sea (*i.e.*, in Wales), and to my-little-Aedh, and to my-little-Caem (Kevin), and to Congal.’

This quatrain refers to the time when there was constant and friendly communication between the schools and churches of Ireland and the Welsh and English coasts, when Welsh students came to study in the Irish colleges, and brought back with them to Wales many Irish traditions that can still be recognised in Welsh literature. This was the time when Alfred, a student in Ireland, laid the foundations of that love for learning which afterwards caused him to solicit the aid of his former Irish professors in founding the first University of Oxford. The quatrain also contains the name of one of our saints, a name disguised more effectually than any other, that of St. Aedh, if we may venture to call him so. Aedh is really his name. It is one of the commonest Irish names, and is now represented in English by Hugh, a name with which it has no connection whatever. The saint, however, is never known by his mere name Aedh, but is called either *Aedhán*, little Aedh, or m’Aedh-óg (pronounced mayogue), literally ‘my little Aedh.’ The former form is in English Aidan, the latter Mogue. The saint is generally known by the name Aidan, and is the patron of the diocese of Ferns, in which Aidan and Mogue are both used as baptismal names. In a sense, Aidan and Mogue are the same name; they mean practically the same thing, although

¹ It is curious to note how at present people called in Gaelic Colum are named Colman in English. The name Colman in this place calls to mind the theory—which has the merit of novelty at least—that the name Columbanus, derived from an Irish Colman, gave rise to a South-European family name Colombo or Columbus, one of which family discovered a new world, known later as Columbia. Perhaps it is needless to add that the author of the theory hails from the country in question,

differing so very much in appearance. The records of the Registrar-General in Dublin bear witness to the fact that many people called Mogue, in familiar and ordinary life, insist on writing themselves down as Moses. But do not both words begin with Mo-? and is not that sufficient reason for getting rid of an old Irish name, in times when Anglicization is fashionable—although this particular case is rather one of Judaization?

St. Aidan, or Mogue, was much honoured in early Ireland and Scotland. In the latter country he is found venerated at Kilmaddock, in Perthshire, and his name in the form Maddock (Scott refers to him as St. Maddox) is familiar to students of Scottish archæology. As we might expect 'servant of Mogue' was a popular name; we read of one who was 'Abbot of Armagh' in 1136. This was the friend of St. Bernard, whose Gaelic name Mael-mhaodhog, or servant of Mogue, is Latinised Malachy (O'Morgair). The surname directly descended from this name is rarely met with now-a-days in its proper form, Mullavogue or Mullawogue, most bearers of the name having taken the name Molloy, as less jarring on English ears. This also accounts for the fact that in Donegal, at least around Killybegs and Glencolumcille (so far as I can learn from Mr. J. C. Ward and Mr. Patrick O'Byrne) the English name Mulloy is used by families called in Gaelic O'Ludhōg, the usual English of which is Logue. Evidently this Gaelic name is but part of the full O'Maolmhaodhog, d.s. of Aidan, just as Lally is but a shortened form of Mulally. O'Ludhog represents fairly well the Ulster sound of the Gaelic name, after the *mao* of the prefix has been dropped. In Westmeath the Leinster pronunciation of the same ending is well represented by the local surname Leeogue, which, like Logue, also means d.s. of Aidan.¹ So that the primatial see of Armagh, adorned centuries ago by a 'servant of Aidan,' is once more filled by an eminent inheritor of the same

¹ What then accounts for the other Gaelic form of Logue, O'Loig? I believe it is a recent formation taken from the English form itself. A real Gaelic name would not end in -oig, even in the genitive, as the -óg termination, in such names as Maedhog, was invariable in all cases,

title. The Gil- form with the same meaning is MacGiolla Mhaodhog, now MacElvogue. Boolevogue also seems to have taken its name from the saint.

One of the great Irish school-founders was St. Carthage, who first conducted the great school of Rahan, and afterwards, when obliged to abandon Rahan, founded Lismore. This saint has two names; in Gaelic he is usually called Mochuda and his English name, borrowed from the Latin form Carthagus,¹ is founded on his other Gaelic name, Carthach. Mochuda (= mo-Chuda = my Cuda) may have been his personal name, and Carthach, or Carthy, the name of his clan. Hence the surname MacGillicuddy, d.s. of St. Mochuda. Other forms are MacElcuddy, MacElhuddy (Huddy ?), and, apparently, MacElligott.

Another name with the diminutive terminations -án and -óg is that of St. Fintan; at least it seems to me that the surnames MacAlinden, McClinton, McClintock, are Mac-Fialla-Fhionntáin, Fhionntóg,¹ d.s. of Fintan. Fintan is one of the few ancient names still in use as a baptismal name.

St. Fintan is one of the many saints who, like Columba, Fillan, Erna, Mogue, were venerated in both Scotland and Ireland. There were many bonds of union between Ireland and the highlands; the people were of the same race, they spoke the same language; had the same traditional literature; for ages they professed the same faith, and venerated the same patrons, Patrick, Brigid, and Columba, being the chief in both countries. And, although, for many centuries there has been no active intercourse between the Gaels of Scotland and those of Ireland, and although the two countries have been influenced in very different ways, still we find many traces of old times in the language and customs of Scotland. The Scotch-Gaelic forms of the surnames are the same as ours, except that they write MacIlle phonetically, instead of MacGiolla. In some localities of Ireland a *ciolla* would be the phonetic form, as

¹ Not Carthage, although I have heard *et intercedente beato Carthagine* sung at a solemn function.

² Professor MacKinnon writes the name Mac Ille Fhionntaig. In Irish-Gaelic we do not change the *óc, óg*, termination.

a *ciolla-mhaire*, Gilmor. This Gaelic name is used in the Highlands and is often translated Morrison. The Scotch have few Mul names, MacMillan, Mellis (for Maelisa, according to Mr. Flannery), and Maolmoire, servant of Mary, which we shorten too much, to Maoilre. One name is curiously misspelled by our Highland cousins: MacIlleathan, properly Mac Ille Eain, our Mac Giolla Eoin, d.s. of St. John.

There is at least one Highland saint who has left his memory in two surnames, St. Cattán of Kilchattan—there are three places of the name, in Argyle, Bute, and Colonsay—as recalled by the surnames Mulhatton and MacElhatton, d.s. of St. Cattán. The saint was probably one of the Clann Chattan of Caithness, of whom Scott writes in the *Fair Maid of Perth*. The adjectival form Cattánach is used as a surname in Scotland.

Here we may give a few names omitted from the first part of this paper. St. Senach has left us MacElhenney, McAlinney, Gilheany, McIlhaney, McEllany. MacElkenny, another form of Kilkenny, already given. Maelmochta, client of St. Mochta, of Louth, is now represented by Moughty, a rare name (Westmeath); Kilcullen, like the place-name similarly spelled, indicate a St. Cullen, there is one of the name in O'Gorman—MacIlhargy seems to be d.s. of St. Forga, of Killargy or Killargue; and the Antrim MacIlhagga is either the same name or a form of MacIlharry already mentioned. Mulvennon, at first sight, would seem to be d.s. of St. Benen or Benignus, one of St. Patrick's converts, and afterwards his constant companion; but I am told that in Galway the form Mulvrennan is heard: in that case the meaning is d.s. of St. Brendan. As we have seen, Mulrennin is another form, and still another is Mulreany. This last form is misleading, although it is now, perhaps, the form in most general use in English, the Gaelic form used by the same persons being O'Maoilréanail (for -réanain).¹

We cannot always translate the Mul prefix by the same English word. When it is followed by a saint's name,

¹ Compare Dingle from Gaelic Daingean, and Bandanil for Baldwin in Finghin O'Mahony's 15th century translation of *Manndeville*.

'servant of' or 'client of' is a good translation; but there are some names in which 'one who loves,' 'one zealous for or anxious for' will better represent the meaning. Such a name was *Maeldomhnaigh*, 'one who loves the church,'¹ giving our modern surnames Muldowney, Muldowney, Moloney, and similarly MacEldowney, Gildowney, Downey, all meaning 'descendant of one who loves the church.' Compare Colum Cille, 'Colum who loves the church, cell,' and the obsolete *Maeldithraibh*, 'one who loves the hermitage.' There were many beautiful names of this class in ancient Erin, such as *Maelaithgin*, 'one anxious for regeneration,' *Maelbeannachta*, 'one anxious for blessings,' *Maelbeatha*, 'one anxious for (eternal) life.' This last name is given as the proper title of Shakespeare's Macbeth, whose more familiar name is equivalent to 'son of life,' a usual phrase for a converted person, believer. There was also *mac báis*, 'son of death,' a reprobate. Macbeth is still in use as a surname, with the alternative for us, McBeith, McAbee, MacVeigh, McAvay. *Maeldeoraidh*, 'servant of the stranger, pilgrim,' is the original of Muldarry, Mulderry; we have also MacIlderry. Gillespie is servant of the bishop. Used as a Christian name, it is translated Archibald, in Scotland. *Maeltola*, 'one devoted to the will (of God),' was a common name, and perhaps some who now bear the name Tully may be descended from an ancestor of this title.

Here end the surnames connected with religion, with the exception of those about which there is more or less doubt, and which we discuss further on.

IV.

We turn now to another class of names in Mul and Gil. In this class there are two groups; Molloy and Mulconry will serve as types, with forms in Gil to correspond. In the Molloy group the prefix is followed by an adjective or its equivalent; in the Mulconry group the second element is a proper name.

¹ *Domhnach*, church, from Latin *dominica* (domus), also means a shrine. Also means Sunday, *dominica* (dies). *Maoldonaich* is yet used in Scotland as a Christian name, and for some reason unknown to me is translated Ludovic.

Molloy (Mulloy, Milloy, Meloy—all these forms are met with, the last two, at least, in the United States) is a type of the oldest surnames in Mul. Most of the names of this class have disappeared within English-speaking times. Here the Mul prefix has its original meaning of hero, chieftain; thus *mael-muaidh*, noble chieftain, gave the surname *O'Maoil-mhuaidh*, O'Molloy, d.s. of the noble chieftain. Compare the name of the river Moy, 'the noble' river.

Mael-fábhaill was an old Gaelic name, meaning apparently 'one fond of travel,' from *fabhall*, journey. It seems that the name used to be duplicated *Mulfavill*, and the form *Mulavill* is yet used about Gort. But in most of Galway and Mayo, where the name is quite common, the last two syllables are so manipulated as to produce the French-looking name *Lavelle*. Probably some persons educated in France, and ignorant of the true origin of the name, gave the lead in the use of this form. There is on record an instance where a priest, in the course of a few years, caused the disappearance upon a whole district of an old Gaelic name by always substituting a more modern name for the old ones when proposed at the baptism of children. Let us see now if something can be done to re-introduce the old names, *Colum*, *Ita*, *Finian*, and the like, in the districts specially connected with their names.

Mullanphey, *Melanophy* is a name more generally known in the United States, owing to the great *Mullanphey Hospital* of Saint Louis, than at home in Ireland. We find the name occurring in *Tyrconnell*, early in the seventh century, *Mael-anfaidh*, chief of the tempest, or tempestuous person. Compare the surname *Mulgeehy*, also from *Donegal*, chief of storm, stormy person. It seems that some families have abandoned the name for that of *Magee*—thus the old name gradually disappears,¹ and there are cases where it has been translated by *Wynne*, *Mael-gaoithe*: *gaoth*=wind=*win*' in Anglo-Irish = *Wynne*. In these names we see how the Mul

¹ Immigrants of the last century to New England bore the old forms of these names, and then, living among a Puritan population, landed on the Irish surname to some descendant with an old Testament-given name; thus I find an article by one "Micaja McGehee," in the 1891 volume of the *Century Magazine*.

prefix gradually loses its original meaning of 'chief, hero,' for the less uncommon one of 'person,' 'man of,' the same meaning that we find attaching to the Gil prefix in MacElhoney, McIlhune, MacIlhone, MacElhone, MacAloney all for—*Macgiolla-O'-chonnaidh*, the man of the wood, fuel. Of similar import are Killemet, Killemeade, the man of the wood, timber (*adhmaid*), and MacElhoyle, MacElhill, the man of the wood, forest (*coill*). All these names are duly translated by 'Woods.' MacAlivery (and probably the Islay name MacLiver, which Professor MacKinnon tells me of), represents descendant of the man of winter (*geimhreadh*), and is accordingly translated Winters. It may thus be compared with the old Gaelic name Maelmithimh, person dedicated to June, on account of some connection with that month.

The name Mulmoghery, 'one fond of early rising,' has entirely disappeared, being replaced by the translation Early. We find many recorded examples of this name in the annals, such as a 'bursar of Clonmacnoise,' in the tenth century, and a 'lecturer at Clonard,' in the eleventh. Mac-giolla-meidhre has given us the equivalent name Merryman. Another name which has practically disappeared is O'Maoltuille (O'M. *alias* Fludd,' in the Elizabethan records quoted below), now used only near Ballinrobe in the form MacAtilla, but usually translated Flood. The Galway Gaelic form has *tuinne*, genitive of *tonn*, wave, instead of *tuille*, and perhaps this is the origin of the surname Tunney. It is probable, indeed it is positively stated by some families, that some of the present Tullys are in reality Multullys. It is not unlikely, also, that O'Maoltuille in many, or possibly in all cases, represents the old common name *Maeltola*, or *Maeltoile*, 'one zealous for the will (of God),' people having substituted the better-known word *tuille*, flood, tide, for the genitive of *toil*, will. Another instance of substitution is offered by the history of the old Gaelic name Maelmór, great hero, often translated Malmore. Religious influences caused this name to give

way to *Maelmuire*, servant of Mary, translated Mulmorie in Elizabethan records, and in later times represented by Meyler. Later Norman influences introduced the present translation Miles.

Our next names are those in which the Mul or Gil prefix is followed by a proper name, such as Mul-conry, Mul-ryan. If a man attached himself to the service of another, he would naturally be called 'follower of' that other, and this is expressed by the prefix; Mulconry Mulryan, therefore, meant 'follower of Curio' (genitive Conroi) 'follower of Ryan.' So that from some mediæval personal names we have, not only surnames in O and Mac, but others in O'Mul and Machl. Mulrine is another spelling of Mulryan; and some families, now known as O'Ryan, Ryan, are really Mulryans, and are so called in Irish.

Mulready, Murready, Mulreed come from the same original Riada as the names Macready (= MacRiada), Ready. Mulrooney, Marooney, Moroney are descendant of the follower of some Ruanaoh, or Rooney, whose own name meant 'hero.' Mulcahy is des. of foll. of Cathach, whose name means 'the warlike.' From some one of the name the island of Iniscathaigh or Inniscattery is called. 'Follower of Miadhach (the honourable one)' is the translation of Mulvey. Mulcreavy seems to be *Maol-mhic-Riabhaigh*, follower of MacCreavy, M'Greavy, a name equivalent to 'descendant or the gray man.' Mulcreavy is sometimes translated by Rice, possibly because the two names, Rice and Riabhach, begin with the same syllable! Kilcawley, Gilkawley, is apparently *Giolla-mhic-Amhlaibh*, follower of MacAuliffe, Kilgannon, follower of Geanán or Gannon, a familiar name. Mulcrowney, a rare name, stands for Maol-congamhna, contracted to *Maol-c'n'amhna*. Mac-Congamhna, is the present Mayo Gaelic form of the old tribe-name of the Cinél Cinngamhna. The name is now 'translated' by Caulfield; this translation resulting from a curious and characteristic popular equation: Caulfield = Calf-head = Cinngamhna! Thus English names find a footing. So, Lestrangle is regarded by the few people who speak Irish in County Meath, as a translation of Coffey (as if from

coimhthidheach, a stranger). Mulcrowney is also connected with the name of the present writer, and has for him, at least, a special interest.¹

Mulroy, Kilroy, MacElroy are types of another class of names, in which the prefix is followed by an adjective, usually one denoting the colour of the hair. In such names we may take *Mul* to represent the Gaelic *maol*, skull, a noun from *maol*, bald.²

It would matter little what the origin of the *Mul* prefix is in these names, as *Mulroy* would be either 'descendant of red-skull,' or 'descendant of the red (haired) individual;' the idea conveyed is much the same. There is no difficulty about the *Gil* prefix; here, as before, it means 'person,' or, as our philological friends are fond of translating it, 'wight, 'carle.'

The surnames can be most easily classified after the adjectives from which they are derived. Thus *Dubh*, black, gives *Maliffe*, *MacElduff*, *Kilduff*—descendant of black-haired person. *Bán*, white-haired, gives *MacIlwaine*, *Gilbane*, *Gillivan*. *Mulvane* I have met once with the very unIrish prænomen *Phineas*—the bearer was evidently a descendant of an early immigrant among the Puritans of New England. *Ruadh*, red-haired, gives *Mulroy*, *Milroy*, *Mulroe*, *MacElroy*, *Kilroy*, *Gilroy*, *MacElroe*, all meaning descendants of a red-haired person.

¹ Relatives of mine, of the last generation, used, in writing only, the name *Gaffney*, as if their usual name was but a form of *O'Gomhna* or *MacGamhna*. This tradition leaves the *r* unexplained. On the other hand, an old Irish-speaking neighbour of ours insisted that the name was 'the Irish of, Caulfield,' a statement I could not understand until recently. The original is *Mac-Congamhna*, shortened to *MacC'n'amhna*, *Magramhna*. Compare the colloquial Gaelic *O'Connach* for *MacDonough*.

² It is the theory of some that this word *maol* is the original form of the *Mul* prefix, not only in this class of names, but wherever the prefix is followed by the name of a person or thing connected with religion, the word passing from its natural sense of 'bald' to mean 'tonsured,' and then coming to mean 'a cleric,' 'priest,' 'one consecrated to,' 'one devoted to.' Others regard the *Mul* prefix, except in the class of names we are about to consider, as *mael*, in its various senses from 'hero' to 'slave.' Hence we find *Maelthain O'Carrol*, the *anmchara*, soul-friend or director of *Brian Boru*, rendering his name in Latin by *Calvus perennis*, while a distinguished French Celtologue translates it '*esclave de l'Eternel*.' It seems to me that the first translation is too literal to be intelligible; taking the name as one given for religious motives the meaning seems to be 'constant client or votary,' or, better still, 'a priest for ever.'

There is also the Mulroy Bay in Donegal, taking its name from St. Maelrabha, from whom is called also Loch Maree in the north of Scotland. I have noticed a surname Maree in Mayo, and it also may be from Maelrubha, who was greatly honoured in early Christian times. He is mentioned by the Four Masters, under date of 671, as 'Abbot of Bangor in Ulster, and of Abercrossan in Alba.'

From *buidhe*, yellow, come MacElwee, Kilboy, MacEvoy *Odhar*, dun-coloured, gives us MacAleer, MacLear, MacAlery. *Crón*, brown, *liath*, grey, and *lachtna*, greyish or drab, give Mulchrone (Mayo), Killilea, and Mulloughney, unless this last is d.s. of St. Fachtna, patron of Ross, as it may well be, for all the guidance the sound gives.

Riabhach means literally striped, brindled, but is used for 'iron-grey.' It gives Mulreavy, Milreavy, Mulleavy, Leavy, MacGillreavy, and probably MacAleavey, descendants of the grey-haired man. *Maol*, bald, gives MacElmoyle, MacElmeel, MacMeel. Kildunn (Mayo) is from *down*, brown-haired. Mulgrew, Magrew, and probably Kilgarriff, certainly come from *garbh*, coarse, as MacElveen, descendant of the smooth or sly person, is from *mín*, smooth. Kilgar, Gilgar, a Donegal name, is from *gearr*, short.

The great majority of our Whites, Blacks, Grays, &c., belong to this class, the English names being translated from the Irish. In 1465, by an Act of Edward IV. of England, it was decreed 'that every Irishman . . . in the County of Dublin, Meath, Uriell, and Kildare . . . shall take to him an English surname of one town . . . or colour, white, blacke, browne . . .!' And even at the present day, according to the records of the Registrar-General, there are instances of families having two surnames, one the English, and the other the Irish word for the same colour. Thus, according to the records of the Registrar's office, there are families that go by the two names of Gormley and Bloomer (*gorm* = blue); others that have the two names, M'Glashan and Green (*glas* = green); others again are called both Colreavy and Gray (*riabhach*, gray). The word *maol*, bald, gives the noun *maolán*, a bald head. From this come MacMullan, MacMillan, also O'Mullen,

Moylan. The Mulligans, Milligans, are descendants of a person whose name, *maolagán*, means simply little bald man. *O'Maolagáin* is represented in parts of Donegal at least by 'Molyneux.'

McGillan, Gillan, Gilligan, Gilgan, MacElligon (U.S.), are all from the diminutives of *giolla*, and mean descendant of the little fellow.

The prefix MacGiolla, as used in the various classes of names which we have reviewed, is often used by itself as a surname, just as Mack is used as the surname of some families, the name of the ancestor having fallen off. MacGiolla thus used is represented in English by McGill, Magill, Gill, and Mackle.

V.

Up to this point we have been discussing surnames, the explanation of which may be regarded as fairly certain; but we cannot be surprised to find that there are other names about the meaning of which there is more or less doubt. The study of the native annals, and of the literature generally, will probably bring to light the original forms of these names; for the modern English spelling is often not only not a help in that direction, but is positively misleading. Then, again, we are not always able to translate the original name, even when we have it before us, as the study of ancient Irish has not yet ascertained the meaning of all old words. I shall, at least, endeavour to classify the names which I cannot explain. To summarize all that has been said up to this, the surnames fall into the following classes:—

1. Those in which the prefix is followed by the name of a person or thing connected with religion—typical names are Malone, Mallowney, Maglone, and MacEldowney.

2. Those in which Mul has its various stages of meaning, from 'hero, chief,' as in Molloy, down to 'person'—with Gil also meaning 'person,' as in MacElhill.

3. Those like Mulconry, Mulryan, Kilgannon, in which the second element is a personal name, and the prefixes mean 'follower of.'

4. Those like Mulroy, Kilroy, MacElroy, where the prefixes are followed by an adjective describing personal appearance.

5. Diminutives like Mulligan, Gilligan.

Mulloughney (Class 1 or 4) is a Tipperary name. The Registrar's report gives it as a synonym of Moloney; but this is surely wrong, as the *gh* represents, I take it, a guttural sound. It is probably *mael-lachtna*, grey-headed person, or *mael-Fhachtna*, servant of St. Fhachtna, of Ross. Loughney seems to be a shortened form—compare Lally for Mullally. Possibly Loughrey may be but another form of the same name.

Kilcar occurs as a surname in West Mayo; it is probably d.s. of St. Gilla Carthach, from whom Kilcar, in Donegal, takes its name.

Kilrane may be descendant of the follower of Ryan (compare the spelling Mulrean, Mulrane, for Mulryan), or it may contain the name of a minor saint, such as the patron of Cill-Riain or Cill-Rioghain, Kilrane, in Donegal, or Cill-Raighne, near Kinnegad.

Mulhall is probably *O'Maoilfhabhaill*, 'descendant of the traveller,' a name already mentioned. 'Descendant of the follower of Cahill' is a less likely interpretation, as the form Mulcahill would, I think, have been preserved had this been the meaning.

Mulleady, Meleady, Meledy, are forms of frequent occurrence. Can we see in this a name of the first class, *O'Maoil-Ida*, d.s. of St. Ita (of Limerick—compare Killeedy), Cill-Ida, Church of Ita? I am afraid this interpretation is not well authorized, and that we must see in these names the modern representatives of the annalists.

Mael-éitigh, exactly equivalent to *Cinnéitigh*, Kennedy. The translation, 'Ugly-head,' is not very flattering; but it will be consoling to reflect that those who originally deserved these names are dead many centuries.

Mael-caere occurs in the *Four Masters*, and is now represented by Mulcaire and Wilhere (= *ui mhaoil-chaere*). The meaning is, apparently, servant of Caere (Class 3). Perhaps this Caere is the original of the present name Carr,

Kerr. The name seems to have come to us from Scotland, where the famous Cár, Cárach, are used, leading to the English Carr. Some branches of the family, however, claim the Gaelic name Ceárr, left-handed, and have a tradition, that endeavours to justify the name. This form would give Kerr in English, and is the form used in Donegal, where the Carrs are called Mac-giolla-cheárr, d.s. of the left-handed person. There is also an English MacElhair coming from this Gaelic form. The Gaelic form used about Galway is Mac-giolla-Chearra. Is the Mayo name Morcarey connected?

MacElmeel most probably belongs to Class 4, and means 'descendant of the bald person.' There is not much probability that it contains the name of St. Michael; the name formerly written MacGillmichael seems to have died out. MacMeel has lost the *l* sound of the giolla prefix—just as MacEvoy has lost it. I think we should also class here MacAdorey, MacEleavey, which seem to be *Mac-giolla-dorcha*, d.s. of the dark (featured) man, and *Mac-giolla-riabhaigh*, d.s. of the grey man. Here MacAtamney would at once suggest (as a mere conjecture, however) the analysis Mac-giolla-tSamhna, descendant of a person connected in some way with the old pre-Christian feast of Samhain,¹ the memory of which is handed down in the curious popular observances connected with Hallow-eve. The occurrence of a form MacAtimney is most favourable to this conjecture. In the United States the form MacTammany is more common.

MacElrone seems to have religious connections. The ending appears to be the same as in the name of the famous Abbot Maelruain of Tallaght; but how he obtained his name of servant of Ruan, or who (if a person at all) Ruan was, are questions I cannot answer. Another name that seems to go back to the ages of the Irish saints is the Tipperary name Mollumby, which at first sight recalls the

¹ Compare the English surnames Christmas, Pentecost, Easter, Hallowes, Spring, Summers, Winter, March, &c.

well-known inscription at Clonmacnoise: 'A prayer for Suibhne mac Maele-umai.' But how few ever heard of this venerable Gaelic saint and scholar, the thirty-fourth Abbot of Clonmacnoise, who is set down by the Irish, English, and Welsh annalists of the time as *doctor Scotorum peritissimus*—the most learned teacher of the Gael. In 891 he, with other learned Irish teachers, was called to England to advise with King Alfred, who was then busy developing the studies of the University of Oxford, founded, in 886, in imitation of the great Irish schools, where Alfred, like many another English student, had found hospitality and education. Probably the Abbot of Clonmacnoise had been one of Alfred's own teachers in his student days.

The name *Mael-uma*, if we may venture to attempt a translation, may mean 'worker in brass,' and would be an appropriate name in those days for the craftsmen who wrought such marvels of metal-work as we can see in museums. But, if this is the meaning of the name, the modern form would be O'Maoil-umha, and could not be the original of Mollumby; so perhaps we should place this surname in Class 1, and explain it as Maoil-Lomma, d.s. of St. Lomma or Lommán. A saint of the name is remembered at Portloman, on the southern shore of Lough Owel, in Westmeath; and the first Bishop of Trim bore the same name. The form Malumy, which I find in a list of Antrim names, is, therefore, nearer to the original Gaelic, if it is the same name, as it most probably is if the accent is on the middle syllable.

Mulvany, Melveney, O'Melveney (Los Angeles, California), Mulvenna, MacElvenna, MacIlvany, Gilvany—all these forms evidently mean descendant of the follower or servant of some person named Bena, Mena, or Menach, Benach; but who this person is, whether a saint or a Gaelic ancestor, is a problem. If we look upon the names as coming from an ancestral name we shall probably be right in regarding that ancestor as Maenach, from whom the O'Dooleys take their tribal name of *Clann Mhaenaich*. The names given above would then belong to Class 3, and would mean descendant of the follower of Maenach. From

a person of the same name comes the name O'Maonaigh, which is O'Mooney in the North of Ireland, and is, perhaps, the original of Meany in the South. On the other hand, can we find in these names the name of one of the Irish saints? I have seen, but where I cannot recollect, and no one that I have consulted can ascertain, the name of a Menóc, one of the 'host of the saints of Erin.' This name presupposes a simpler form, Men or Mena, and I have noticed a mention of a place called Kilvany, which might contain the name. I prefer the first interpretation; the latter, if correct, would have the advantage of explaining the names Manogue, Minogul, Minnoch, and Mannix, all meaning d.s. of St. Mena or Menóc. I hope that someone who has an opportunity of consulting suitable authorities will be able to locate the reference to St. Menóc.¹

Mulqueen, Mulkeen, Kilcoyne, are names which are like those in the previous paragraph. If they contain the name of a saint, it is probably St. Kevin, as both Mael-Caeimhghin and Gilla-Caeimhghin occur in the Index to the *Four Masters*, but they rather seem to mean descendant of the follower of Conn—a name from which came also Quinn, M'Queen, Kilgun, MacElgunn, seems to be 'follower of Gunn.' They could hardly mean 'the man with the gun.' The name MacElrath (MacIlwrath, Mucklewraith), not uncommon in Ulster, is probably *Mac-giollle-raith*, d.s. of Rath, an ancestor from whose name are derived Magrath (= MacRaith), Magraw, MacRae, and perhaps also O'Raine. One might be tempted to class it with Moloney and such names, as 'd. s. of grace,' but this is not a likely meaning. Perhaps one of the Maloney class is found in Magillivray, which may be 'one zealous for judgment day'—*Mac-giolla-brátha* represents well the pronunciation. Carmichael is another Scotch name that, at first sight, would seem to belong here; but I think that with Kirkpatrick it is to be regarded as originally a place-name, which afterwards was

¹ About Searriff, according to the Registrar's report on surnames and their synonyms, Minnogue and Mannix are regarded as the same name, the latter name being formed from the root minóg, manóg, by the addition of s, as Cairns, Burns, are formed from Kieran, Byrne.

adopted, like York, Birmingham, and others, as a family name. *Caer*-now seems to be the Welsh word for 'seat,' just as *Kirk*-is the familiar Lowland-Scotch for 'church.' Anyhow, they are both Lowland and non-Gaelic names, the Highland forms being *MacMichael* (in Gaelic *Mac-giolla-mhichil*) and *Kilpatrick*. Another Scotch name is *Maclurg*—one would like to class it with *MacIl-Largy*, but it is not very probable that a local Irish patron, as far as I know, like *Forga*, would be remembered in Scotland. *Maclehose* is another Scotch name that would seem to belong to the *Gil*-class, but I am unable to throw any light on it. It is, perhaps, like *Meiklejohn*, a Lowland name with no connection with Gaelic. *Maclure* (*M'Clure*, *MacLure*) is probably *Mac-giollá-uidhir*, d. s. of the brown-haired person, the same as our *MacAleer*.

I had finished these notes when there came into my hands a large volume of 600 pages containing an immense list of Irish surnames as they were written in Elizabethian times. It is the *Twenty-Second Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* (Dublin, 1890, price two shillings) and is full of interesting points, although it is merely an index to other publications. Very few of our surnames then existed in their present forms, as given in this 'index of Fiants;' they are much nearer to the original Gaelic forms as *McEna* for *McKenna*, and often preserve the Gaelic system of spelling. Many of the names then in full force have now disappeared, or have been much changed. *Mulmorie*, servant of *Mary*, occurs commonly.

'*O'Maeltulye*' was still in use—perhaps, indeed, it is our present name *Tully*. This index throws some light on the difficult names, *Mulooly*, *Gilooly* (*Gilhooly*, *Gilhool*, &c.). The old Gaelic *Maelguala*—which I cannot translate—seems to be the original of *Mulooly*, and the form *Gillaguala* would explain the various forms *McGilgowlye*, *Gillegooly*, *Gilleguly*, occurring in the *Fiants*. But these would not explain the form *Gilhool*, which is still in use, and which is evidently the descendant of the names *McGillehole*, *McGillechomhaill* (here the *Fiants* preserve partially the

Gaelic spelling), occurring in the Elizabethan index, and traceable to the Gaelic original meaning 'servant of St. Congal' recorded in the Annals. The Four Masters give a spelling Mac-giolla-shúiligh, descendant of the sharp-eyed person; but I fancy the worthy annalist invented this on the spur of the moment. There were, probably, two sets of names, one from the obscure *guala* (probably a personal name) quoted above, and the other from the name of St. Congal of Bangor. And it would be strange, indeed, if his name should not be put in remembrance with those of the other Irish saints. Few were more honoured in early times, says the *Book of Leinster*: 'Congal, of Bangor, in Ulster, Abbot, of the race of Trial. A man full of God's grace and love was he; one that trained and edified many other saints, in whose hearts and minds he enkindled and inflamed the unquenchable fire of God's love, as in Erin's ancient books is evident. In life and manners he resembled James the Apostle.' Such a one could not fail to have clients in early Ireland, and accordingly we find both Mael-comhghail and Gilla-comhghaill on record, servants of Congal.

From these come at least some of our present Muloolys (many of whom have adopted the more usual name Molloy) and Gilhoolys. Owing to the strange habit of throwing away family names that are any way rare, and adopting names somewhat similar and more common, it is now impossible to say what is the original Irish form of many names. Thus, we have seen in this paper, that the name Molloy has been adopted by two other families who had no right whatever to it. In the same way, which the name Malone may be usually taken to stand for d.s. of St. John (O'Maoil-Eoin), there can be little doubt that it sometimes stands for the obsolete O'Maoilbhuadhain and other names.

A few more names and we shall have done. Muldoon, a name of which we have very early record, is, of course, d.s. of Dun; but whether Dun was a person, or as it seems perhaps more probable, a place, we have no reason to decide. Here we may recall that one of the earliest of the Imrama, or voyage narratives, is that of Maeldun, which Tennyson has

rendered in verse. If Muldoon means ‘one fond of the dun or fort,’ it is of the same class as Mael-achaidh, ‘one fond of the field,’ a name on record in the annals, but now obsolete. We have, however, Kilahy and Killackey, which may be the Gil forms with the same meaning. Are Leahy, Lahy, in any way connected with this? Kilgallon, is a name on which I cannot throw any light; also Mullany, although I think O’Donovan has a reference to it somewhere in his voluminous notes. Kilcline might be analyzed as d.s. of the stooped (claon) person, but the old Elizabethan forms McGillacleyne, McGillacloyne, McGillacleyny, rather point to d.s. of knavish (cluaineach) person. But compare the Elizabethan Malacline, for Melaghlin, seemingly Mulhane is but a form of Mullen; compare Culhane and Collins both from O’Coileáin. Names ending in—ane (pronounced *aan*) abound in Cork and Kerry; the sound given to the Gaelic endin *áin*, in these names, is quite exceptional in modern Gaelic. The Gaelic equivalent of Lysaght seems to be *Macgiolla-iasachta*, d.s. of the ‘borrowed’ person! Why so called, I surely cannot tell. Cuskelly (Elizabethan McGilla cosglie) and McCluskey also appear to belong to this class; and, apparently, also McGlew, McLagan, McClatchy. The names Kilgore, Kilburn, MacIldowie, are obscure to me.

In addition to Gaelic names in Mul and Gil, there are names of foreign origin beginning in the same way; such as Mulgrave (which was the original of some of our McGrews or Mulgrews), Gilbert, Gilbreath, a form of Galbraith, Gillick seems to be an abbreviation of MacUlick, a name that occurs frequently in the Elizabethan records. The name Gilleran (Killeran) occurs in the annals, and is yet in use; the annal form is O’Gillarain (‘O’G. abbot of Trinity Church at Tuam,’ died 1256), and if the final syllable is short, as it seems to be, the name is not of the class we have been considering. It is probable that we have the Mul prefix also in O’Máille (O’Malley).

I find, on review of this paper, that we can count more than two hundred fairly different modern forms of our Mul and Gil surnames.

I bring to an end this very imperfect treatment of an

interesting subject. Most of the surnames are familiar to us all; some that are rather rare I have collected from current newspapers and similar records. The index to the *Annals of the Four Masters* contain the original Gaelic forms of many of the names. I owe to the kindness of Mr. Patrick O'Burne, of the New York Gaelic Society, a copy of the part of this index containing all names of the classes here discussed. I have also to thank Dr. Meyer of Liverpool, and Professor Mackinnon, of Edinburgh, for their courtesy in answering many queries of mine in reference to old Gaelic and Highland names. It is pleasant to find men of learning so ready to place their knowledge at the disposal of inquirers. Mr. Matheson, of the Registrar-General's Office, in Dublin, has published two very interesting lists of synonyms and alternative forms of surnames in Ireland. Such work, however, can be done but imperfectly by anyone, however zealous, who has not a knowledge of Irish, as many things will be quite clear to a Gaelic scholar that would be a mystery to another.

I venture to express the hope that those who have access to Irish books and manuscripts, and particularly to the works, printed and manuscript, of O'Donovan, and the Genealogies of MacFirbis, will supply whatever is needed in the way of correction and improvement to this paper, written at a distance of many thousand miles from Ireland, and with no access to authorities of any kind.

E. O'GROWNEY.

TWO GREAT SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS

I.

AMONG the spiritual organizations which the Church of our day employs for the advancement of God's interest on earth, there is hardly one that exercises a more powerful and widespread influence, than the rapidly extending devotion, popularly known as the 'Apostleship of Prayer.' Quite recently it has attracted a considerable share of attention, as the Holy See by its legislation in 1896 has greatly enlarged the sphere of its operations and of its efficiency over the Catholic world. As a knowledge of the events which led to its formation and growth will interest our readers, we shall give in outline its history, and to it we shall add a brief notice of the 'Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart.'

About seventy miles from Lyons, in the South of France, lies Puy, one of the most picturesque cities of Southern Europe. It is celebrated for its ancient shrine and magnificent statue of Our Lady. Not far from the shrine stands a large college, which, until the expulsion of the Religious Orders from France, was a Scholasticate, or House of Studies for the younger members of the Society of Jesus. This college gave many apostolic men to the Church, and its pious students were always remarkable for an ardent desire to labour in the foreign missions.

In the year 1844 the Spiritual Director of the College was Father Gautrelet, S.J. On the 3rd of December, the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, he pointed out to the scholastics that by consecrating all their thoughts, words, actions, and sufferings, to the Sacred Heart, and offering them to the Eternal Father for the interests of Jesus Christ, they could find, even during the course of their ecclesiastical studies ample scope for satisfying their missionary zeal. The proposal was received with enthusiasm by the young religious, and thus were laid the first foundations of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' which was destined to spread with

wondrous rapidity throughout the world, and to inscribe on its registers many millions of associates. By degrees other communities joined this Holy League of Prayer; and in 1849, five years after its foundation, it was enriched by Pius IX., then an exile at Gaeta, with many indulgences.

In 1861 appeared the first number of *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. The monthly issue of this periodical led to a prodigious development of the 'Apostleship of Prayer.' Numerous additional indulgences were granted by the Sovereign Pontiff; and, in 1866, the League received a definite organization through the approval of its statutes by the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.

The present glorious Pontiff, Leo XIII., was then Archbishop of Perugia, and in a letter addressed to the Central Director of Italy, he said: 'The Apostleship of Prayer is so beautiful a work, and unites so much fruitfulness with so much simplicity, that it assuredly deserves all the favour of ecclesiastical authority. I rejoice to see it established in my diocese, and I shall never tire of promoting it.' And in a pastoral letter of 1868, he adds: 'The plentiful fruit which the Holy League has already produced, no less than its rapid extension, shows plainly how pleasing this Association must be to our Lord.'

Diffused not only through France, but through Germany, Spain, Switzerland, in North and South America, India, China, and even in Oceanica, the 'Apostleship of Prayer' may, in the truest sense of the word, be called a Catholic work.

The statutes of the Holy League were perfected and confirmed in 1896 by Leo XIII., who, since his election to the Chair of Peter, has continued as warm a friend and patron of the Association as he was while Archbishop of Perugia. No less than eight successive briefs or rescripts, each conferring some new grace or privilege, have marked the Holy Father's appreciation of the labours and fruits of the League, and have raised its organization to its present perfect state.

The development of the 'Apostleship' within the last twenty years is simply marvellous. The League now numbers 20,000,000 Associates. It is still spreading far and wide throughout the Catholic world, and its organ, *The*

Messenger of the Sacred Heart, is issued every month in seventeen different languages.¹

Considering the extraordinary development of the Holy League, the simplicity of its organization, the multiplicity of means it is capable of employing to advance God's interests, and the abundant blessing that the Sacred Heart pours on the united efforts of its millions of Associates, it is evident that this peaceful crusade is one of the principal institutions raised up by Divine Providence for the succour of the Church in these days of coldness and infidelity.

It will hardly be necessary to trespass on the patience of our readers to define the nature and work of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' for it has become, within the past few years, almost a household word in every Catholic homestead in the land. Even tiny school-children can now grasp its meaning and lisp its definition, as they tell us in their own simple words that, the 'Apostleship of Prayer' means 'praying with Jesus in the Tabernacle.' In more formal phrase, the more grown associates accurately describe it as 'praying in union with Jesus for the advancement of His interests on earth—praying for the accomplishment of His holy will—praying for the establishment of His kingdom in every human heart, in every Christian family, in society, and in nations.' And, indeed, the 'Apostleship of Prayer' is nothing else than praying with the Heart of Jesus in the Tabernacle, that the power of the Evil One may be crushed, and that the kingdom of our Heavenly Father may be universally established on earth. Two petitions of the Lord's Prayer embody and reveal its object: 'Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.'

If we ask why this 'Union of prayer with Jesus praying' has assumed the title of 'Apostleship,' the answer becomes apparent when we remember that an 'Apostle' is one *sent* to accomplish some work or execute some errand, while an 'Apostleship' signifies the work to be performed by the

¹ There are 28 different *Messengers* published over the world at present—1 in French, 6 in English, 4 in Spanish, 2 in Italian, 1 in Albanian, 1 in Bohemian, 1 in Basque-Breton, 1 in Canadian French, 1 in Catalanian, 1 in Chinese, 1 in Croatian, 1 in Flemish, 1 in Dutch, 1 in Hungarian, 1 in Polish, 1 in Portuguese, 1 in Tamul, and 2 in German.

apostle or person to whom it is entrusted. Hence we correctly conclude that in this vast enterprise of 'united prayer' Jesus Himself is the *Great Apostle*, and His work on earth and in heaven, an Apostolate of Prayer.

During the course of His divine mission in Judea, over and over again, He reminded His hearers, that He was an Apostle, or One *sent* in His human nature by His Heavenly Father to do a great work. 'As the Father hath sent Me,' He said, 'I also send you.' 'I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' &c. We may also recall how, as the Apostle of his Heavenly Father, after a night spent in lonely prayer on the mountain side, coming down at day-break to the shore of Lake Tiberias, Jesus chose twelve fishermen to share His Apostolate, and to help Him in His work. They, in turn—personally, and through their successors—were commissioned to choose and invite others to co-operate and assist in this glorious undertaking of the Redeemer. The 'Apostleship of Prayer' in our own day and in our midst, is the outcome and response to this invitation.

This vast enterprise which the Son of God thus came down from Heaven to accomplish, and which is being worked out by His servants, night and day, all the world over, is mainly effected by prayer—that is, prayer in union with Jesus, both praying in the Tabernacle, and praying in Heaven, too, at the right hand of His Father, where 'He is ever living to make intercession for us.'

That this Divine Apostolate might be more efficaciously realized, the Church, the Spouse of Christ, has stamped it with the seal of her fullest approbation, and enriched with unstinted indulgences the organization of the 'Apostleship.' A passing word explanatory of this organization to some will not be unwelcome.

The members of the 'Apostleship,' who may be regarded as a vast army of soldiers of their Heavenly King, are divided into three spiritual battalions or divisions, called technically the 'Three Degrees.' The Associates of each 'Degree' have certain simple but easy conditions of membership to fulfil.

Once admission by enrolment into the ranks has been

effected, members registered in the 'First Degree' are only required to make a 'Morning Offering' of all their thoughts, words, and sufferings of the day in union with those of Jesus in the Tabernacle. Thus, their every thought, word, work, and suffering becoming supernaturalized, is united with His and entitled to eternal recompense—and their lives, blended like streams with His, run in one channel with His divine life. So in truth, they can say, 'I live now, not I, but Christ Jesus lives in me!' This 'First Degree' entitles to membership, to a vast number of indulgences, and to a share not only in the satisfaction of all the good works of the members, but, as well, of all the good works of religious orders who have generously granted this inestimable privilege to the 'Apostleship.' Should members desire to mount a step higher and reach the 'Second Degree' (and vast multitudes of the members enjoy this additional blessing), they undertake to say, in addition to the 'Morning Offering,' the Papal Decade, which consists of one Our Father and ten Hail Marys, offered for the intentions of our Holy Father and for the further advancement of the interests of the Heart of Jesus. Such priceless value does His Holiness attach to the recital of this Decade, that he assigns a special intention for each month of the year, and for it he entreats the prayers of all the members. To the recital of this Papal Decade immense indulgences are also annexed, while the monthly Papal Decade Leaflets are reminders that this prayer is not lightly to be overlooked or omitted.

One step higher still and the summit of the 'Apostleship' is gained. This step is the 'Third Degree,' which following the 'Morning Offering' and 'Papal Decade,' gives the work its final perfection and magnificence in the 'Communion of Reparation.' Gathered round the Altar, the members of the 'Third Degree,' in addition to their 'Morning Offering' (and, if they so will, in addition to the 'Papal Decade') come to atone by their love, sorrow, and reparation, for the innumerable insults and outrages offered to the Adorable Heart of Jesus in the Sacrament of His infinite charity. This is the crown and completion of the idea and of the

work of the 'Apostleship.' One day, in each month, is specially set apart and richly indulgenced by the Holy See for this special devotion, and is called the day of 'General Communion of Reparation.' On it all the members are invited to approach the altar in order to receive and console their Divine Redeemer and His Suffering Heart.

That nothing may be wanting to the perfection of the organization, all the members—where at all possible—are divided into guilds or circles of fifteen. Each 'guild' or 'circle' includes one of the members styled Promoter, who, so to speak, is entrusted with some spiritual and unobtrusive charge over the others, gets their names registered for admission, supplies them with their monthly 'Papal Decade Leaflet,' &c., and presides over the 'guild' or 'circle.' In parishes where the 'Apostleship' is regularly organized as a Confraternity in the Church, one of the 'circle' acts as Prefect or Promoter.

It is important to note here, that the 'Apostleship' supplies a great devotional want, often experienced by both priests and the faithful, regarding those, who on account of distance, age, delicacy, or other hindrance, cannot possibly attend Church Sodality Meetings. Since they cannot attend the 'Apostleship' Meetings in the church, the 'Apostleship' goes to them in their homes, in the person of zealous Promoters who enrol them, bring to them their 'Papal Decade Leaflets,' apprise them of the 'Monthly Intention,' &c., and so keep them in touch with the life and spirit of the organization.

Over these promoters a Rev. Local Director is constituted by diploma. He meets his Promoters once each month, discusses with them the work of the 'Apostleship,' its interests, advancement, and everything in connection with it. These monthly meetings of Promoters may be regarded as the very soul of the organization, infusing into it constantly renewed life and activity.

The Rev. Local Directors (parish priests, or curates delegated by them, or, in case of institutions, Rev. Chaplains) receive their powers by diploma from the Rev. Diocesan Director, who is designated by the Ordinary of the diocese,

where the 'Apostleship' is established. The Director-General of the 'Apostleship of Prayer' is the Father-General for the time being, of the Society of Jesus. Higher still in its hierarchy, if we be permitted so to speak, is our Holy Father, who with unremitting vigilance and interest never ceases to watch over its gigantic work. But, highest of all, controlling its destinies and ensuring its spiritual success, is Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son of God, Whose kingdom it helps to establish, and Whose Divine Will it assists to accomplish.

Such is the nature and object of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' and such the methods it employs to compass its Divine mission. And although, as we have said, scarcely fifty years have passed since its inception, in that brief period, we find it striking root in every quarter of the globe and, broadly speaking, in every nook and cranny of the Church. Here, we see it in the broad daylight, creating, vivifying, or consolidating vast confraternities for honouring the Sacred Heart in public churches. Elsewhere, we find it like some frail exquisite flower breathing the fragrance of holiness in the peaceful solitude of countless cloisters. Now, we come across it in the crowded school-room, lighting up the minds and warming the hearts of the young; or, again we meet it in the busy workroom or crowded factory, where Christian toilers are working side by side from early morning to sundown, or on through the night. Often, we discover its emblematic Badge lying beneath the regimentals of the soldier in the barrack-room, or, on the battlefield; and many a time, thank God! it rests on the breast of the Catholic sailor or fisherman, 'rocked on the bosom of the deep.'

Thus here, there, and everywhere, and under widely varying and often unexpected circumstances, the 'Apostleship of Prayer' testifies to the extraordinary grasp which devotion to the Sacred Heart has taken on the Church; bringing home, as it does, with marvellous distinctness to every sincere Catholic, the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God.

All over the world this same 'Apostleship' has called into almost miraculous prominence the devotion to the

'Nine First Fridays,' and fills our churches with such crowds of frequent and fervent communicants, as have not been witnessed since the time of the early Christians. And, stranger still, under its influence this wonderful spiritual activity has broken almost instantaneously, and as if by magic, on the normal life of the Church; and in some continental countries, far less blessed than holy Ireland, it has startled the faithful into religious energy, which has filled even themselves with amazement. Thus, to the most casual observers, it has revealed what latent fire of faith and charity still exists everywhere in the Church, needing but a spark from the furnace of the Heart of Jesus to set it all aglow. It almost reminds one of the miraculous, sacrificial fire, hidden by the Jewish priests before they were hurried into Captivity, whose damp ashes burst anew into consuming flames, beneath the noonday sun, when they were needed for sacrifice.

II.

THE 'ARCHCONFRATERNITY OF THE SACRED HEART' AND ITS RELATION WITH THE 'APOSTLESHIP'

Before terminating our notice of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' we will briefly call attention to the intimate connection which has always subsisted between it and the 'Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart,' established by the Canons *della Pace*, in Rome. Inaccurate information, and loose, vague statements regarding their kindred object and relations have left room for some words of needful explanation. We may premise that, with regard to the requisite conditions for the valid erection and consequent conveyance of the indulgences and privileges of the Archconfraternity, there exists occasionally some misapprehension. A brief historical notice of the 'Archconfraternity' and of some of its privileges will, perhaps, serve best to dissipate this misconception, and remove grounds for anxiety.

Our readers will, we are sure, permit us to avail ourselves of this paper to record our grateful recognition of the cordial and unstinted bestowal of alliance and spiritual treasures accorded to the 'Apostleship' by the Supreme

Directorate of the 'Archconfraternity' at Rome. We find a striking instance of this uninterrupted friendship in the renewal of the faculty granted in favour of the Rev. Local Directors of the 'Apostleship,' by which they are still personally empowered to aggregate members to the 'Archconfraternity.' (April 11th, 1897.)

Although the history of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of our Lord is perfectly known to all instructed Catholics, yet it may serve to increase their interest, and throw some light upon the work of the 'Archconfraternity,' if we direct attention to some of the distressing circumstances which surrounded its early beginnings. Students of Church history will easily remember that, scarcely had our Lord revealed His Sacred Heart to Blessed Margaret Mary, than Jansenism, frantically branded the new devotion as heresy of the darkest dye—as opposed to the dogma of the Incarnation—and as upsetting its own system of permitting persons to communicate only at rare intervals, and hence as dangerous to faith and morals. Subsequently a pseudo-council was convened at Pistoia to obstruct and condemn the devotion, and Gallican theologians denounced it as a nefarious Jesuitical intrigue, designed to secure influence in Christendom by appealing to the emotional fervour of hair-brained devotees. And, when on the eve of its suppression, the Society of Jesus stood on trial before the tribunal of its implacable foes, one of the leading counts of accusation against it was the unpardonable crime of teaching and propagating devotion to the Sacred Heart. To these deadly enemies of the Church it mattered little that Christ Himself had pre-eminently entrusted to the Society of Jesus the mission of expounding and spreading this devotion, as Blessed Margaret expressly states in her ninety-fifth letter.¹ Nay, in seeking to compass their unworthy object they aimed, naturally enough, a first blow against a devotion, which was earnestly preached by a body of men, whose

¹ 'Jesus Christ has shown me in a manner that admits of no doubt, that it was especially by means of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus that He wished to establish everywhere this solid devotion, and by means of it to make to Himself an infinite number of faithful servants, perfect friends, and truly grateful children.' (*Letters of Blessed Margaret Mary.*)

destruction they were plotting. And since these gloomy days of Pombal,¹ the devil has never ceased by open obstruction and hidden artifice to discredit and defeat, wherever he could or can, this latest revelation of God's love to man.

After this explanation, we may now proceed to unfold the nature and object of the 'Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart.' We fancy that now-a-days there are few devout Catholics who are not aware that the object of this wonderful 'Archconfraternity' is to offer to the Sacred Heart in the Tabernacle an unfailing tribute of praise, reverence, honour, and glory—to return It love for love—to thank our Blessed Redeemer for the institution of the Most Holy Sacrament—and to make some reparation for the coldness, ingratitude, and insults, that are offered to His infinite Charity.

Authentic records prove that this 'Archconfraternity' has sprung from and rests on the revelations vouchsafed to Blessed Margaret Mary. This holy nun testifies in one of her Letters (111th) to the exceeding joy which she experienced on learning of the establishment of a Confraternity of the Sacred Heart, at Coutances in France, and expressed her ardent desire that a similar one might be established later on in Paris. Scarcely had three years elapsed after her death, when a Confraternity of the Sacred Heart was inaugurated at Paray-le-Monial, 1690, which Benedict XIII. solemnly confirmed in 1728, and enriched with precious indulgences. In the following year, 1729, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, assisted by Father Gallifet, S.J., founded in the Church of St. Theodore another Confraternity of the Sacred Heart, which, in 1732, was raised to the rank of an Archconfraternity. During the subsequent eleven years, seven hundred Confraternities were affiliated to it, and thirty years later the number of its affiliated Confraternities reached one thousand and ninety.

Soon afterwards, the anarchy and carnage of the French revolution briefly interrupted the progress of this great work,

¹ Pombal was the Portuguese Prime Minister, who chiefly contributed by threats and intrigues to the suppression of the Society of Jesus, under Pope Clement XIV.

but when more peaceful times followed, the 'Archconfraternity' with apparently redoubled life and vigour, recommenced and extended its operations. This notable expansion of the devotion was brought about in the following way. On the 14th February, 1801, a number of devoted priests who had founded among themselves the '*Pia Associatio Sancti Pauli*' obtained from the Holy See the requisite permission to establish anew the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart in their Church of Sancta Maria ad Pineam, known as *in Capella*. In a Brief, dated 25th January, 1803, it was elevated to the dignity of an Archconfraternity, with power to affiliate to itself all Confraternities bearing the same title and pursuing the same object; and moreover, to communicate to them the numerous indulgences which it had already acquired. The seat of this Archconfraternity was transferred in 1827 to the Church of Sancta Maria della Pace, and from that time up to the hour in which we write, it has never ceased to spread itself like a golden network, and with almost lightning-like rapidity, over the whole Church. In 1881 it had aggregated to itself no less than nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight branches.

For a moment, we may pause to observe here, that among the privileges and indulgences granted by Pius VII., to the 'Roman Archconfraternity,' and to its *duly erected canonical Affiliations*, are included some that are very special and remarkable in their character. One of these privileges is, permission to establish in the same locality several Confraternities of the Sacred Heart. Moreover, such Confraternities may be erected in churches and chapels of religious without its being necessary to take into account (as usually happens) the existence of similar Confraternities of the Sacred Heart established in the immediate vicinity. The Spiritual Director of each newly-affiliated Confraternity (after the reception of his diploma of affiliation from Rome), has the right to celebrate a special feast of the Sacred Heart; and, on the day which he selects for this celebration, not only the priest who celebrates the High Mass, but all priests who celebrate in the church of this Confraternity are privileged to say the Mass of the Sacred Heart. Any day can be

selected for this local feast, provided it be not Sunday of the first or second class, or fall within a privileged octave, or on a holiday or privileged vigil. Lastly, priests holding powers from the Archconfraternity, and who are not entrusted with the charge of such a local Confraternity of the Sacred Heart, can admit persons to membership, if there be no similar existing Confraternity in the neighbourhood, or if there be some difficulty which prevents its erection. A priest enjoying this special power should forward the names of the members whom he enrolls to the Secretary of the Archconfraternity at Rome.

This is but a bird's-eye glance over the history of the Archconfraternity. (For further information we direct attention to the able work of Father Nilles, S.J., entitled *De rationibus Fectorum Sanctissimi Cordis Jesu* : Oeniponte, 1885.)

After these explanatory remarks, we will conclude by considering the nature of the relations which exist between this glorious 'Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart' and the 'Apostleship of Prayer.' From what we have already stated, we may easily gather that the 'Archconfraternity' or its branch affiliations, do not necessarily suppose or require public services or meetings such as we see and know to exist in our Church sodalities. It points only to the divine Object of the devotion, and enriches with multiplied privileges and indulgences those who fervently recite the prayers prescribed in its honour, or approach the sacraments for a similar intention. But, beyond recommending the devout celebration of the annual Feast of the Sacred Heart, the reception of the Holy Communion on the first Friday or Sunday of each month, counselling assistance at some public devotions of the Sacred Heart, and the daily recital of some indulgenced prayers, the Archconfraternity neither imposes nor suggests devotional details.

It is precisely to meet this want that the 'Apostleship' proves an invaluable auxiliary to the 'Archconfraternity' by supplying it with an organization at once simple, strong, elastic, and furnished, as we have seen, with many rich privileges and indulgences by the Holy See; and, thus united, they can embrace not only those who assemble together in public Church sodality services, but also those who, for any

legitimate reason, cannot assist at such sodality or meeting away from their homes.

Nor must we suppose that the scope of their joint operations is confined exclusively to adult sodalities or individuals—for one of the most important functions of the ‘Apostleship’ relates entirely to *children of both sexes, who are still engaged in their studies*. This branch is styled the ‘Apostleship of Study,’ and is enriched with special favours and indulgences by the Holy See. Moreover, controlled by its direction, any works affecting the spiritual interests of the faithful—as, for example, *temperance*, &c.—may be efficiently organized and worked. To realize that these are not mere words but concrete facts, we have but to cast a glance over the Church to-day. Europe, Asia, America, South Africa, and still more distant Australia, witness to the unexaggerated truth of the statement.

Having thus sketched in very faint outline—but, we trust, with accuracy—the origin, growth, and spread of these two branches of a parent stem, we should leave incomplete their description, did we not add that we feel that the Heart of our Blessed Master has designed them to be the complement of each other—both separate, yet united in the one object of procuring the greater glory of the Sacred Heart—both, so to speak, leaning on each other for mutual support and mutual advancement—both drawing divine fire and light from the glowing furnace of that Human, yet Divine Heart, from which both have issued! And this view fully explains why the Superior-General of the ‘Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart’ in Rome, and for the whole world, with the sanction of our Holy Father Leo XIII., expressed in Pontifical Letters, dated June 7th, 1879, and again in April 11th, 1897, bestowed on all actual Directors of the ‘Apostleship of Prayer,’ and on their successors, the personal faculty of aggregating members of the ‘Archconfraternity.’

J. A. CULLEN, S.J.

¹ For the valid canonical erection of the ‘Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart,’ as well as of the ‘Apostleship of Prayer,’ the permission of the Ordinary of the diocese is required to procure the diplomas of affiliation essential to the gaining of the indulgences.

We shall be happy to forward the necessary printed forms of petition to be forwarded to the Right Reverend Ordinaries, and to Rome.

IRISH MONASTERIES IN GERMANY

COLOGNE

COLOGNE was nothing more than a small collection of huts and sheds when Germanicus pitched his tent on the site which the city now occupies in the early years of the Christian era. It was there that his daughter, Agrippina, was born, amidst the noise of arms and the chatter of legions. This princess, who afterwards became so famous and so unfortunate as the mother of Nero, took a life-long interest in the place of her birth. She sent a colony of Roman nobles to found a settlement there; and the place was called Colonia Agrippina, to commemorate the circumstances of its foundation. Only the noblest patricians were allowed to take part in the enterprise; and to this fact the hereditary pride of the modern magnats of Cologne is duly traced. Those noble Romans undoubtedly marked with the impress of their genius and their taste the institutions and the buildings of their city. Colonia soon became the stronghold of the empire in the North of Europe. She was to the barbarians of Germany and Gaul the image and the eye of the mother city. The patricians of Rome and princes of the empire came in crowds to visit the new capital, to enjoy its baths, its palaces, its theatres, and its brilliant society. Vitellius was there when he was called to the throne, and Trajan assumed the royal purple within its walls.

Soon, however, on the break up of the mighty power which had ruled the world for close on a thousand years, a new order succeeded to the old. In Germany, as elsewhere, the change was preceded, accompanied, and followed by revolts, conspiracies, and foul deeds of every kind. When Clovis was crowned at Cologne, in 508, as King of the Franks of Austrasia, turmoil and confusion seemed to reign supreme. Nor did Clovis succeed in suppressing the outbursts of vice and crime that surrounded him on all sides.

For upwards of a hundred years the superstitions of paganism, which had taken so strong a hold of the Teutonic nature, dominated the native tribes, and drove them to the most monstrous excesses of barbarism and cruelty. It was only towards the end of the seventh century that Christianity began to take root and flourish at Cologne.

No doubt Christian blood had been shed in the city as early as the end of the third century, when the martyrs of the Theban legion were, according to tradition, massacred there. It was there, too, that St. Ursula and her companions gained their crown of martyrdom, in the fifth century. No doubt the line of bishops of Cologne extends back as far as St. Maternus, a converted soldier, who preached the Gospel to the Ubii about A.D. 350; but under him and several of his successors the great mass of the population clung on to paganism.

No genuinely organized effort was made to introduce Christianity amongst them till the year 690, when the Irish monk, Tilmo, built a chapel in an Island on the Rhine, close by the city, and began to preach the good tidings of the Gospel to the pagans around him. St. Egbert of England had made some attempt to convert them on the occasion of his mission to the Frisians, but his efforts bore no fruit, and he was compelled to return to Hy. A similar fate was reserved for his countryman, Wigbert,¹ who had spent several years in close retirement in Ireland in preparation for his mission. He too returned, disappointed and disheartened, to make up, by the austerities of his life and the examples of his virtues, for the failure of his missionary career. St. Egbert, however, urged others to attempt the task in which he confessed that he himself had failed; and a full band of twelve monks, with Willibrord and Suidbert at their head, were directed towards the territory of

¹ Unus tamen ex ejus (Egberti) sociis Wigbertus nomine et ipse contemptu sæculi et doctrinae scientia insignis, qui multos annos anachoreticam in Hybernia vitam sectatus fuerat in Frisiam trajecit ac duobus continuis annis genti illi regique ejus Radbodæ verbum salutis prædicavit. Sed cum nullum tanti laboris fructum ex barbaris illis retulisset reversus est, et qui externis prodesse ad fidem non poterat, suarum virtutum exemplis prodesse suis studuit.'—(Mabillon, *Annales Bened.*, i., an. 690.)

the Frisians and of the pagan tribes that dwelt on their confines. Of these adventurous messengers, Tilmo, an Irishman, was one; and in the division of territory mapped out to the labourers, Cologne and its people fell to his lot.

That Tilmo was a native of Ireland¹ seems quite certain. The constant tradition of Cologne is to that effect. The oldest chronicles of the monastery of St. Martin speak of him as a native of Scotia, and tell us that he was at first a soldier, then a monk, and finally a preacher of the Gospel on the banks of the Rhine. Almost all the missionaries of this region were educated either in Ireland or in Hy; but when they went abroad to preach the Gospel they usually marked the institutions which they founded with the seal of their nationality. Hence it was that the establishment of Tilmo soon attracted other Irishmen, who immediately grouped themselves around him, and took up the work which he had initiated.² The following lines of an old poet simply hand down the tradition of centuries:—

Agrippae dulces salvete Napaeae,
Dique Deaeque omnes quorum sub nomine terras
Liquimus Hybernias, atque has intravimus oras;
Has sedes servate Scotis, hic sistere terris,
Exilique vagos liceat finire labores.

In the course of a few years Tilmo³ was joined by several

¹ 'Tilmon, natione Scotus, vir illustris, de milite factus monachus, ab Egberto Abbate Anglo missus in insula Rheni prope Coloniam, coenobiticam vitam egit, anno Christi nati D.C.X.C. constructo sacello quod infra sacristiae absides visendum perstat.'—(*Antiquitates Monasterii Sancti Martini Majoris Coloniensis*, p. i., II., by J. H.

² St. Egbert, St. Wigbert, the two saints Ewald (the dark and the fair), St. Willibrord and St. Suidbert, had all come to Ireland to prepare for their mission. What is related of St. Willibrord may be said in substance of all the others:—

'Deinde audita sanctorum virorum in Hibernia tum eruditione, tum sanctimonia, eorum religionis incitatus, praecipue Egberti mox laudati, quem sanctum vocabant et Wigberti venerabilis sacerdotis qui ambo ob coelestis patriae amorem, domo, patria, cognatione relictis, in Hiberniam secesserant; cum permissu abbatis et fratrum suorum ad eos contendit ut eorum contubernio et sancta conversatione frueretur; ibique duodecim annos inter eximios 'piae religionis simul ac sacrae lectionis magistros, futurus ipse multorum populorum praedicator, eruditus, informatusque est.'—(Mabillon, *Annales Bened.*, tom i., p. 592.)

³ Sub auspiciis postea Pipini de Heristallo et Plectrudis ejus conjugis coenobium erectum est sub patrocinio divi Martini Turonensis Episcopi circa annum 708, quo tempore Sancti Wiro, Plectelmus et Otgerus Pippini et Plectendis subsidio suffulti, Scotorum contubernium in insula construxerunt.

other Irishmen, whose nationality is universally admitted, amongst them saints Wiro, Plechelmus and Otger. With their assistance a monastery, was established and dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, a saint whose renown was in all the churches in those days, and whose memory was specially venerated in Ireland as well as in France.

The Irish monastery of St. Martin was, therefore, the first Christian establishment regularly founded in the city of Cologne. From this rich granary the seed of Christian faith was distributed and scattered broadcast over the land, taking such deep root that it lasts to-day, and flourishes in one of the fairest gardens of which the Church can boast.

In the course of some years these Irish monks were joined by natives, and one of these, named Wicterp, made such progress under the Scoti, that he one day became Abbot of the monastery, and afterwards Bishop of Ratisbon. To this position his noble origin and powerful connection naturally helped him in a feudal age. The missionaries took advantage of his kinship with Plectrude, the wife of Pepin of Heristal, to secure the favour of princes and people. Wicterp was succeeded in turn as abbot by Alpho, Herbod, Aldegar, Patrick, Blasius, Heynian, Bartholf, Gottfried, Martin, Adolf, Benedict, Dithard, and Berthold. That some of these were native Teutons and some Scoti is quite certain. That some of these bear German names is no proof that they were not Irish, as many of the Irish missionaries modified their names to suit the tongue of the people to whom they ministered. Beatus, Virgilius, Fridolinus do not sound very Irish, yet all admit their nationality. German Protestant historians have no doubt about the Irish nationality of 'Clement the Heretic;' yet Clement does not sound particularly Hibernian.

During the eventful period that intervened between 690 and 975, in which the above-named abbots lived and ruled, their monastery passed through many vicissitudes. Twice it was levelled to the ground by merciless invaders—first, by the Saxons, and then by the Normans. In the year 972, Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, brought Berthold, one of the monks of Lorsch or Lauresham, to govern St. Martin's.

Gero, his successor, conferred many privileges on the monastery; but Warinus, whose curious history is one of the romances of the annals of Cologne, and who succeeded Gero, restored the monastery to Irish monks, and confided its government to the Irish abbot Mimborinus.¹ Warinus also signalized his term of office by building, in the neighbourhood of the monastery, a chapel, in honour of St. Brigid of Kildare,² which afterwards became, and long remained a parish church in the city of Cologne.

On the death of Mimborinus, in 987, one of the monks, named Kilian, was appointed to succeed him. He is described as a very religious man; and, we are told, that the Archbishop, Evergerus, with the consent of the Emperor Otho III., presented to him, for the use of his monastery and pilgrim monks, several farms, with the fishing of the Rhine attached; three churches, several manses, vineyards, and exemption from some of the taxes in the city and in the empire. He also got charge of the monastery of St. Pantaleon, in the city, as well as of St. Martin's. It is evident there must have been Irish monks in the former as well as in the latter of these monasteries.

The most remarkable of the line of abbots of St. Martin's was, however, Helias, whom the ancient annals of Cologne unanimously designate as St. Helias. He had come originally from the monastery of Monaghan in Ireland. He led a most austere life, Trithemius tells, and was on that account an object of hatred to wicked men, who feared his reproof. On the other hand, he was the bosom friend and counsellor of St. Heribert, Archbishop of Cologne, whose biographer, Landberth, tells us that when this illustrious prelate felt his end approach, he sent for his beloved Helias, who prepared him for death, and administered to him the

¹ See *Gross St. Martin in Köln*. By Anton Ditges-Kaplan, pp. 13, 14.

² 'Warinus qui Geronem vivus sepelivisse dicitur, postea factus Archiepiscopus de crimine penitens Romani ivit et inde reversus monasterium nostrum melioravit et Scotis iterum immolavit anno 975 quibus praecepit venerabilem virum Mimborinum, natione Scotum, qui praefuit annis 12. Inde Marinus factus est hic monachus et tumbam Sancti Eliphii gloriose ornavit. Construxit etiam Sacellum S. Brigidae Virginis Scotiae quod postea factum est ecclesia parochialis. Extract from ancient chronicle of St. Martin, published in Kessel's. — *Antiquitates Monasterii Sancti Martini Majoris Coloniensis*, xi.

Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and all the final consolations of the Church.¹

On the death of Heribert, however, the new Archbishop, Pilgrinus, conceived an inveterate dislike for the Irish monks, and for Helias in particular, to such an extent, indeed, that he threatened to expel them from Cologne on his return from his pastoral visits through his diocese. He reckoned, however, without St. Helias, who prayed that if God was for the Irish monks Pilgrinus might never return to Cologne.² Whether this be a legend or a fact, certain it is that Pilgrinus never did return. He died, as Marianus Scotus informs us, at the town of Neomagus, in 1035. Helias was honoured with the confidence of his successor, Herrmann, and ruled his two monasteries, St. Martin and St. Pantaleon's, with the greatest success. He was remarkable, however, for uncommon strictness in the enforcement of discipline. A French monk of St. Pantaleon having written, without permission, a neat copy of the Missal for the use of the community, Helias burned it, lest others should presume to act without previous licence.³ He died in the odour of sanctity, and was buried in the chapel of St. Benedict, with the epitaph:—

Haec tumuli fossa conduntur Praesulis ossa
Heliae miri mirificique viri.

It is stated by many writers that Helias was a skilled musician, and that he was the first to bring the Roman chant to Cologne. Mabillon goes so far even as to suggest

¹ 'Mimborino successit Kilianus, vir multum religiosus, cujus intuitu Evergerus Archiepiscopus, consentiente Ottone Imperatore III., in usus monachorum peregrinorum pro remedio animæ suae donavit curtes dominicatas Rodenkirchoff et Flitherte, cum piscatione Rheni in tractibus et justitia quae dicitur Ban. Insuper quidquid in villis Wicerheim et Ascha habebat funditus nobis mancipavit. Ecclesias quoque tres in Sutlere, aliam in Wische, tertiam in Flitherte. Insuper in urbe Colonia macellum omne et areas a porta frumenti usque ad occidentalem murem civitatis et iterum a porta fori usque ad nusum Rheni dedit. Curtem quoque dominicatem in Winningo cum xv. mansibus et quidquid vinearum ibi habuit nobis condonavit et alia plura beneficia praestitit in quorum vicem perpetua ejus memoria apud nos peragitur.'—(Kessel, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

² 'Si Deus in nobis est peregrinis, nunquam vivus ad Coloniam veniat Pilgrinus.'

³ See Lanigan, *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 442.

that he is the 'Stranger and Pilgrim' to whom Berno of Reichanau dedicated his work on *The Laws of Symphony and Tone*,¹ a work well known in the history of music. If Cologne was thus indebted in the eleventh century for the Roman chant and for musical education to an Irishman from Monaghan,² who had studied in Rome, it must be admitted that she is now paying back the debt, with interest, to Ireland, after a lapse of over eight hundred years.

The learned historian of the diocese of Cologne, J. H. Kessel,³ published, in the year 1863, a most interesting volume containing all the ancient documents bearing on the history of St. Martin's monastery. In the introduction to this work he bears eloquent testimony to the heroic labours of the Irish missionaries not only in Cologne, but all over Europe. He takes good care, in speaking of these Scottish monks, to make it clear that in ancient times 'Scotia' was not the name of modern Scotland. Amongst the earliest apostles of Germany, he says, the Irish hold the first place. He gives a short account of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, of its rapid conquest of the whole people, of its fruitful development, and of the great number of monastic schools that arose all over the country, and became what he truly calls the fountain-heads⁴ of many streams that flowed over this favoured land, and fertilized the soil of regions which the

¹ Berno's letter is addressed: 'Domino, Deoque Dilecto Filio, Grinovero, mundi hujus advenae et peregrino.' On which Mabillon comments:—'Quis sit iste Grinoverus cui Berno librum suum nuncupat non liquet. Quod cum mundi hujus advenam et peregrinum dicit, conjicere licet eum fuisse Scottum, et forte Sancti Pantaleonis aut Seti Martini Majoris Coloniensis praesulem seu Abbatem. Nam abbates nonnunquam praesules appellabantur. Verum Elias eo tempore utriusque monasterii abbas erat. An binominis erat Elias, qui cantum Romanum ex urbe Roma Coloniā primus attulisse dicitur? . . . Aliis divinandum relinquo.'—Mabillon, *Annales Benedictinorum*, tom. iv., p. 297.

² See Colgan, *A.A. SS. Hib.*, p. 107.

³ *Antiquitates Monasterii Sancti Martini Majoris Coloniensis*, J. H. Kessel, Presbyter Coloniensis.

⁴ 'Quibus factis quum fontes religionis christianae in Hybernia largissime scaturirent, plurimi inde rivuli decursu temporis in eas Scotiae partes quae adhuc siccitate et vanitate superstitionum paganarum laborabant, feliciter deducti sunt.'—(*Op. cit.*, p. 21.)

vanity of superstition had hitherto rendered barren and worthless.

Whilst this noble race of the 'Scoti' [he continues¹] was enjoying the heavenly light of Gospel truth, and was bearing such fruits of virtue and good works as ever reward the labours of those who live according to its standard, Germany lay buried in the darkest and densest of superstitions. She had not even any hope of better fortune, either as to the preparation for a future life or the conception of any duty towards a Supreme Being. Nor can we be surprised at the fact, for traces of the superstition which we find to have existed at Cologne, in the sixth century, prove to us how crass and vile were the pagan ideas and customs that then existed in our city. To rescue the Germans from such darkness the Almighty seems to have chosen the 'Scoti,' who, yielding with joy to His divine will, proceeded to make new conquests for the kingdom of Christ. As Mabillon, in his *Annals of the Benedictines*, remarks, the Scoti conferred four benefits on the German people—1. The faith which gives salvation. 2. The erection of bishoprics. 3. The introduction of arts and letters. 4. The knowledge of agriculture. Those who wish to realize the full extent to which we are indebted to the Scoti for these blessings have only to read the work of the learned Spittler, which is worthy of the closest attention.²

These missionaries feared neither the dangers of sea nor of land. Armed with the cross alone they preached Christ crucified to kings and peoples. They gave their lives for the salvation of our forefathers who had not yet been born anew through the waters of Baptism. What bitter trials they sustained,³ what giant labours they performed, what adversaries they faced and obstacles they overcame, the learned Abbot Martinus Gerbert⁴ and Lumper,⁵ the historian, have fully told us, giving to each of these Scottish missionaries his share in the gifts of preaching or in the advancement of Christian virtue, of civilization, and of letters. It is, therefore, not wonderful that these Scots gained such authority, and won the favour of all good men to such an extent, that the vicissitudes of centuries could neither subvert

¹ 'Interea dum nobilissima Scottorum gens suavi evangelicæ veritatis luce ganderet talesque virtutum bonorumque operum fructus ferret . . . Germania tristissimis densissimisque superstitionum paganarum tenebris obruta jacebat.'

² *Grundriss d'Geschichte d'Christliche Kirche*, 2 ter., p. 98.

³ 'Quo in munere perfungendo quot aerumnas et labores, quot adversarios pertulerint et impedimenta superarint luculenter et prolixè exponunt Martinus Gerbert doctissimus Abbas et Lumper singulis antiquissimæ memoriæ Missionariis Scotiæ, qui aut prædicationis munere aut singulari virtutum litterarumque laude præcelluerunt, laudatis.'

⁴ Mart. Gerbert, *Vet. Liturg. Alem.*, tom. i., p. 28.

⁵ Lumper, *Inst. Hist.*, p. 226.

nor undermine the veneration in which they were held. All this is mainly to be ascribed to the fact that they not only brought to the Germans the treasure of divine truth, but all the civilizing institutions of the Christian religion—schools, hospitals, asylums, shelters for the poor, and all similar retreats. In the year 844, several of these institutions having been allowed to fall into decay, either by the negligence of the bishops or the vicissitudes of the times, a decree was passed, at the Council of Meaux, held in that year, ordering hospitals and such foundations to be restored, ‘such as they had been instituted by the Scots of old.’ Every province of Germany proclaims this race as its benefactor. Austria celebrates St. Colman, St. Virgilius, St. Modestus, and others. To whom but to the ancient Scots was due the famous ‘Schottenkloster’ of Vienna? Salsburg, Ratisbon, and all Bavaria honour St. Virgilius as their apostle. Similar honour is paid, in different regions, to SS. Alto, Marianus, and Macarius. To whom but to these same monks was due the famous monastery of St. James at Ratisbon? Burgundy, Alsace, Helvetia, Suevia, with one voice proclaim the glory of Columbanus, Gall, Fridolin, Arbogast, Florentius, Trudpert, who first preached the true religion amongst them. Who were the founders of the monasteries of St. Thomas at Strasburg, and of St. Nicholas at Memmingen, but these same Scots? Franconia and the Buchonian forest honour as their apostles St. Kilian and St. Pirmin. . . and those Scottish monasteries of St. Aegidius and St. James, which in olden times flourished at Nuremburg and at Wurzburg, to whom are they to be ascribed but to the holy monks of ancient Scotia? The land between the Rhine and the Moselle rejoiced in the labours of Wendelin and Disibod. . . . The old and famous monastery of St. James, at Mayence, was founded, according to the best writers, by these same Scots. The Saxons and the tribes of Northern Germany are indebted to them to an extent which may be judged by the fact that the first ten bishops who occupied the see of Verden belonged to that race.

The immediate successor of St. Helias, as abbot of St. Martin’s, was Mariolus or Molanus, who, according to Florence of Worcester, died in 1061. He is described by the poet-chronicler, Oliver Legipont, as—

Vir niveo candore micans et Pallade clarus.

Five other names complete the roll of Irish abbots of St. Martin’s—they are: Felan, Wolfhard, Hezelin, Isaac, and Arnold. Of the last-named, who died in 1103, the chronicler tells us—

Ultimus ille fuit praesul de gente Scotorum.

This was the period of decay in Irish monastic life at home owing to the Danish wars and other domestic causes. The monasteries abroad shared in the downfall of the establishments that had given them birth, and soon fell into the hands of the stranger.

The abbey of St. Martin, at Cologne, did not disappear, however, with its Irish monks. On the contrary, it continued to be one of the most important centres of civilization and learning in Germany. Nobles, and even princes became its mitred abbots. Many of its monks were heard in the halls of the University of Cologne by the side of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. Its library was frequented by scholars from all parts of Europe. But though it survived the storms of a thousand years, it succumbed to the French Revolution. By a decree of the 9th of June, 1802, it was declared national property. The goods of the monastery were seized, and the church was handed over to the pastor of St. Brigid's, to serve henceforth as a parish church. On the 3rd of July, 1803,¹ the last abbot of St. Martin's celebrated his first Mass as parish priest of St. Martin's. The church, however, still remains a splendid memorial of the old foundations of the 'Scoti.' Around it cling the most sacred traditions. To the modern people of Cologne it recalls the most cherished memories of the Christian faith.

J. F. HOGAN.

¹ 'Am 3 Juli, 1803, feierte der letzte Abt, als erster Pfarrer von St. Martin in der geretteten Kirche der ersten Parrgottesdienst.'—(Gross St. Martin in Köln. *Anton Diltges*, p. 29.)

KILKENNY AND BISHOP ROTHE

THE following very instructive and eloquent lecture was delivered by the Very Rev. M. Kelly, Professor of Ecclesiastical history in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, at the Athenæum, Kilkenny, March 8th, 1857. It is, in my opinion, well worthy of preservation, and nowhere could it be more suitably and more profitably preserved than in the pages of the I. E. RECORD:—

In the subject which I have selected for this evening, if I cannot range with you over the boundless empire of science in earth, and sea, and sky, I can at least dwell with you on the most remarkable objects in that spot which is dearest to you on earth; objects whose very name recalls to the Kilkennyman, wherever his lot may be cast, the fair city on the banks of the crystal Nore, and the cloudless skies under which he first drew breath. It is this interest which I know you feel in the monuments of your city; it is the solemn lessons, and immortal Catholic memories connected with St. Canice's, and the very genius of the place in which, if anywhere, the muse of Irish Catholic history has established shrine, that emboldened me to connect with Kilkenny buildings some remarkable events in your civic history, and indeed I may say in the history of Ireland.

Kilkenny, if we believe accounts, hardly existed until the Cambro-Norman invaders built the castle. They certainly enlarged and beautified the town; and when we consider its name, so called from the patron saint of the surrounding territory (St. Canice), who lived five hundred years before, and that round tower of other days which overtops St. Canice's, we may believe that centuries before the arrival of the Cambro-Normans, or before the conversion of the northern half of Europe, there was a church at Kilkenny, and that the Prince of Ossory, after paying his devotions to the patron saint, often surveyed from this central point the whole extent of his dominions, from Brandon Hill to Kilcooley, and from Slievenamon to Slievebloom—a dominion famous in the annals of Ireland, and specially blessed by St. Columba.

The round tower—a building, I may observe, never found except near a church—often protected the clergy and their books and sacred treasures from the sudden incursions of the Dane, until assistance could be summoned by a signal fire from the top; but the tower was no protection against the Normans—a wonderful race—who, after dwelling two centuries in France, conquered England at Hastings, founded other kingdoms in Europe, and carried off the palm of chivalry in the early crusades. The people were building here a new church, on the magnificent scale then the fashion in Europe, when the invaders came upon them, and after some hard battles, gained the victory. But they, too, continued and completed the church; and thus cemented with the blood of two Catholic nations—one building on the foundations laid by the other, St. Canice's arose, not less spacious or beautiful, and far more famous in the history of the two nations than any other Irish cathedral. About the same time, and nearly in the same circumstances, were erected two other great religious houses, Jerpoint and Kells.

From that day to the present, during seven hundred years, with more than their full share of revolutions in customs, in property, in laws civil and political, and religious, Kilkenny has, in one important respect, admitted little change. Now and then her faith is the same. During nearly four centuries her citizens, all members of the one fold, thronged on the great festivals in the aisles of St. Canice's; during the three following centuries the old faith, driven out from that and the other great churches, still lived among us so fresh, so pure, so vigorous, that the moment the chain was struck off, she began to erect monuments of her power which shall make the times in which we live an epoch in our history. With these memories in his heart, and high aspirations for the future swelling within him, can the young man who has sincerely adopted your rules (the Young Men's Society) look upon your new cathedral, the admiration of every stranger, or on St. Kieran's College, not less admired, and of which the city may be equally proud—can he look upon them, and not ask himself, 'How can I, as a citizen of Kilkenny, contribute to the

stability of religion in her new abodes, and make her throne as secure in Kilkenny of the future as Kilkenny of the past? How was religion preserved? What lessons do our domestic annals teach? In modern times we hear much of progress, and the advance of civilization, with a broad assertion, or sometimes only a hint, that there was nothing of the kind formerly. We cannot now descend to particulars, but even in a general view, it is quite certain, that with all the appliances of modern civilization, Kilkenny of the present has so clear a superiority over the Kilkenny of the past. I do not speak of the secure and Christian provision for the poor, administered by the Church, and all the other beneficent appendages to a cathedral in those days; but just picture to yourselves three great convents in this small city, with their public libraries, and their paintings, and their gardens for the good of the public. Survey the massive pile of the Dominicans, the light and graceful tower of the Franciscans, the famous window of St. John's, the wonder of Ireland. Take a Sunday trip to the ever-open doors of Jerpoint or Kells—Jerpoint of the Cistercians, the men who, to the chaunt of the Church, felled the forests—and reclaimed the deserts of Europe—and tell me, if you can, that you have not an education which refines as well as instructs, an education not only in the useful and religious, but also in the beautiful and the grand.

Some young friend, who has read history, is saying, perhaps, that during these four hundred Catholic years, Kilkenny was an English colony, an English stronghold. She hated the Irish, and when they were growing strong, shut them out of St. Canice's, and never once rose against an English king, until, in truth, there were no English at home, and until Cromwell cast all the citizens out, and for a time planted Puritans in their place. Well, young friend, it is against the first rule in history to judge the past by the present, without taking into account the difference of circumstances. Kilkenny was the great meeting-place of the Parliaments, and National Conventions of the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry—a colony, if you will, but who loved the land of their adoption, and spent their princely revenues

at home. See their tombs in St. Canice's; even in death, by these beautiful monuments, they employed the artist, adorned the church, and by the expression of Christian hope on their placid and noble countenances raise our thoughts beyond the grave.

Miserable wars and dissensions there were in these times throughout Ireland; but if Kilkenny, or Ireland of that day, is summoned to condemnation, can Ireland of the present be the first to cast the stone? To illustrate the state of society in these days, and the feelings which the citizens must have had to their Irish neighbours, if our worthy mayor, and some aldermen, taking a drive a few miles out of town were carried of by a Murphy or a Kavanagh of St. Mullin's, or Scullogh Gap, or by an O'Carroll, or an O'Moore to the bog of Allen, or Dunamaise, would we not rise against the indignity, and vindicate our rights, and be very cautious about letting such dangerous neighbours have livings in our churches, or property within our walls? But if Kilkenny was at war, she loved the old glories of Ireland. Yes, the nurse of Irish history always loved Kilkenny. Of the two principal volumes in which the lives of Irish saints are preserved, one is known to every scholar as the *Codex Kilkenniensis*. The only two respectable histories of the Anglo-Irish, Clyn's and Grace's, were compiled in the convents of Kilkenny; and the spirit has remained amongst us. For, omitting for the present our Catholic historians, Harris was educated here, and here Archdall prepared the only history of the monasteries; and here Ledwich, too, prepared his *Antiquities*; and from the same quarter we have a history of St. Canice's, which, I believe, the character both of the publishers, and of the authors (Messrs. Prim & Graves), will guard against the prejudices in some of those I have mentioned. Thus if Kilkenny was in these days always loyal to those whom she regarded as her own kindred and natural allies, she included in her sympathies also the noblest interests of the whole kingdom; and shortly before the Reformation, when the antipathies of race were dying away, the old Irish enjoyed within her walls, not only liberty and property, but the

highest offices in her Church, a gradual preparation for the great contest then approaching, when both races combined for the Catholic faith. For when, at the time of the Reformation, Ireland, emerging from the comparative obscurity of the four last centuries, appeared before Europe as the Catholic nation, when she alone of all the northern nations stood fast by the chair of St. Peter ; when in France, and Austria, and Belgium, and Italy, and Spain, her name became a household word for patience and martyrdom, as it had once been for learning, you have devoted examples here of constancy in the faith. At the Reformation it was remarked as extraordinary, and by the English condemned as unnatural (to use the phrase of the day), that the Anglo-Irish sternly refused to conform to the change of religion, and that in many places they were more scrupulous in their adhesion to Catholic observances than the old Irish themselves.

Now, of these Anglo-Irish, many must have imbibed this spirit in Kells and Jerpoint, which were then the great schools for all those who wished to receive an English education. On this very ground, when Henry VIII. was suppressing all monasteries, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and his counsel petitioned that Kells and Jerpoint should be exempted from the general fate, this mercy being asked only for four others, of which two were in Dublin, and one at Grace Dieu, near Dublin, where all the ladies were educated. But the petition was rejected. What mercy could be expected from him ? Kells and Jerpoint were unroofed ; they went down to the cry of the Reformation, and of progress and light ; they went down to the cry that brought all evil into this world—the serpent hiss that blasted the first glory of paradise, when the woman was told she would be a God. Light ! light ! the favourite shape into which the angel of darkness has ever since transformed himself when deluding the poor sons of Eve. Yes, Kells and Jerpoint went down, but lived in the young hearts that loved them, who sought no light but what they gave—the light of faith.

It is impossible to overrate the influence for good or evil of a school, and we had another example of it here which we owe to a little courage shown by the clergy and people

of the city. Such an opinion had they of the faith of Kilkenny that they sent their most learned man as Protestant bishop here in the reign of Edward VI. So signal, however, was his failure that there never was such a procession in the city as when he retired in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. All the clergy and canons went in solemn procession around the town with light and incense and song, making the whole place resound with the joyful Litanies of the Blessed Virgin and acclamations of the people; and so exuberant was their enthusiasm that even the venerable canons, forgetting the decorum of their age and station, flung their caps in joy to the battlements of St. Canice's. The spirit shown by them on this occasion warned Queen Elizabeth to proceed with caution in Kilkenny, for although they passed statutes easily enough, they bided their time in enforcing them. If they found the watchman timid, they terrified him; if they found him simple, they deceived him; if they found him corrupt, they threw him a sop and silenced him; if they found him prudent and strong, they respected him apparently, but they watched their opportunity, and when he too was off his guard, the chain was flung around, the bolt was shot, and religion left to mourn great opportunities lost—the slavery of centuries entailed by insensibility to danger, which steady organization might at once have crushed. It was fortunate for Catholic Kilkenny that it had this courage. There is a book written by the son of the Speaker of the House of Commons that passed the laws of Elizabeth against the Catholic Church (Stanihurst). It was printed at Antwerp, in 1584. It gives a full account of a school in which, fortunately for himself, he was educated, just near St. Canice's, founded by Earl Pierse and Margaret Fitzgerald, Countess of Ormonde, so well known by tradition still. Peter White was the master of the school. He was driven from the deanery of Waterford because he would not deny his faith; but he found protection in Kilkenny, immediately after Elizabeth had passed her laws against the Church; and well for Kilkenny he did. So fondly does his pupil dwell on his memory, so minutely does he describe this city, that you might imagine he was writing a guide

book for the Spanish Armada, then about to sail, and that the lazy Scheldt, though laden with the commerce of the vast Spanish Empire and the glorious cathedral itself, and all the arsenals of Antwerp then resounding with the din of the mighty preparation, did not impress him so strongly as his reminiscences of Kilkenny. Oh, the influence of the school on the feelings and opinions of the man. He remembers even the waters of the Nore—so cold, he says, in summer—he was thinking of the Bishop's Meadows on a bright warm day, and of the bound and the splash and the ringing cheer in that water, so cold in summer; and of the gardens along its banks, just as they are now; and the great forests extending the whole way from Troyswood to the Queen's County, so thick that when the Lord Deputy wanted to pay a visit (not a friendly one) to Mountgarret, he was several days cutting a pass through them; and the rich plain at the other side of the city, and the clear air, and the beautiful monuments—alas! where are they now? and, in fine, as he says himself, better than all, citizens most refined, and of most sterling worth. Then come the names of his school-fellows—names, except a few, so familiar to us still—all men of great talent and learning; and, I will add, some of them priests. These were the men, the scholars of Peter White, who preserved religion in Kilkenny during the dreary forty years and upwards of Elizabeth's reign.

From that page, when it appeared, a Kilkenny boy, about ten years of age may have learned his first lesson in Latin, taught, perhaps, by one of the priests whose fame it preserves. On Sunday after hearing their Mass in the crowded private houses or in the store of the wealthy Catholic merchant (for no other places were allowed), when he came out in the fresh autumn air he saw the rank grass growing at the doors of all the churches, and every day's wind and rain making havoc on the windows of St. John's, and the thoughtless boy, perhaps, or the avaricious dealer, stealing or defacing some image of a saint or cross. Again, at his return in the evening, if he stood on the height at Temple Maul little church, he remembered how he had been told by his father that twenty years ago, at that sweet hour of sun-

set, all the towers rising over the city, beyond the river, from the Castle to St. Canice's (now so mournful and silent), used to send forth the soft and pensive note of the Angelus bell, answered from the other bank of St. Maul's, St. Stephen's, and St. John's. When coming into the city at dusk, he summoned courage to look in at the Black Abbey, and saw there, by the moonlight streaming in through the rent roof, the owl sailing noiselessly up the aisle, and hooting on the desecrated altar, what must this boy have felt? Why are these churches closed? Why does not our natural sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, redress this injustice? Do not our city musters march out every day under her banners? Are not her sentinels on our walls?

It was in these influences that a young mind was formed, which I now introduce to your notice. And here, young men of Kilkenny, I say most unaffectedly I wish it had fallen to more able hands to do—what I feel I am utterly unable to do—justice to his memory. Connected with the most respectable families in the city—families who represented her in more than one Parliament—he made for himself a place in her history which no wealth nor family descent could confer; and not only here in this city and in this diocese, but in the surrounding dioceses and in all Ireland, and wherever the name of Ireland was known to the ecclesiastical scholar, the name of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, was known and revered. Forty years before his death he was praised in a book, published in 1611, as a great prelate whom everyone knew that knew Ireland, and one of the most distinguished scholars that had left the University of Douay. His perilous commission, abstracting altogether from its ordinary responsibilities, had terrors at that time which none but souls of chivalrous devotion could face without blenching. There were very few bishops then residing in Ireland, and of those few one, a bishop of Down and Connor, was imprisoned in Dublin on a groundless charge of high treason, for which he was tried and put to death, in 1612. To console this bishop, and to nerve him against the terrors of the scaffold, in a beautiful letter, still preserved, was one of the first duties of Dr. Rothe, himself

remember, being at the time exposed every moment to the same danger.

I cannot recount all his services to Ireland and to religion; but to be brief, what should he do that he has not done? A scholar with a ready and clear pen, he used it to publish the ancient religious glories of Ireland, and attract sympathy for her sufferings, and, though his contributions to this branch of literature may displease modern inquiries, they were gratefully received not only by Catholic writers, but by his contemporaries, the most eminent Protestant scholars that the Established Church of Ireland has ever produced. A diplomatist, with the same pen he exposed to the scorn of Europe the hollow pretence of the time—that there was no persecution in Ireland—and unmasked the policy of James I. so effectually that towards the end of this monarch's reign there was some slight and gradual relaxation of the persecution; and, moreover, he kept the woes of Ireland constantly before the eyes of the Pope, the common father of the faithful. What would we know of the Catholic martyrs during Elizabeth's reign but for his *Analecta*? A patron of learning, and to rear up in this city a school of Catholic learning, he cherished for many years of what he might call comparatively the bad times, the hope of one day seeing the Jesuits established there. Nor was he disappointed, for in his own, or in his brother's house, opposite the court-house, the Jesuits had their first, and, I believe, their only noviciate in Ireland. But, above all, he was the tender and loving pastor, preaching the Gospel to the poor, and consoling them in their afflictions. Disguised as a soldier or a physician, as a pedlar, and sometimes as a beggar, he discharged his episcopal functions not only here and in the neighbouring dioceses, but through all Ireland, for during several years he was invested with the primatial authority.

An eminent author, Dr. Lynch, states that David Rothe was for some few years the only bishop residing in Ireland, and that whether he lay concealed in the forest or went along the by-roads, or enjoyed the secure shelter of the faithful Catholic house, the children were brought in crowds to him to be confirmed. Pre-eminently distinguished for his love of peace and harmony among the

clergy, and having by his great reputation and personal intercourse with them in different parts of Ireland, obtained an influence such as none other could command, he succeeded in 1620, in founding an 'Association of Peace' (the first of the kind in Catholic annals), which by degrees spread throughout all parts of Ireland, and embraced in one bond of love and devotion the clergy of all classes, secular and regular, Irish and Anglo-Irish. Oh, that it had been his lot to know only the 'Association of Peace !' The influence of that association with other causes during twenty years had restored to the Catholics nearly all their rights. They had the numbers and the wealth, landed and commercial, and soon must have had a political power, when they were driven to arm in self-defence, in 1641. I say, driven to arm, for dire compulsion alone could, even at the time, combine the Irish and Anglo-Irish in the same ranks. Dr. Rothe had no connection with the first general rising; but when the Catholics from all quarters came pouring in disorder into Kilkenny, he was generally believed to have organized them into that Catholic Confederation, which, in the first vigour of its prime, brought nearly all Ireland under its sway to swear fidelity to the Catholic religion, and allegiance to Charles I.

Much has been written in ignorance and malice against the Catholic Confederation; but have its critics refuted the assertion of that great statesman, Edmund Burke, that the Confederation would have given to the whole Irish nation what the Irish Parliament of 1782 gave to a party? That, in reality, it wanted nothing but success to have it proclaimed as the glorious and immortal revolution! But I am not discussing the politics of that famous assembly, which are the burden of many a dismal tome; nor are we to criticize the course adopted by our illustrious David in all the distracted discords that soon shattered the vigour of the nation. The wonder is how he outlived them, for the snows of seventy winters were on his head, when, surrounded by all the Catholic nobles and Catholic prelates, and Catholic gentry of Ireland, his venerable form was seen moving in solemn procession up the great aisle of St. Canice; and, there, after the lapse of eighty years, the Mass was

again offered up to the clashing of arms, to the pealing of cannon, and all the imposing ceremony of a Catholic kingdom. When the pomp was over, when the enthusiastic march of that armed generation which had grown up since he came a prelate to Ireland, had died away in the narrow streets, rolling on to the Castle or the Parliament House, and left the patriarch alone in the church, no sound but the echo of his own footfall in the spacious aisle, no object present to his sight but the altar and the lamp, what wonder if he doubted the reality of the scene? When he saw from his cathedral the swelling woods of Freshford and Lisdowney, from which, more than thirty years ago, he had governed the Irish Church, could he suppress anxious emotion at the perilous splendour of her present position? Single-handed he had then encountered her enemies with success. Many councillors now brought destruction. Feeling he had done all that man could do, he soon selected his grave and prepared a sacred bequest for his people. He had lived to see his city placed under the patronage of the Virgin, and her statue enthroned on the Market Cross; he selected his grave in her Chapel of St. Canice's. He lived to celebrate in that church the divine mysteries with which he had so long sanctified every forest and lonely glen in Ossory. He bequeathed to his people as a monument of his gratitude and love, with other treasures, the sacred vessel used at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, the beautiful monstrance, so long preserved in the honoured family of Bryan, and now in the possession of Dr. Rothe's revered successors in this historic diocese.¹

N. MURPHY.

¹ Lynch, in his MS. *Lives of the Irish Bishops*, relates, that after the surrender of Kilkenny to Cromwell, March 28, 1650, Bishop Rothe in his carriage 'accompanied the garrison, who were allowed to march away with all the honours of war, but at the distance of two miles from the town, a troop of the enemy attacked and plundered the rear-guard, and seizing the bishop's carriage carried off one hundred pounds, which was all that he now possessed; wherefore, by Cromwell's permission he was brought back to his friends in the city, among whom he expired on the 20th of the following month of April, being 82 years of age. He was interred in the family tomb which his ancestors had erected in St. Mary's Church, his obsequies being duly performed by his friends according to the Catholic rites, and torches burning around his bier throughout the whole night that preceded his interment.' His monument in St. Canice's Cathedral was left uninjured, although it bore engraven on it figures of the crucifix and the B. Virgin, and other saints.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

EXPOSITION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

REV. DEAR SIR,—In a recent number of the I. E. RECORD you answer a question asked by ‘Laicus,’ and say :—‘When the Blessed Sacrament is solemnly exposed in the monstrance, the monstrance should, generally speaking, be placed on a throne of some kind, more or less elevated, above the table of the altar. This is prescribed for the solemn Exposition of the Forty Hours in the *Instructio Clementina*, and by nearly all writers for the solemn exposition.’

But the *Instructio Clementina* prescribes that there should not only be a throne, but also a white canopy. ‘Sopra detto altare in sito eminente vi sia un Tabernaculo o Trono con baldachino proporzionato di color bianco.’ I believe the *Instructio* is not binding *extra urbem*. But may I ask is there any other rubric prescribing a canopy on the occasion of the exposition? If not, may I further ask, is it not the custom, in Catholic countries, to use a canopy in the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament? and, if so, are we not bound, in some way, to conform to their custom?

May I further ask, whether it would not be more becoming to open the tabernacle door, and give Benediction with pix, say after twelve o’clock Mass, on Sunday, when there are no special devotions recited before the Blessed Sacrament, and whether a P.P. can do this without consulting the Ordinary?—Yours faithfully,

A DUBLIN P.P.

1. The *Clementine Instruction* does prescribe the use of a white canopy for the exposition of the Forty Hours, as the extract given by our correspondent abundantly proves. But, as he himself remarks, this Instruction binds only in Rome, and, even there, only on the occasion of the Exposition of the Forty Hours. Hence, so far as the *Clementine Instruction* is concerned, the use of the white

canopy is not obligatory in any exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, outside of Rome. And, in reply to our correspondent's inquiry regarding the existence of some other source of obligation, we must reply that there is none, as far as we know. Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, being an extra-liturgical service, is not regulated by any precise or unchangeable code of rules. What the Church expects, and what reverence for this great mystery demands is, that everything about the altar, and especially everything directly connected with the exposition, should be becoming, and as worthy of the place it occupies as the circumstances of the church wherein exposition takes place will permit.

It is, we believe, customary in Catholic countries, to have the throne in which the monstrance is placed crowned with a canopy, from which oftentimes depend folds of the same material behind the monstrance, and to the right and left, thus concealing it from every side unless that one which is turned towards the people. This continental custom is copied from the *Clementine Instruction*, and is, no doubt, very praiseworthy; but, surely, we in this country are not bound to follow a custom which cannot be binding—unless by reason of national or diocesan legislation—in the countries in which it prevails.

2. It is forbidden to take the pyx or ciborium out of the tabernacle for the purpose of blessing the people with it. Private exposition of the Blessed Sacrament is allowed. This consists in merely opening the door of the tabernacle, and in placing the ciborium, covered as usual with the veil, in such a position within the tabernacle that it may be seen by the people kneeling in front of the altar. But the ciborium must not, by any means, be taken out of the tabernacle for the purpose of giving Benediction with it. A parish priest may privately expose the Blessed Sacrament in this manner for a reasonable cause without the permission of his bishop.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE PRIEST IN NATIONALITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—In view of the approaching third annual meeting of the Maynooth Union, I trust you will allow me a little corner of your valuable space for the purpose of bringing under the notice of the members a subject that deserves their united attention, and might very profitably be admitted for discussion at the meeting in June. Though I am myself a member of the Union, it will be impossible for me to take part in the proceedings of the June meeting, and I write this letter in the hope that priests intending to be present at that meeting, who may happen to read it, would bestow in the interval a serious thought on its contents, and try to form for themselves a responsible judgment and elicit the judgment of the Union on the mooted question.

The matter about which I write may turn out to have only a remote connection with the topics arranged as formal items for the programme, but I have reason to believe that it would be in order for discussion under some of the papers announced to be read ; and at any rate, on its own merits, it is not beneath the notice of the collective clerical wisdom which the Union aims at drawing forth and directing to practical ends.

The question itself which I wish to have raised is akin to that discussed at last year's meeting by the Bishop of Clonfert, and in the scale of importance it scarcely yields to Dr. Healy's subject. This is asserting a strong claim on my own behalf to a serious hearing, but I am convinced it is a reasonable claim. 'The Priest in Politics' is only the title of a special chapter in the general subject, 'The Priest in Nationality,' and there is pretty much the same necessity for examining and adjusting the priest's relations under the general head as under the special. Politics is only one field in the great domain of nationality, and it will be found that the same reasons, ultimately, which recommend or necessitate political action on the part of the priest hold good to the same extent for interference in other fields of national life and activity. The interests indeed that chiefly concern m as a priest are, as a rule, more imminently involved in political questions

and their issues; but the same interests are also involved, sometimes just as directly, in other matters of a national character, distinct from politics; while on the grounds of mere patriotism, which is also to be considered, those matters have as true a claim on the priests of Ireland as any political movement can have. It would, therefore, be a very inadequate view of our indirect sphere of work that would include only the arena of politics. As priests and as Irishmen we cannot be indifferent about the progress and development or the decay, as the case may be, of nationality in the higher and wider sense; and no matter how signally praiseworthy our services to political nationality, we should fail to satisfy a notable part of the national claims upon us were we to stand idly by while some of the best qualities and most precious possessions of our traditional nationality are disappearing with alarming rapidity, and a new nationality, unlike the old, is growing up in our midst.

In order to give a more definite purport to these general remarks it will be sufficient to refer to a few leading points.

And to begin with the national language, it has decayed more during the present century than it had done during the six centuries before, during which it was proscribed by a more rigorous ban; nor has any truly national effort been made to check the decay and bring about a revival. Priests and people alike—the great bulk of them—have seemed to be unconscious of suffering any loss; their apathy, in fact, has looked like a voluntary yielding up of their most ancient national heritage. I do not forget the grand exceptions to this attitude of indifference, but what I say is undeniably true of the general state of the case. Nor am I speaking by way of blame—a sufficient explanation may be given of all that has occurred. But it is a matter for reasonable surprise that the apathy still continues. Perhaps it is that the loss of the old tongue is not regarded as an absolute loss at all, but only as a profitable and beneficial exchange. The new language, it may be said, is more useful to our race in the battle of life, and forms in itself a richer possession by reason of its priceless literature, while the direct loss to nationality may be repaired by preserving the ancient spirit which is independent of any tongue.

But waiving the question of utility, this view has little to recommend it. It is all very good to talk of preserving the spirit of nationality, but it cannot be denied that a distinctive

language is the greatest safeguard of distinctive nationality, and no other influences can fully supply its place. And the Irish language was something more than a mere external safeguard of Irish nationality. It was the living embodiment and perpetuating instrument of many of the most beautiful national characteristics. Just to mention one instance, which ought to appeal especially to the priest, nothing could be more worthy of all admiration than the spirit of lively faith and earnest piety which was embedded, so to speak, in the very texture of the language, and spoke in its every sentence. You could not speak Irish as our fathers spoke it without being in frequent contact with God and His Holy Mother and your Angel Guardian and the saints, and you have only to go among those who still speak the old tongue to be convinced that this familiarity with the supernatural was not an unconscious, much less an irreverent, habit, but the earnest expression of the prayerful heart. It may be said, of course, that these and similar characteristics ought to survive the loss of the language, that any language may be applied to such pious uses ; and I admit that our people who have lost the old tongue have retained, in a large degree, the habits of religious thought reflected in it. But this is only a proof that things change slowly, for that a change in this respect is really in progress nobody has a better opportunity of observing than the missionary priest ; and I think it will be borne out by the general experience that where the language of faith has died, the outspoken spirit of faith has declined. The grand old forms of pious salutation exclamation, purpose, and so on, that were common-places in the old tongue, are now no longer heard, or so seldom as to create surprise, except among the older and more rustic people who still retain the fashion and spirit of a bygone age. Such usages, in fact, are a sign of rusticity ; modern enlightenment laughs them out of court, and they must not appear where its influences prevail. I admit, of course, that such a change is not in the nature of things a necessary consequence of the change of language ; but it is inevitable that such a change should follow, when with the new language, new notions and ideals and principles and standards, which contradict the old, have come in and taken possession of the public mind.

This change, however, it must be remembered, is only one phase of a widely growing tendency in the same direction, and is not to be taken as a full presentation of the case. I am

suggesting merely one particular point of view. And continuing from that same point of view, it is evident that the most potent influence in working the change is the influence of what counts as English literature. I do not speak of what is really good in that literature, but of what is bad and pernicious, openly or insidiously infidel and immoral, to which may be added what is merely natural and purely worldly to the exclusion of everything of a higher order and interest. The increasing quantity of such literature and its circulation among our people is a matter for grave alarm; every priest comes face to face with the evil in some form and degree, and all are of one mind that it is an evil to be fought with every available weapon. It is not an evil of native origin, but has come in from without in consequence of the loss of our language; and it cannot be doubted that whatever is done for the preservation and restoration of the national language is so far a counteracting remedy. Personally, I believe in the feasibility of restoration on an extended scale; the example of the Welsh and Flemish revivals seems to place it beyond a doubt, and priests as a body ought to have made an earnest trial of the movement before they despair of its success. Belgian priests regard the Flemish revival as one of the greatest blessings that has come to their nation, chiefly because of the effective barrier it has set up against the inroad of corrupting French literature. So strong, indeed, is their feeling on the question of their national language that it has actually decided the appointment to at least one episcopal see. When may we expect such a state of feeling here at home?

But even though Irish is never again to become a living national language, it is entitled to national reverence. Some knowledge of it and some appreciation of its literature ought to be a first qualification for an educated Irishman; and were such a national fashion in possession a great deal would have been done to destroy the power of the false-culture fashion that dominates in our day. On this wider ground I would press my appeal on the attention of my fellow-priests.

And this leads up to a still wider portion of the general subject with which I set out. In saying so much about the language I do not mean to imply that it is the sole or even the chief point of importance: but as I have taken up so much space with it, I cannot deal so fully as I would wish with some other leading points. A few brief remarks must suffice.

What I have said of the neglect of the national language is true, I fear, almost in the same degree of other elements in the life of genuine nationality. Irish history, for instance, and kindred subjects get practically no recognition in the existing public systems of education. The primary system, though calling itself national, is notorious for ignoring and excluding everything having the slightest flavour of nationality about it. The Intermediate is very little better in this respect; and we have no university system to supply the deficiencies of the lower systems. The consequence is that our people are thrown on their own resources for whatever national education they receive. Popular national literature is the only school to which they can have recourse. But the national knowledge diffused and national good accomplished in this way is only a token of what could be further done in the same way were there a more widespread appreciation and encouragement of national literary work. Priests have been often accused of remissness in this respect, and the charge is not without foundation. Certain it is that if they would give their own patronage in this matter as extensively and as liberally as in politics, for instance, and exert their influence in securing popular patronage, a vastly greater amount of good could be accomplished, while the evil above referred to of bad and worthless reading would be diminished in a corresponding measure. But there are special lines in which priests would be naturally expected to take the lead, but in which very little, comparatively, is being done by them. There are no popular lives of many of our greatest saints, and what is more, no demand for them; their work, and their names even, are generally unknown, devotion to them unheard of. Similarly, our martyrs are neglected. And as to sacred topography and archæology and such like, their cultivation and promotion are left, strange to say, chiefly to those who have no proper claim to the glory that lingers around the places and monuments associated with the ancient faith. Surely it is not fitting that things should be so.

But I must not prolong the subject. My object in writing will be gained if someone be found to take up what I have aimed at suggesting, and set on foot some movement that may bear fruit. There could be no occasion more suitable than a meeting of the Maynooth Union for considering such subjects as this. I have no doubt that many members of the Union will agree with

all I have said, and more that I should like to have said ; and if any encouraging response to this letter appear at the re-union or elsewhere, it may be practicable to proceed beyond mere words, and establish, for example, a league or association of priests to propagate and carry into effect, by working on definite lines which could easily be specified and arranged, the policy which I have partially outlined. It would be premature now to put forward any definite proposals.

SACERDOS.

DOCUMENTS

DECISION REGARDING THE USE OF GLASS IN THE CRESCENT LUNETTE

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

SS. HOSTIA REPONI POTEST INTRA DUO CRYSTALLA MODO SINT BENE
CLAUSA, NEQUE ILLA TANGAT

DUBIUM

In plurimis Galliae Ecclesiis atque Oratoriis usus invaluit postremis hisce temporibus sacram Hostiam, quae in Ostensorio exponenda est, recondendi intra duo crystallae apte cohaerentia, eamque in Tabernaculo reponendi absque ulla capsula, seu custodia. Hinc a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione expostulatum fuit : 'An eiusmodi praxis licita sit ?'

Atque eadem Sacra Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis liturgicae, ac re mature perpensa, proposito Dubio respondendum censuit : Affirmative ; dummodo sacra Hostia in dictis crystallis bene sit clausa, atque crystallae non tangat, iuxta alias Decreta.

Atque ita rescipit die 14 Ianuarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secr.*

L. ✠ S

THE PRIVILEGE OF SINGING REQUIEM MASSES TWICE A WEEK

PRIVILEGIUM CANTANDI MISSAM DE REQUIE BIS IN HEBDOMADA,
PRAETER DIES LIBEROS, NON EXTENDITUR AD MISSAS LECTAS

In Actis Synodalibus dioeceseos Bugellensis, pag. 3 legitur :
'Missa etiam in pauperum funeribus, praesente cadavere, si fieri potest, cani debet : legatur autem, si cani nequit, diebus per decreta S. Rituum Congregationis permissis.'

Hinc ab ipsa Sacra Congregatione expetitur : Utrum concessio facta die 4 Aprilis 1878 Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis publicis praedictae dioeceseos celebrandi biduo in qualibet Hebdomada, exclusis duplicibus primae et secundae classis, festis de praecepto servandis, feriis, vigiliis, octavisque privilegiatis, missam cantatam

de Requite, extendatur etiam ad missam de Requite sine cantu, seu lectam?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit: 'Negative, nisi agatur de Missa, die obitus seu depositionis pro paupere defuncto.'

Atque ita rescripsit, die 28 Ianuarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secr.*

THE BLESSING OF WATER AND CEMENT FOR THE ALTAR

DE BENEDICTIONE AQUAE ET COEMENTI PRO FIRMANDA TABULA SUPER SEPULCHRUM ALTARIUM

Rmus. Dnus. Salvator Ioannes Baptista Bolognesi, Episcopus Bellunensis et Feltrensis, qui per Rescriptum Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis d. d. 23 Novembris anni elapsi 1897, obtinuit facultatem consecrandi sive per se, sive per Sacerdotem, Apostolicae Sedis nomine a se delegatum, quaedam altaria, adhibendo breviorum ritum ac formulam iuxta instructionem ad ipsum transmissam, ab eadem Sacra Congregatione sequentium Dubiorum solutionem humillime efflagitavit; nimirum:

I. An aqua, cum qua fit malta seu coementum ad firmandam tabulam seu lapidem super sepulchrum reliquiarum, benedici valeat cum formula inserta in Missali Romano?

II. An ipsum coementum benedicendum sit?

III. An supradicta benedictio tum atque tum coementi, necnon facultas consecrandi Altaria, in quibus lapis sepulchri ob omissum coementum movetur, Apostolicae Sedis nomine delegari possit simplici Sacerdoti, vi obtenti Rescripti?

Et sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque accurate perpensa, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Negative, sed in benedictione eiusmodi aquae adhibenda est formula, quae habetur in ipso Pontificali Romano.

Ad II. Affirmative iuxta Pontificale Romanum.

Ad III. Affirmative quoad utramque partem.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 21 Ianuarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secr.*

FORM OF ORDINATION CORRUPTED BY INADVERTENCE

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

CIRCA CORRUPTAM EX INADVERTENTIA FORMAM IN S. ORDINATIONE
PRESBYTERALI.

BEATISSIME PATER,

N.N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter petit quid agendum sit cuidam clerico, in cuius ordinatione presbyterali Episcopus inadvertenter ita corruptit formulam ut dixerit: 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum; quorum retinueris peccata, remissa sunt: et quorum retinueris, retenta sunt.'

Feria V, loco IV., 9 Decembris, 1897.

In Cong. Gen. S. et U. I. habita ab Emis et Rmis DD. Card. in rebus fidei et morum Gen. Inquisitoribus, proposito superscripto dubio, praehabitisque RR. DD. CC. S. Officii votis, iidem Emi ac Rmi Patres respondendum censuerunt:

'Secreto et sub conditione quovis anni tempore suppleatur ad cautelam a quovis Episcopo cum Sancta Sede communionem habente, induto de moro, *tertia manuum impositio* et forma respectiva: *Accipe Spiritum S. etc.*: et quoad praeteritum, acquiescat.'

Insequenti vero feria VI, die 10 dicti mensis et anni in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus SSmo D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, S. S. resolutionem Emorum Patrum, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, in omnibus adprobavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I. Not.*

FACULTIES GRANTED TO AMERICAN BISHOPS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

DE UNICO VICARIO GENERALI DELEGABILI QUOAD CASUS MATRI-
MONIALES FORMULAE D. ET E.

Pittsburg, 3 Nov., 1896.

EMINENTISSIME PRINCEPS,

Accepi novas Formulas modificatas Facultatum Extraordin. quas mihi, die 9 Iulii huius anni, misisti; at dubium exortum est eo quod in hisce Formulis legitur Episcopo concedi potestatem subdelegandi quasdam Facultates Extraordinarias *suo Vicario*

Generali, dum in Formulis olim datis, Episcopus pollebat potestate subdelegandi easdem Facultates suis Vicariis Generalibus.

Quaeritur, ergo, utrum in novis Formulis modificatis, potestas Episcopi limitetur, adeo ut, nunc temporis, valeat tantum subdelegare has Facultates unico Vicario Generali, an pluribus, uti antiquitus?

Omnia qua par est reverentia et benevolentia permaneo,

Addictissimus in Xto,

R. PHELAN, *Episcopus Pittsburgensis.*

Pittsburg, die 12 Nov., 1896.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Infrascriptus Episcopus Pittsburgensis, ad pedes B. V. provolutus, humillime exponit ac petit :

Die 9 Iulii currentis anni B. V. dignata est concedere Episcopo Pittsburgensi—inter alias facultates—potestatem subdelegandi Vicario Generali facultates contentas in Formulis D. et E. ‘quoties absit a residentia vel legitime sit impeditus.’

Iamvero, attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis huius Dioecesis, haec potestas parvi valet, quum ex duobus Vicariis Generalibus, unus ad Ecclesiam S. Petri—trans flumen, in civitate Alleghany, alius, ad Ecclesiam S. Mariae, in hac ipsa civitate Pittsburgensi, at tria circiter millia passuum distans a residentia Episcopali domiciliatur—et aditus ad illos, plerumque difficilis, semper inconveniens foret.

Unde humillime supplicatur B. V. ut infrascripto concedere dignetur potestatem subdelegandi Cancellario Episcopali, qui secum in domo residet, easdem facultates, aequae ac Vicario Generali.

Pro qua gratia, &c ,

R. PHELAN, *Episcopus Pittsburgensis.*

Romae, 22 Dec., 1896.

S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide

Protocollo N. 20991-20992.

Oggetto. Circa Subdelegationem facultatum
uni Vicario gen.

ILLME AC RME DOMINE,

Per duas epistolas in mense Novembri nuper elapso mihi datas Amplitudo Tua postulabat ab hac S. Congregatione utrum

illae facultates quae per novas formulas ab Ordinario subdelegari possunt suo Vicario Generali possint etiam omnibus Vicariis Generalibus dari, si hi plures sint, et insuper petebat facultatem subdelegandi easdem facultates etiam Cancellario residenti in Curia, si Vicarius Generalis non ibi resideat. Iamvero cum novae formulae iuxta praescriptiones et decreta Suprema Congregationis Sancti Officii editae sint, hinc illis omnino standum est. Caeterum sufficienter urgentioribus casibus provisum est cum dicitur in una ex his formulis, nempe extr. E, Ordinarium subdelegare posse facultates in ea formula contentas non solum suo Vicario Generali sed etiam duobus vel tribus Presbyteris sibi benevisis in locis remotioribus propriae Diocesis pro aliquo tamen numero casuum urgentiorum, in quibus recursus ad ipsi haberi non possit. Si igitur Amplitudo Tua difficilem putat esse accessum ad Vicarium Generalem, si alibi resideat, et opportunius esse ut facultates habeat aliquis, qui degat in Curia, potest uni alterive sacerdoti in remotioribus Diocesis partibus degenti facultates delegare ad normam formulae et alium sacerdotem in urbe residentiali habitantem Vicarium suum Generalem nominare cui soli inter Vicarios eiusmodi poterunt dictae facultates subdelegari.

Interim Deum precor ut Te diutissime sospitet

A. T. Addictissimus servus.

M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

A. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN., *Secret.*

R. P. D. RICHARDO PHELAN,
Episcopo Pittsburgensi.

ITALIAN PRIESTS IN AMERICA

EPISTOLA CIRCULARIS AD EPISCOPIOS ITALOS ET AMERICANOS,
RELATE AD SACERDOTES ITALOS, QUI AD AMERICANUS REGIONES
EMIGRANT

Non sine magno animi moerore Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. accepit, nonnullos sacerdotes ex Italia, praesertim meridionali, ad Americanas regiones emigratos eam ducere vitam, quae a morum integritate et sanctate quam ecclesiasticus vir praeseferre debet, prorsus abhorret.

Volens itaque Beatissimus Pater tanti mali ulteriori dilationi pro viribus obsistere, eas renovando et ampliando cautelas ac remedia, quae praeteritis annis iam fuerant adhibita; audito voto Cardinalium sacrae Congregationis Concilii, mandavit eidem

Congregationi mittere ad Episcopos et Ordinarios tum Italiae tum Americae sequentes praescriptiones.

I. Quoad Italos sacerdotes emigratos in America commorantes, locales Antistites contra delinquentes summarie procedant ad formam Sacrorum Canonum, etiam tamquam Apostolicae Sedis delegati, si opus sit.

II. Quoad futurum vero, prohibetur absolute Italiae Episcopis et Ordinariis concedere suis presbyteris de clero saeculari litteras discessoriales ad emigrandum in regiones Americae.

III. Exceptio tantummodo admitti poterit, onerata Episcopi conscientia, pro aliquo eius diocesano sacerdote maturae aetatis, sufficienti sacra scientia praedito, et omnino iustam afferente emigrationis causam. Qui tamen bonum testimonium habens intemeratae vitae in operibus sacri ministerii cum laude veri spiritus ecclesiastici et zeli salutis animarum hactenus peractae; ideo fundatum spem exhibeat aedificandi verbo et exemplo fideles ac populos ad quos transire postulat nec non moralem certitudinem praestet nunquam a se maculatam iri sacerdotalem dignitatem exercitatione quarumcumque vulgarium artium et negotiationum.

IV. Sed in huiusmodi casu idem Italus Episcopus et Ordinarius, omnibus rite perpensis et probatis, rem, absque sacerdotis postulantis intermedio, directe agat cum Ordinario Americano ad cuius dioecesim ille transire cupit, et habita ab ipso Americano Ordinario eiusdem sacerdotis formali acceptatione una cum promissione eum ad aliquod ministerii ecclesiastici munus deputandi, de omnibus et singulis, praefatae Sacrae Congregationi Concilii referat. Quae si tandem consensum dederit, tunc poterit Episcopus discessorias litteras concedere, communicando Americano Antistiti per secretam epistolam, nisi et iam cognitae sint, notas personales emigrantis sacerdotis, ad effectum impediendi fraudes circa subiecti identitatem. Ex ea dioecesi ad aliam in America idem sacerdos emigrare nequeat absque nova sacrae Congregationis licentia.

V. Excluduntur in quacumque hypotesi presbyteri ritus orientalis.

VI. Quod si non agatur de emigratione, sed de aliquo Italiae sacerdote, qui ob personales et honestas temporaneas causa pergere velit ad Americae partes, satis erit ut proprius Ordinarius, his perspectis, ac dummodo de cetero nihil obstat, eum muniat in scriptis sua licentia ad tempus (unius anni limitem non excedens),

in qua praefatae abeundi causae declarentur, cum conditione, ut suspensus illico maneat a divinis expirato praefixo termino, nisi eius legitimam prorogationem obtinuerit.

VII. Non comprehenduntur his legibus de emigratione in Americanus ii sacerdotes, qui ad hoc speciali aliquo gaudent apostolico privilegio.

Datum Romae ex S. Congregatione Concilii die 27 Iulii, 1890.

RELICS OF THE SACRED PASSION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

NON INNOVETUR CIRCA DECRETA RESPICIENTIA CULTUM EXHIBENDUM RELIQUIIS PASSIONIS D. N. I. C.

Rmus P. Commissarius Generalis Fratrum Minorum Observantium de Provincia Calabriae Sacra Rituum Congr. ea quae sequuntur humillime exposuit, nimirum:—In Conventu Fratrum Minorum Franciscalium de Observantia prope Petiliam Policastrum ac de Provincia Calabriae, abhinc tribus saeculis una colitur Spina Coronae D. N. I. C. sanguine conspersa et quondam a Rmo Archiepiscopo S. Severinae, in cuius dioecesi situm est oppidum, iuridice recognita et approbata. Haec autem S. Reliquia cum exponitur fidelium venerationi, super tabernaculum collocari solet in quo SSimum Sacramentum asservatur, et ante ipse trans-euntes utrumque flectunt genu; et ipse Sacerdotes ante eam expositam celebrantes omnia peragunt, quae ante SSimum Sacramentum expositum fieri solent. Idem vero Rmus P. Commissarius Generalis sua canonica visitatione haec omnia nonnisi SSmae Eucharistiae ratus convenire ex ecclesiastica institutione, iussit ab his abstineri et omnia peragii ad tramitem Decretorum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis. Quod aegre ferentibus quibusdam, ut efficacius, in casu, omnis abusus eliminetur, et debitus honor sacrae Spinae D. N. I. C. tribuatur, praedictus Orator ab eadem Sacra Congregatione enixe postulavit:

I. Utrum praefati usus approbari, vel saltem tolerari possint?

II. Et quatenus negative, quis sit legitimus cultus eidem S. Spinae tribuendus?

Et Sacra ipsa Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, attentis expositis, utrique postulato rescribendum censuit: 'Stetur Decretis, praesertim decreto in *Tridentina* d. d. 12 Martii, 1836, aliisque respicientibus cultum exhibendum ac praescriptum pro

Reliquiis vivificae Crucis aliorumque instrumentorum Passionis Dominicae.'

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 17 Septembris, 1897.

L. M. CARD. PAROCCHI.

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

DECREE REGARDING PIOUS UNIONS AND SOCIETIES

DE ERECTION ET AGGREGATIONE PIARUM UNIONUM SEU SOCIETATUM, ETC.

Cum hisce temporibus poene innumerae exortae sint in Ecclesia piae Uniones seu Societatis, quae etsi quandoque Confraternitatum nomine decorentur, nihilominus inter veras et proprie dictas Confraternitates minime sint recensenda; merito dubitatum est, an leges, quae a Constitutione Clementis VIII., quae incipit: *Quaecumque*, pro Confraternitatibus et Congregationibus iussae sunt, novis istis piis Unionibus seu Societatibus forent applicandae. Quaestio insuper mota est pro nonnullis Confraternitatibus ad Regulares Ordines pertinentibus, quoad consensum Ordinariorum, cum illae in Ecclesiis eorumdem Regularium Ordinum eriguntur. Quare huic Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae sequentia dubia dirimenda sunt exhibita:

I. 'An Piae Uniones seu Societates, quae sub Confraternitatum et Congregationum nomine minime veriunt comprehendantur sub sanctionibus Constitutionis Clementis VIII., quae incipit *Quaecumque*?'

II. 'An ad erectionem Confraternitatum, puta Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Sanctissimi Rosarii, B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo, vel a Virgine Perdolente, aliarumve huiusmodi, quae a Religiosis Ordinibus in suis respectivis Ecclesiis oriuntur, necessarius sit Ordinarii consensus?'

Et Emi Patris Vaticanis Aedibus in generali Congregatione coadunati sub die 5 Augusti, 1897, ad proposita dubia responderunt:

Ad I^{um}: Affirmative, 'quoad erectionem seu institutionem, quoad approbationem statutorum, quoad aggregationem et quoad publicationem Indulgentiarum.'

Ad II^{um}: 'Si agatur de Confraternitalibus proprie dictis, id est ad modum organici corporis et cum sacco constitutis, *Affirmative*: si de Confraternitatibus late acceptis, satis provisum per

consensum praes itum ab Ordinario pro erectione Conventus Ordinis in Diocesi.'

De quibus omnibus facta SSmo Dno Nostro Leoni XIII. relatione in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto die 25 Augusti, 1897, Sanctitas Sua resolutiones Emorum Patrum approbavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die 25 Augusti, 1897.

FR. HIERONYMUS MARIA, CARD. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. ARCHIPISC. ANTINOEN., *Secretarius*.

INDULGENCE OF A PRIVILEGED ALTAR

DECRETUM SQUILLACENSIS

DE INDULGENTIA ALTARI PRIVILEGIATO ADNEXA

Episcopus Squillacensis huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiarum sequentia dubia enodanda proposuit :

I. 'An Indulgentia Altaris Privilegiati separari possit ab applicatione seu fructu Sacrificii, quando Sacrificium est celebrandum pro defunctis ?'

II. 'An eadem Indulgentia Altaris Privilegiati separari possit, quando celebratur Sacrificium pro vivis, ita ut Indulgentia praedicta applicari possit pro defunctis ad libitum Celebrantis ?'

III. 'Quomodo intelligenda sit inscriptio, quae reperitur in aliquibus Altaribus, huius tenoris : "Altare Privilegiatum pro vivis atque defunctis ?"'

Et in generali Congregatione habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano, die 5 Augusti, 1897, Emi Patres rescripserunt :

Ad Ium et IIum : (Negative.)

Ad IIIum. 'Interpretanda est ita, ut tam pro vivis, si in Altari, de quo agitur, Missae Sacrificium pro vivis applicetur, quam pro defunctis, si pro his S. Sacrificium applicetur, intelligatur concessa Plenaria Indulgentia ; pro vivis ad modum iurisdictionis, pro defunctis ad modum suffragii.'

Et facta per me infrascriptum Card. Praefectum SSmo. D. N. Leoni Pp. XIII. de his relatione, in Audientia habita die 25 Augusti, 1897, Patrum Cardinalium responsiones Sanctitas Sua ratas habuit et confirmavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 25 Augusti, 1897.

FR. H. M. CARD. GOTTI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. Archiepisc. ANTINOEN., *Secret.*

**THE DECREE OF THE INDEX ON THE PROHIBITION AND
CENSURE OF BOOKS**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDICIS. CIRCA INTERPRETATIONEM
VERBORUM 'ABSQUE COMPETENTIS AUCTORITATIS LICENTIA,'
ART. 17 CONST. 'OFFICIORUM'

A Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum, sub die 13 Iulii
1897 huic S. Indicis Congregationi propositum fuit sequens
Dubium :—

Utrum in Decreto N. 17 Decretorum Generalium 'De prohi-
bitione et censura librorum,' nuper a SSmo D. N. Leone PP. XIII
editorum, verba haec 'non publicentur absque competentis auctori-
tatis licentia,' ita sint intelligenda, ut in posterum Indulgentiarum
libri, libelli, folia, etc. omnes ad solos locorum Ordinarios pro
impetranda licentia sint referendi? Ad vero subiiciendi sint
censurac aut Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum, aut Ordinarii
loci secundum normas ante novam Constitutionem '*Officiorum ac
munerum*' stabilitas?

Sacra Indicis Congregatio, omnibus mature perpensis
respondit :—

Ad 1^{am} Partem *Negative*.

Ad 1^{am} Partem *Affirmative*.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria, S. Indicis Cong. die 7^a Augusti
1897.

A. CARD. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

Fr. M. CICOGNANI, O. P. *Secret.*

ERROR IN 'SUPPLEX LIBELLUS'

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA SUSTINETUR DISPENSATIO, LICET IN SUP-
PLICII LIBELLO ERROR ADFUERIT IN EXPRIMENDO STIPITE, EX
QUO PROVENIEBAT UNUM EX IMPEDIM CONSANGUINITATIS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Sub die 30 Martii, 1897, Joannes B. . . . et Rosalia J. . . . N. . . .
dioecesis, a Dataria Apostolica rescriptum dispensationis repor-
taverunt 'supra secundo in linea aequali ex uno, ac duplici quarto
ex tertio' stipitibus provenien. consanguinitatis gradibus.

Ita ferebat rescriptum, dum revera dispensatio postulata fuerat
super 'secundo ex uno, quarto ex altero ac demum item quarto
ex tertio' stipitibus provenien. consanguinitatis gradibus.

Iamvero cum tempus urgeret et error rescripti circa quid

accidentale versaretur, Ordinarius N. . . . rescriptum executus est, sponsique in facie Ecclesiae rite copulati sunt. Hinc quaerit :—

1. Utrum rescriptum valide et licite executus fuerit ?

Die 1 Februarii, 1895, cum quidam Ordinarius in libello supplici se originis Ordinarium affirmaverit, dum revera Ordinarius domicilii esset, S. Poenitentiaria sciscitanti respondit dispensationem valide et licite fuisse datum, verum errorem corrigendum esse. Hinc :

2. Utrum ipse Ordinarius N. . . . debeat et in casu actuali errorem rescripti corrigere ?

Et Deus. . . .

Sacra Poenitentiaria Ordinario N. . . . super praemissis respondet: *Facta correctione acquiescat.*

Datum Romae et Sacra Poenitentiaria die 2 Iunii, 1897.

B. POMPILI, S.P., *Corrector.*

V. CANGUS LUCCHETTI, S.P., *Secrius.*

MARRIAGES OF FREETHINKERS, SECTARIES, AND CATHOLICS WHO REFUSE TO FULFIL THEIR CHRISTIAN DUTIES

E. S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE. CIRCA MATRIMONIA LIBERORUM
PENSATORUM, SECTARIORUM ET CATHOLICORUM QUI CHRISTIANA
OFFICIA ADIMPLERE RECUSANT

Feria III., loco IV., die 25 Maii 1897.

In Relatione Status Ecclesiae Tabescensis, exhibita S. Congregationi Concilii die 27 Novembris 1896, sequens legitur sub num. I *Postulatum* :

‘His in Regionibus frequenter occurrit ut viri impii, vulgo *liberi pensatores*, matrimonium inire cupientes cum mulieribus catholicis, praevidiam confessionem facere renuant, eo quod, ut explicite fatentur, fidem Sacramenti Poenitentiae corde incredulo reiecerunt et totam fidem negaverunt. Peto an hi, infidelibus deteriores, debeant aut possint admitti ad contrahendum matrimonium, cum magno mulieris catholicae et familiae detrimento et periculo.’

Cum hoc Postulatum transmissum fuerit ad hanc Supremam S. R. et U. Inquisitionem, in Congregatione Generali habita ab EEmis et RRmis DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EEmi ac. RRmi DDni responderi mandarunt :

‘Supplicandum SSmo, ut in Decreto Feriae IV., die 30 Ianuarii 1867.’

Feria vero IV die 26 eiusdem mensis SSmus, per facultates Emo Cardinali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis Secretario concessas, benigne annuit pro gratia.

Porro citatum Decretum fer. IV. diei 30 Ianuarii 1867 sic se habet :

I. ‘Quid agendum quando vir baptizatus, sed apostasium a fide verbis et corde profitens, asserensque nominatim se non credere Sacramentis Ecclesiae, petit matrimonium coram eiusdem Ecclesiae facie, unice ut desiderio sponsae satisfaciat?’

II. ‘Quid si idem vir petit sectae condemnatae muratorum vel simili addictus, qui licet fidem non omnino amiserit, sectae tamen debite renunciare recusat?’

III. ‘Quid si idem postulat vir, qui fidem non abiecit, sed eam profiteri, officiaque christiana adimplere abnuat.’

Responsum fuit : Ad I. ‘Quoties agatur de matrimonio inter unam partem catholicam et alteram quae a fide ita defecit, ut alicui falsae religioni vel sectae sese adscripserit, requirendam esse consuetam et necessariam dispensationem cum solitis ac notis praescriptionibus et clausulis. Quod si agatur de matrimonio inter unam partem catholicam et alteram quae fidem abiecit, at nulli falsae religioni vel haereticae sectae sese adscripsit, quando parochus nullo modo potest huiusmodi matrimonium impedire (ad quod totis viribus incumbere tenetur) et prudenter timet ne ex denegata matrimonio adsistentia grave scandalum vel damnum oriatur, rem deferendam esse ad R. P. D. Episcopum, qui, sicut ei opportuna nunc facultas tribuitur, inspectis omnibus casus adiunctis, permittere poterit ut parochus matrimonio passive inter sit tamquam testis ‘authorizalibis,’ dummodo cautum omnino sit catholicae educationi universae, prolis aliisque similibus conditionibus.’

Ad II. ‘Dandum esse Decretum diei 28 Iunii, 1865, quod est huiusmodi : “Quoad matrimonia, in quibus una contrahentium pars clandestinis aggregationibus per Pontificias Constitutiones damnatas adhaeret, dummodo absit scandalum, Ordinarius, habita circumstantiarum ratione pro casibus particularibus, ea decernat quae magis expedire iudicaverit.”’

Ad III. ‘Consultet probatos Auctores, et praesertim Benedictum XIV *De Synodo Dioecesis*. L. VIII, Cap. XIV, n. 5.’

I. C. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.

THE BURIAL OF AMPUTATED MEMBERS

DE MEMBRIS HUMANIS AMPUTATIS SEPELIENDIS

BEATISSIMI PATER,

Superiorissa Generalis 'Sororum a Matre Dolorosa,' quarum Domus matrix Romae extat, devotissime exponit, in Hospitalibus Congregationis, quae in America Septentrionali extant, singulis hebdomadibus evenire ut unius vel alterius aegroti brachium seu crus amputetur. Sorores adhuc bona fide eiusmodi membra recisa sive in terra profana sepelierunt, sive, suadente medico, igne combusserunt. Quum vero humilis Oratrix anxia haereat, num Sorores in hac parte recte egerint, devotissime quaerit, utrum eiusmodi agendi ratio etiam in futuro prosequi possit vel non : sive agatur de aegrotis catholicis, sive de acatholicis seu infidelibus. Iuvat forsitan adnotare eiusmodi membrorum sepulturam in aliquo coemeterio saepissime moraliter et haud semel physice impossibilem evadere.

Et Deus, etc.

Feria III, loco IV, die 3 Augusti 1897.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EEmis et RR. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, idem EE. ac RR. Patres rescribendum mandarunt :

'Quoad membra amputata acatholicorum, Sorores praxim suam tuto servare possunt. Quoad membra amputata fidelium baptizatorum, pro viribus curent ut in loco sacro sepeliantur. Sin vero graves obstant difficultates quominus in loco sacro condi possint, circa praxim hucusque servatam non sunt inquietandae. Quoad membrorum combustionem praecipientibus medicis, prudenter dissimulent et obediant. Et ad menem.' 'Mens est quod, si fieri potest, in proprio horto domui adnexio, deputetur aliquod parvum terrae spatium, ad sepelienda membra catholicorum amputata, postquam fuerit benedictum.'

Feria vero VI. die 6 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus SSmo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, SSmus resolutionem EEmorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. C. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.

WHAT IS MEANT BY 'PER MODUM POTUS' IN DISPENSATIONS IN THE LAW OF FASTING

QUID VENIAT SUB DITIONE 'PER MODUM POTUS,' ADHIBITA
INDISPENSATIONIBUS CIRCA IEIUNIUM NATURALE

BEATISSIMO PADRE,¹

N. N., prostrato ai piedi della S. V. umilmente espone che egli ottenne a causa di cronica malattia la facoltà di prendere qualche ristoro 'per modum potus' prima della Comunione. Aggravato viepiù il suo male, e non bastandogli solo delle bevande, supplica la V. S. che degni permettergli anche qualche cosa di solido per sostentarsi. Che ecc.

Feria III, loco IV, die 7 Sept. 1897.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EEmis et RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EEmi ac RRmi Patres rescribendum mandarunt :

'Respondeatur ad mentem, ut in Abellinen. 4 Iunii 1893.'² 'La mente è che quando si dice *per modum potus*, s'intende bensì che si possa prendere brodo, caffè, od altro cibo liquido, in cui sia mescolata qualche sostanza, come p. e. semmolino, pangrattato ecc., purchè l'insieme non venga a perdere la natura di cibo liquido.'

Feria vero VI, die 10 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus SSmo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, SSmus resolutionem Emorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. C. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.

¹ *Latina Versio.*

N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter exponit quod ob chronicum morbum iam obtinuit facultatem sumendi aliquid *per modum potus* ante Communionem. Quum autem notabiliter fuerit aggravatus morbus, nec satis ei sint potiones consuetae, S. V. deprecatur ut concedatur facultas sumendi etiam ad sustentationem aliquid solidi cibi.

² Mens est ut quando dicitur *per modum potus*, significatur etiam quod permittitur usus iusculi, caffèi, aliorumque ciborum liquidorum, cum quibus misceri potest aliqua substantia, uti v. g. condita farina, friatus panis, dummodo dieta mixtio non amittat naturam cibi liquidi.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CANONICAL PROCEDURE IN DISCIPLINARY AND CRIMINAL CASES OF CLERICS. A Systematic Commentary on the 'Instructio S. C. Epp. et Reg., 1880.' By the Rev. Francis Droste. Edited by the Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer, D.D., Professor of Theology. Benziger Brothers.

WE shall leave to the Editor the task of introducing himself, the author, and the work :—

'When in the year 1880 the S. Congregation of Bishops and Regulars sent to the bishops of Italy the now famous *Instruction on the Summary Procedure in Disciplinary and Criminal Causes of Clerics*, it soon became evident that the reform thus initiated would not remain confined to Italy, but would gradually find its way to other countries. Anticipating this, the Rev. Francis Droste, a priest of the diocese of Paderborn, wrote a short and simple commentary on the new procedure, which he designed more for practical use than legal speculation. . . . The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, complying with the request of the S. C. de Prop. Fide, adopted the same *Instruction*, with a few slight modifications. It is a mere question of time when these same provisions shall be extended to all English-speaking missionary countries; and as an English commentary on the *Instruction* was desired, a German priest of the diocese of Covington, Ky., translated Fr. Droste's little book. To be of greater service, however, the work needed adaption to conditions for which it was not originally intended. This labour was intrusted to the present writer, who confesses to having taken very great liberty with the translation, as well as with the original work. . . . In a word, the original has been so radically changed that the author will hardly recognise his German offspring in this "naturalized American edition."

We shall, therefore, consider ourselves justified in regarding Dr. Messmer not merely as editor, but as author, for purposes of criticism.

The work may be divided generally into two parts, the preliminary portion and the Commentary proper. Under the former section, among other matters, are treated the relation between Canon and Civil Law, Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in general and

its application to contentious cases; and lastly, the general organization of Ecclesiastical courts. Then follows the Commentary which forms the body of the work. After this come a number of appendices containing the text of the *Instruction* and other important documents bearing on the subject. Finally comes that valuable appendage known as an Index, which is fairly complete in the present instance.

We are not sure that the preliminary portion of the work enhances the value of the whole; indeed, any devil's advocate of ordinary ability would, we fancy, find plenty of matter here to work upon. In the first place, the different questions are treated far too meagrely. This fault, perhaps, would not be such a bar to effective treatment, were it compensated for by clearness or accuracy; but both these qualities are, at least to a notable extent, wanting. Thus, the arrangement of paragraphs seems to be a purely arbitrary proceeding; as we find subjects dove-tailed into one another which of their nature stand apart, while matters are sundered which call for closer union. This is a fault which, to a greater or less degree, permeates the book from beginning to end. Moreover, there is a want of clearness within narrower limits, namely, inaccuracy of expression and seemingly of thought. Let us give an example or two of this latter dual defect:—

'The truth is, that whenever the Church sat in judgment over *purely temporal matters* (the italics are ours), this right had been conceded to her by the State . . . ; or the people, unable to get any justice from the . . . secular authority . . . turned to the Catholic Church who had a nicely wrought system of *criminal procedure* even in the time when in the secular courts the proof of a *crime* committed, &c.'

Surely, this is to take a very innocent view of the nature of crime. Again, in dealing with the question of quasi-ordinary jurisdiction as distinguished from delegated, the author seems to be more or less at sea; for, in page 29, we find a definition, or description, of quasi-ordinary jurisdiction—not very accurate indeed, but passable as far as it goes—which is pretty effectually contradicted by an example of purely delegated jurisdiction mentioned in the very next page. Either that, or else his conception of quasi-ordinary jurisdiction, is rather peculiar.

The editor, or author, states in the preface that, with regard to legal phraseology, he 'has tried to use English rather than Latin,

notwithstanding his very imperfect knowledge of the former language.' As soon as we had read this statement we naturally concluded that it was merely a sample of that commodity yecept '*humilitas cum hamo*,' and were inclined to cry out 'don't please!' but now that we have had a wider experience of the editor's capabilities as an English scholar, we beg to state that the aforesaid confession is—especially in relation to the preliminary part of the work—a sample of the most refreshing candour imaginable. In fact, not merely in the matter of legal phraseology, but also in the case of ordinary work-a-day English, it is very often a question of 'trying,' and trying without any signal success. A few illustrations may prove interesting. On page 16 we come across the following sentence :—

'Whether a person have actually committed a delict, and, if so, what be its disciplinary or criminal nature; in other words, what be the real matter of fact, can only be determined by inquiry and information.'

Quaint; is it not? Again, on page 22, we find this statement :—

'But more especially is to be borne in mind that crimianl procedure is but a means to an end.'

Were it not that 'more especially' has never been known to have laid claim to the distinction of being a substantive, whether proper or common, we should be inclined to think that the said 'more especially' occupied the position of nominative in the first part of the sentence. The following is plainer English—that is supposing it to be English at all :—

'We shall occupy ourself with explaining only the ecclesiastical disciplinary and criminal procedure as now in use. . . . Still we do not confine ourself to strictly judicial proceedings, &c.'

But here is a nut for anyone who is able to crack it :—

'In the course of centuries several kinds of canonical criminal procedure were contemporaneously and successively in use, but are no longer at present.'

By way of climax, we would offer the following piece of English :—

'Judge in the third and last instance in disciplinary and criminal causes of clerics is the Pope, &c.'

Of course on reading this bit of information we naturally put ourselves the question : Who is Judge? And when did he become accredited with this supreme authority claimed for him here? We were searching hopelessly for light when some good fairy whispered in our ear that the said Mr. Judge rejoiced in the somewhat unpoetic Christian name of 'The'; thus the veil was lifted.

The Commentary proper is a decided improvement on the introductory portion, an improvement we would say in every respect. We confess, indeed, that we experienced a mild species of electric shock when on page 165 we came across a chapter whose sub-heading was in this wise : 'The Auditor's Inquest.' So far we had not stumbled on any murder or death of any sort, and we anxiously awaited developments. Behold the development, or *dénouement*, or whatever you wish to call it :—

'When the fiscal procurator has a well-founded suspicion . . . that a crime has been committed, he must first inquire, extra-judicially . . . This extra-judicial and preliminary inquest, &c.'

A poor look-out for the suspected culprit, we should say. Shocks of this kind, however, are few and far between in this portion of the book. Accordingly, since this is the body of the work, and since, in a canonical work, the canonical principle '*accessorium sequitur principale*' is specially applicable, we are justified in saying that the book, as a whole, is a fairly presentable one, and we beg to recommend it. It may not be so practical for us here in Ireland at present, but it is not too much to say that its use may become apparent in the near future; for the signs of the times seem to whisper a '*transitus ab informitate ad speciem*' with regard to the question of canonical procedure here in Ireland.

The editor says in the preface that he hopes (with the publishers' permission) that the book may remain on the shelf. Seeing that the publishers have consented to give permanent expression to this wish of the editor, we are led to infer that the shelf in question belongs, not to the publisher, but to the purchaser. With this reservation we beg to echo this hope of the editor.

At any rate, it is not the publishers' fault if the book is not found on many purchasers' shelves. In fact, the manner in which

they have catered for the reader's interest would satisfy Mr. Ruskin even in his most fastidious moods. Commendation in this respect can go no further.

D. D.

LIFE OF SISTER ANNE KATHARINE EMMERICH. Translated from the French by Rev. Francis X. McGowan, O.S.A. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

FROM the dawn of Christianity suffering and persecutions have ever been the lot of the chosen servants of Christ. That the ways of Divine Providence are the same in this regard in the nineteenth century is clear from the life we have before us. Katharine Emmerich appeared in the midst of a corrupt age to make atonement by her trials and sufferings for the sins of a wicked world. Gifted from her infancy with a clear insight into the supernatural, she followed through the course of her life faithfully in the footsteps of her Divine Master. Bearing after Him a cross, which seemed, and indeed to unaided human nature would be, insupportable, she was supernaturally strengthened and consoled, being favoured, not merely with frequent interior consolations, but also for many years of her life with the rare privilege of bearing visibly on her body the sacred signs of our redemption. The present Life of this saintly Augustinian nun, for whose beatification steps have been undertaken within recent years, is a translation from the French of a work originally written in German. In many parts of the book there appears a want of unity and dignity of expression which would be unpardonable if literary perfection were the aim of the author. But as we are told in the Preface that the 'only ambition of the author in giving this work to the Catholic public has been to increase the veneration for this saintly servant of God,' we are of opinion that notwithstanding the few imperfections of style, the book is eminently calculated to effect this purpose. Though the Life is dedicated 'to fervent young souls who aspire to the privileges and joys of the religious state,' we think that all classes might find in it much interesting and useful matter for spiritual reading and pious meditation.

J. C.

LIFE OF BLESSED JOHN OF AVILA. By Father Longaro Deglia Oddi, S.J. Edited by J. G. Macleod, S.J. London: Burns and Oates, Limited. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS work is a translation from the Italian of the Life of John of Avila, published on the occasion of his beatification, November, 1893. The book is divided into two parts. The first is devoted to the early life of this great servant of God, his apostolic spirit and labours, and the wonderful effects produced throughout almost the entire Church of Spain by his zealous preaching, advice, and example. The second part treats of his heroic virtues, his precious death and the miraculous graces obtained through his intercession. The work of translation has been done, as we might expect, by a member of that Society, which at its beginning received such signal services from Blessed John. Between him and St. Ignatius there existed the closest ties of mutual veneration and friendship, and in his letters and other writings he pays many tributes to the excellence and utility of the then infant Society of Jesus. The book is one which we can safely say will be found by all to be instructive and edifying, but we can recommend it specially to secular priests and ecclesiastics in general, for it presents to them a truly noble model of the perfection of their state, and an inspiring example of the rich harvest of souls that may be reaped by the zealous priest.

J. C.

MISSA MATER SALVATORIS. Ad IV voces inaequales cum Organo composuit H. P. Allen. Opus 10. Laudy & Co., 139, Oxford-street, London, W.

THE composer of this Mass evinces considerable talent. From a mere musical point of view the playing over of the score has given us much pleasure. The modulations are here and there not quite convincing, and the fugal writing is a little primitive; but there is, on the whole, a delightful flow and cohesiveness in the composition which proves real inventive power. We cannot, however, unreservedly approve of the style of the Mass. There are a great many things in it that we should take exception to, but it is a great improvement on what is usually produced in England, and from this point of view we give it a hearty recom-

mendation. The *Kyrie* appears to us disproportionately long. It will probably have to undergo considerable 'cuts' in actual performances. The winding up of this movement, which recurs in the *Agnus Dei*, is disappointing after the very reverent beginning. The *Credo* seems to have given the composer most trouble. Changes of time, complicated modulations, virtuoso tricks in the accompaniment, all are had recourse to in order to keep up the interest. This is a proof of the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of producing a long movement without thematic counterpoint. The *Agnus Dei* is rather poor. The figuration in the bass under the plain harmonies of the upper voices is particularly dry, and the sentimental ending already referred to does not leave the pleasantest impressions behind. All the same we welcome the Mass as a musicianly work and a marked sign of improvement.

H. B.

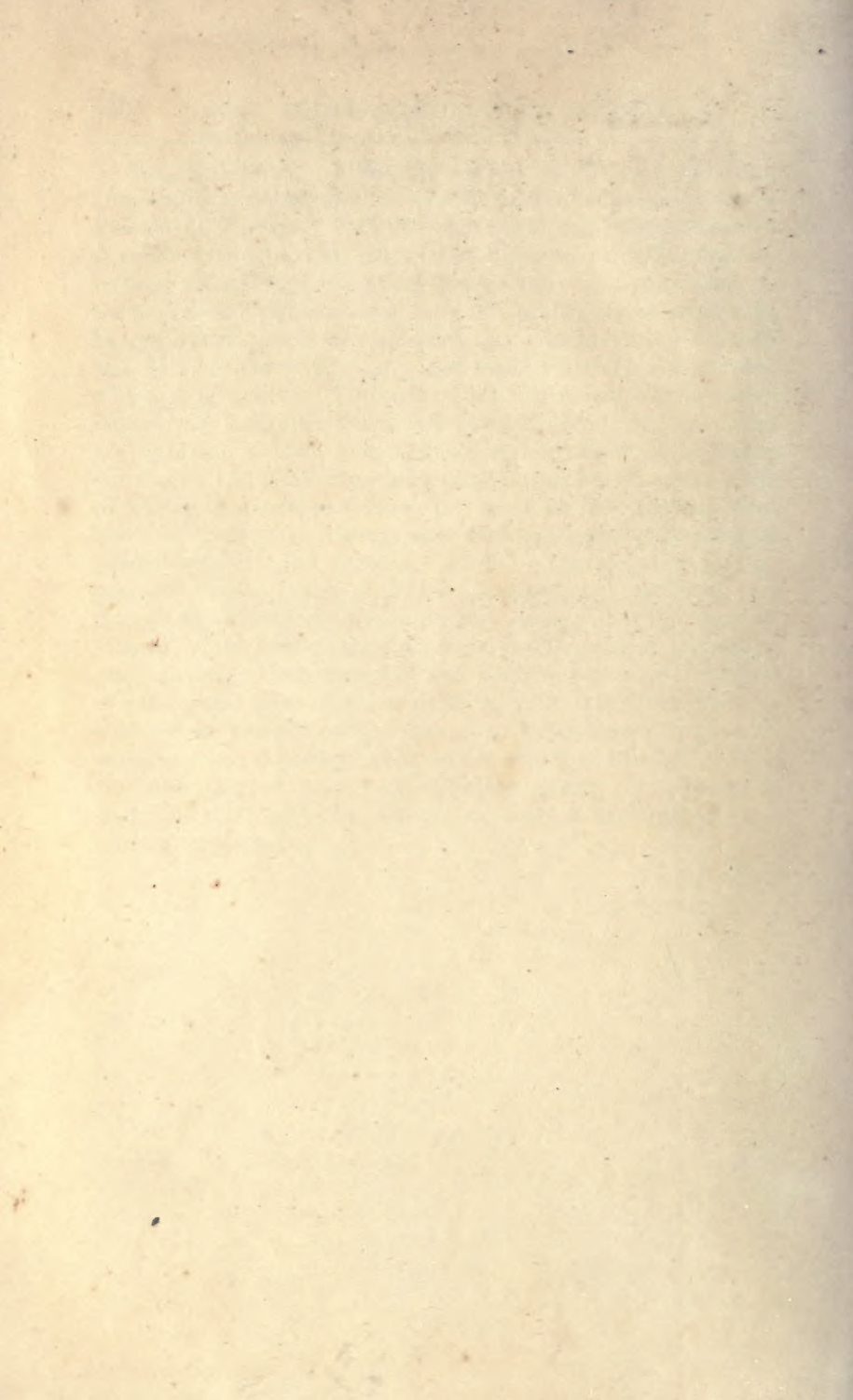
LIFE OF THE VERY REV. FATHER DOMINIC OF THE MOTHER OF GOD (BARBERI), PASSIONIST, FOUNDER OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE PASSION, OR PASSIONISTS, IN BELGIUM AND ENGLAND. By the Rev. Pius, Passionist. London: R. Washbourne, 18 Paternoster-row. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THE present volume is both appropriate and opportune. It was fitting, indeed, that the memory should be perpetuated of the humble Passionist father who introduced into England, about half a century ago, the illustrious Order of St. Paul of the Cross, and who, during the Oxford Movement, laboured in that country with conspicuous success for the conversion of souls to the true faith. Then the publication at this moment of the facts of his life will have a noteworthy interest, in view of the processes which are being initiated to have his name placed in the Calendar of the Saints. When the friends and admirers of Father Dominic selected Father Pius to write his life-history, the choice was exceedingly happy. No one could be found with better qualifications for the task. He wields a facile pen, he is possessed of many scholarly attainments, and he has already won an enviable reputation in many literary fields. The result is that those who, some time ago, were charmed with the Life of Father Ignatius Spencer, by the same author, are now presented with an equally agreeable and interesting biography in the Life of Father Dominic.

Born in Viterbo, in Italy, the subject of this biography was, after various vicissitudes, received into the Congregation of the Passion at Paliano. Here he made such progress in the sacred sciences—though on his entrance to the order he had no literary training of any kind—that he wrote books of some repute on theological and philosophical subjects; while, at the same time, he gave such proofs of solid piety and sound judgment, that he was, at a comparatively early age, made ruler of several houses of the congregation. Throughout his conventual life his heart burned with a feverish desire to convert England; and great was his joy when, in 1841, in company with two others, he landed on her shores, and planted on her soil an offshoot of the great order to which he belonged. How, too, must he have rejoiced when Newman and other distinguished Oxonians came to be received at his hands into the Catholic Church! The record of the few years of Father Dominic's life in England will be found very interesting reading; and here we may remark that the two last chapters of the book on the Perversion and Conversion of England respectively, are very readable, and contain within the compass of a few pages some of the most thoughtful reflections we have yet seen on the difficulties that must be overcome before the consummation is brought about of her return to the fold. With the exception of some few printer's errors, the volume is excellently brought out, and we are sure it will attract large circle of readers.

P. M.

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